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INDEX TO VOL. XVII.

INDIA

	PAGE
THE ARMY IN INDIA. By Major-General Sir George Younghusband, K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E.	1
THE SURGE OF LIFE. Lecture by Sir J. C. Bose, C.I.E., C.S.I.	30
EGYPT AND INDIA: A COMPARISON. By Stanley Rice, I.C.S. (retired)	34
THE CASE FOR DYARCHY IN BURMA. By H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E.	43
*THE EDUCATION OF BOYS OF BETTER-CLASS FAMILIES IN INDIA. By Father Vander Schueren, S.J.	47
*THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN INDIA. By Professor J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D.	78
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS. By Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P.	187
THE INDIAN MEMORIAL AT BRIGHTON. By Sir John Otter	191
THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT'S VISIT TO INDIA. By "Dewan"	197
THE FUNCTIONS OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER OF INDIA	201
*MEDICINE IN INDIA. By Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson	245
*CRIME AND POLICE IN INDIA. By Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A.	270
THE SCOUTS AND GUIDES IN INDIA. By Lieut.-General Sir Robert Baden-Powell, K.C.V.O., K.C.B.	377
LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA. By Stanley Rice	386
THE INDIAN REFORMS IN BEING. By Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.	397
*AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE POLITICAL UNITY OF INDIA. By Balachandra Chintaman Vaidya, M.A.	425
*EARLY HINDU POLITY IN KASHMIR. By E. A. Molony, C.B.E., I.C.S. (retired)	453
*THE EAST AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM. By H. S. L. Polak	476
THE RIOTS IN INDIA. By Sir H. Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.	567
A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA. By J. A. Sandbrook (Editor of <i>The Englishman</i>)	575
*ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION	619
*ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION	627
*THE CITY OF SURAT: OUR OLD GATEWAY TO INDIA. By A. L. Emmanuel, M.A., I.C.S.	632
*THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT AND EMPIRE COTTON. By T. Summers, C.I.E.	650
THE BURTON MEMORIAL FUND. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.	510
*THE LATE LORD REAY. By Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., and Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree	683

RUSSIA

UNITY AND DISMEMBERMENT. By Olga Novikoff	144
REMINISCENCES OF A FAMOUS HISTORIAN. By Olga Novikoff	234

FAR EAST

THE PRESENT POSITION IN CHINA. By H. E. Suo Ki Alfred See	10
THE PROBLEM OF KOREA. By F. A. McKenzie	23
THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT FAMINE IN CHINA. By J. P. Dornan	205
JAPAN'S RECORD IN KOREA. By H. J. Mullett-Merrick	215
THE VISIT OF THE CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE. By Kosaku Tamura	324
THE LION CITY OF MALAYA. By Edward Salmon	241
THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE. By Brigadier-General C. D. Bruce, C.B.E.	380
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE. By Kosaku Tamura	416
THE IMPERIAL ASPECTS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM. By F. A. McKenzie	419
CHINA UNDER THE REPUBLIC. By B. Lenox Simpson (Adviser to the Chinese Government)	584
RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE U.S.A. By Naotaro Murakami (Editor of the <i>Yoromi</i>)	589

NEAR EAST

EUROPE AND ASIA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By The Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P.	86
GREAT BRITAIN AND JEWISH PALESTINE. By Paul Goodman	152
BALEARN NOTES. By F. R. Scatterd	185, 371, 536, 753
MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED—I. By Captain H. Birch Reynardson	220

THE PROBLEM OF THE NEAR EAST:	PAGE
I. THE MISSION OF THE MUSSULMANS FROM INDIA . . .	373
II. THE GREEK POINT OF VIEW. * By C. R. Spanoudi . . .	374
III. THE ENTENTE POWERS AND ARMENIA. By E. J. Robinson . . .	375
MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED—II. By Captain H. Birch Reynardson . . .	408
PALESTINE—THE LAND OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE. By Mary Mond . . .	593
THE ARAB REVIVAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST. By Lieut.-General F. H. Tyrrell . . .	608
CAUCASIA IN EUROPEAN POLITICS. By A. Gugushvili, F.R.G.S. . . .	614
COMMERCIAL SECTION	
THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION. By Sir Robert A. Hadfield, Bart., F.R.S. . . .	126
COFFEE. By E. H. Watson . . .	133
THE MOTOR EXHIBITION: CARS FOR EASTERN BUYERS. By C. H. Oliver . . .	139
INDIAN JUTE. By Sir Charles McLeod . . .	302
COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF INDIAN WOODS (specially contributed) . . .	307
THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN TRADE. By F. H. Sisson (Vice-President, Guaranty Trust Co., N.Y.) . . .	315
THE NEW CHINA CONSORTIUM AND THE ATTITUDE OF JAPAN. By T. Negishi . . .	511
COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. By F. H. Sisson . . .	516
THE EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES. By John S. Margerison . . .	524
THE IRON AND STEEL POSITION IN INDIA. By Glen George . . .	689
THE NATURAL AND COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF KURDISTAN. By G. R. Driver . . .	695
EDUCATIONAL SECTION	
THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE ISLAND OF JAVA. By N. Schellema . . .	321
THE PROGRESS OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES. By Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E. . . .	327
THE PROBLEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA. By H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S. . . .	528
THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN DUTCH EAST INDIA—I. By P. J. Gerke (Dutch Colonial Service) . . .	535
THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS AT HOME AND ABROAD. By Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadzhikari . . .	701
THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN DUTCH EAST INDIA—II. By P. J. Gerke (Dutch Colonial Service) . . .	709
EXHIBITIONS OF ORIENTAL ART	
TAKE SATO'S WORK. By Mrs. Shrimpton-Giles . . .	373
EGYPTIAN ART AT BURLINGTON HOUSE. By L. M. R. . . .	558
POETRY	
A JAPANESE POEM. By Mrs. Naoko Otsuka . . .	161
EVENING. By Rinsiro Takayama . . .	338
THE FALLING OF THE PEACH-BLOSSOM. By Madame Lo Chong . . .	396
CHINESE CLASSICS. Translated by D. A. Wilson, I.C.S. (retired) . . .	557, 740
FLOWERS. Translated from Krilov by John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . .	739
OBITUARY NOTES	
OBITUARY NOTICE: J. D. ANDERSON, M.A., I.C.S. (retired). By John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . .	162
OBITUARY NOTICE: THE LATE LORD REAY. By Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., and Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E. . . .	683
CORRESPONDENCE	
ZIONISM. By Morris Jastrow, LL.D. . . .	159
THE SITUATION IN ARABIA. By Prince H. Habib Lotfallah . . .	159
AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. GANDHI. By Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . .	542
SOME FURTHER NOTES ON MR. GANDHI. By John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D. . . .	741
LIGHT ON INDIA FROM CHINESE RECORDS. By Professor E. H. Parker . . .	742
A PERNICIOUS REVIVAL. By Claire Scott . . .	742
THE MANDATES IN THE NEAR EAST. By Professor Richard Gottheil . . .	743
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SECTION	
THE NECROPOLIS OF THEBES. By Warren R. Dawson . . .	181
THE FUTURE OF EXCAVATION IN THE HOLY LAND. By W. J. Phyllis-Adams, M.A., D.O., M.G. . . .	333
THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES—II. By Warren R. Dawson . . .	339

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT. By <i>Warren R. Dawson</i>	342
THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-AMARNA. By <i>W. R. Hall, D.Litt., F.S.A.</i>	539
THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ST. MENA OF EGYPT. By <i>Warren R. Dawson</i>	747

FINANCE

THE RUPEE AGAIN LINKED WITH SILVER. By <i>Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.</i>	116
THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY. By <i>Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.</i>	296
THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY. By <i>A. F. Cox, C.S.I.</i>	594

India.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Through Deserts of Central Asia, by *Ellis Sykes and Sir Percy Sykes*, 163.
 Indian Co-operative Studies, edited by *R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S.*, 166. Readings from Indian History, by *Ethel R. Sykes*, 167. The Kitchens in India, 167. Reconstructing India, by *Sir Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E.*, 169. Indian Women, by *Otto Rothfield, I.C.S.*, 357. The Charm of Kashmir, by *C. O'Connor*, 360. My Recollections of Bombay, by *Sir J. H. Wacha*, 362. The Rites of the Twice-Born, by *Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., S.C.D.*, 363. Topce and Turban, by *Lieutenant-Colonel H. Newell, F.R.G.S.*, 365. Civil Government for Indian Students, by *Sir William Nairns and J. W. Garner*, 546. Pamphlets on Indian Politics, 547. An Historical Geography of the British Dependencies, vol. vii, Part II., by *P. E. Roberts*, 549. Early Travels in India, edited by *W. Foster, C.I.E.*, 550. The Chinchus and the Madras Police, 551. British Beginnings in Western India, by *H. G. Rawlinson*, 552. Bengal in the Sixteenth Century: India in the Seventeenth Century, by *J. N. Das Gupta*, 721. An Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by *Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E.*, 722. The Secret of Asia: Essays on the Spirit of Asian Culture, by *Professor T. L. Vaswani*, 724. To the Nation, by *Paul Richard*, 725. Toru Buti, by *Harinar Das*, 725.

Near East.

The Victory of Venizelos, by *V. J. Seligman*, 171. In Denikin's Russia and the Caucasus, by *C. E. Bechhofer*, 555. A Short History of Antioch, by *E. S. Bouchier, M.A.*, 556. The Influence of Animism on Islam, by *S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S.*, 727. *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, by *Seven Members of Glasgow University*, 727. Georgia and the Caucasus, 728. Suvorof, by *W. Lyon Blaise*, 729. The Book of Job: Its Origin, Growth, and Interpretation, by *Morris Jastrow, Ph.D., LL.D.*, 731. The Orient Under the Caliphs, translated from Van Kremer's Work, 733.

Far East.

Sino-Iranica, by *B. Laufer*, 171. Modern Constitutional Development in China, by *H. M. Vinacke*, 365. China, Japan, and Korea, by *J. O. P. Bland*, 553. The Trade and Administration of China, by *H. B. Morse, LL.D.*, 735.

Russia: From Liberty to Brest-Litovsk, by *Mrs. Harold Williams*, 172.

General: From the Unconscious to the Conscious, by *Dr. Gustave Geley*, 366. Periodicals reviewed, 369. Books received, 361, 370. Articles to Note, 737. Our Library Table, 736.

French: L'Évolution de la Langue Égyptienne et des Langues Semitiques, by *Edouard Naville*, 734. *Mélanges: Africains et Orientaux*, by *René Basset*, 733.

Sociology: Race and Nationality, by *J. Oaksmith*, 174.

Leading Article: The Cult of the Orient, by *Stanley Rice*, 717.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

(Proceedings of Societies in London interested in Asiatic Affairs)

East India Association, 175, 352, 561, 752. League of Nations Union, 175. London Brahmo Samaj, Celebration of the Birthday of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, 175. The Central Asian Society, 177, 354, 561. The Japan Society, 177, 355, 562. China Society, 177, 353, 562. Anglo-Russian Literary Society, 178, 355, 561. Sociological Society, 178, 562. Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club, 179. The Anglo-Hellenic League, 179. The Independence of Czechoslovakia: Second Anniversary Thanksgiving Service, 179. Royal Colonial Institute, 180, 352. The Departure of Earl Reading for India, 352. Persia Society, 353. The American Oriental Society, 353. Royal Asiatic Society, 354, 562. Indian Gymkhana Club, 354. School of Oriental Studies, 355. A Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, 355. The Asiatic Society of Paris, 562, 752.

DRAMATIC NOTES

"Out to Win" (Shaftesbury Theatre), 560. "If," by *Lord Dunsany* (Ambassadors Theatre), 716.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1921

THE ARMY IN INDIA

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR GEORGE YOUNGHUSBAND,

K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.

BOTH the Army in India and the Indian Army have in the course of centuries gone through many changes and been subject to many reforms, but perhaps never in the history of our connection with India has a more able and exhaustive (not exhausting) report been furnished than has been produced by the Esher Committee.

It may be superfluous to the initiated, but useful to the general reader, to mention that the Army in India and the Indian Army are not the same thing. The Army in India is the whole military force in that country, part of which consists of British cavalry, British artillery, and British infantry, whilst the other portion is composed of Indian cavalry, Indian infantry, and Indian engineers. On the other hand, when speaking of the Indian Army reference is made only to the Indian portion of the Army in India, including, of course, the British officers who serve permanently with it.

Lord Esher, though a civilian himself—and here the Army lost a valuable recruit—has made a close examination of military subjects and especially of military administration—in plain words, the best and most practical way of running an army. After the South African War he was called into council with invaluable results to the organization of the British Army, and thus no more suitable or competent chairman could have been selected at the end of the Great War for the Committee which was invited to advise the Government on the periodical reforms required

in every army, and which applied naturally also to the Army in India. A very able and representative body of members was selected to aid him in his labours. Amongst them is to be found one of the most commanding personalities who have appeared in Indian history since Sir John Laurence, and, like that great man, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Amongst the military members were included both Sir Claud Jacob, a first-class soldier, who during the Great War by sheer war merit won his way from comparative obscurity to the command of an army corps in France, and to the esteem of all who served under him ; and Sir Webb Gillman, one of the bright intellectual lights, who during the war displayed the highest qualities of a first-class staff officer in the upper realms of that exacting service.

Nor were our Indian fellow-subjects forgotten, for included were Sir Krishna G. Gupta and Sir Umar Hyat Khan. Of the latter, to those who have known him since he was a boy, it is a pleasure to remember that he is, and always has been, a chivalrous loyal chieftain, born and bred of soldier stock, and both with his sword or in council ready to stand against all comers for George V., his King and Emperor.

A committee thus composed may well command respect for ~~the views~~ it puts forward, and for the reforms it may suggest. It ~~has~~ every claim to impartiality, and has nothing to fear or gain from anybody, and can, as a committee, look at the problem from the highest and broadest standpoint, the welfare of the Empire.

Commencing at the top of the tree, it is recommended that the Viceroy, instead of having perpetually to refer to the Secretary of State for India on military matters, which in fact means referring to a junior officer who is the Secretary of State's military secretary, should be given greater independence, depending solely on the military advice of the Commander-in-Chief in India. This Commander-in-Chief is to be appointed with the concurrence,

or to put it more plainly, on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. For clearly the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, under which pretentious title is really disguised the old and time-honoured Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, will not concur in the appointment of any but his own nominee, and without that concurrence the Cabinet would be placed in the awkward position of recommending to the King the appointment of an officer not considered the best by the War Office.

The Commander-in-Chief is not only, however, to owe his appointment to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, but he is in all Imperial military questions under his orders.

This recommendation has caused some excitement in quarters once deemed influential, but to all who have had a varied experience in the different theatres during the Great War the absence of a central control in the earlier stages was painfully manifest. Though the recurrence of so great a war within the century is extremely improbable, yet it is only wise to learn by the past and have our house set to order, so that we may be ready to meet the constantly recurring but comparatively small problems which the control of an immense Empire entails.

Both the present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Rawlinson, and his successors will no doubt heartily endorse the recommendation of Lord Esher's Committee that he shall be relieved of his duties in the Viceroy's council, except when military matters are being discussed. It borders on the ridiculous that a Commander-in-Chief, whose whole time must necessarily be occupied in the command of 250,000 soldiers spread over an immense continent, should be called upon to sit hour after hour listening to a debate on irrigation or railways, and perhaps be expected to make a speech on these alien subjects.

Lord Kitchener, who initiated this curious position, and therefore felt bound to maintain that he had plenty of time for it, in reality found none. He would take out of his

story. A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* or *The Times* or the *Daily News* may be perfectly assured of finding in Ireland or in India or in Egypt anything they may require to fill their columns suitably.

On the subject of the Officering of the Indian Army the Committee has much to say and makes some thoughtful suggestions. There is not the least doubt that at present it is difficult to get the best cadets at Sandhurst to join the Indian Army. Before the Great War this was far otherwise, for to be certain of obtaining a vacancy in the Indian Army a cadet had to pass out of Sandhurst within the first ten, in competition with perhaps 150 cadets. The Committee gives two reasons for this unpopularity, but possibly out of diffidence does not mention the main reason. This is that British officers will not join a regiment where they are liable, as now, to be commanded by Indians. Much as they admire and respect the Indian soldier, nothing will induce many old officers to allow their sons to join the Indian Army under these conditions. It is perhaps not here desirable to enter into details, but anyone acquainted with India or the Indian Army can supply them.

Lord Esher's proposal is that British officers shall be transferable from the British Service to the Indian Service and *vice versa*, doing certain terms of service with each. And to promote a bond of union between British and Indian regiments it is suggested that battalions, say the Border Regiment and 6th Jats, shall be affiliated together, for the purposes of this mutual interchange of British officers. The great drawback to such an arrangement is that the fighting value of an Indian regiment has greatly, one might almost say entirely, depended on the close attachment between the Indians in the ranks and their own particular British officers. They would go anywhere and do anything for those particular officers, but as this war has shown, when that tie is broken by casualties and otherwise, the fighting value of the unit does not remain at the same high standard.

The proposal which I ventured to make to the Committee

on this point was that if from political expediency it was absolutely necessary to give the King's Commission to Indians, then it would be advisable that these should serve in regiments entirely officered by Indians. It was pointed out that the present Imperial Service troops might serve as a nucleus or model for such regiments. This solution, it was contended, would do away with the great objection, now very clearly demonstrated, which British officers have to join a service where they are liable to be under the command of Indians.

Some very useful suggestions are made by the Committee on the subject of "Followers," that is officers' servants, cooks, sweepers, water-carriers, and clerks. Not very long ago all these were private servants, kept up mainly at the expense of the officers or the men, and they were employed in large numbers. Thus the roll of followers used sometimes nearly to equal the fighting strength of a force. The origin of this system was that if the fighting strength of a regiment was a 1,000 of all ranks, that 1,000 turned out to a man on every parade and every fight. The whole of the camp work was done by the followers. Thus when the tired warrior returned his dinner was ready, and if a cavalryman a syce was ready to groom and feed his horse and clean his sword. He was a soldier pure and simple, and menial work was done by non-combatants, that is private servants paid by him. It is doubtless neater and simpler to have all these followers enlisted as soldiers, but it must not be forgotten that the fighting strength of the regiment is appreciably diminished. Any Colonel of a British regiment, either in the field or in the barracks, knows this to his cost. The ration strength and the bayonet strength of a regiment are two very different things. If, therefore, followers are enlisted in an Indian regiment, it would be only wise to raise its established strength by that number.

The medical arrangements of the Indian Army came under very severe censure during the earlier phases of the campaign in Mesopotamia. But in justice to the Indian

Medical Service it must be pointed out that this was not their fault. It was the fault of Lord Kitchener's Reforms. To get money for other doubtless urgent matters, the Indian Medical Service was cut down in the most drastic manner, so that even on a small frontier expedition the arrangements for the sick and wounded were deplorably insufficient. After one such expedition in the Kitchener era this was pointed out, but the officious person who did so was severely snubbed for his trouble. **In former times the Indian Medical Service in the field was the best in the world, and a model for all, but bricks even in Mesopotamia cannot be made without straw. The Indian Medical Service is no longer popular and no longer attracts a severe competition, and this for the very same reason as that which prevents cadets from Sandhurst from going into the Indian Army. The Indian Medical Service has now for some years been open to Indians, and these have joyfully flowed into it. But, unfortunately, out of the other door have flown the British officers who formerly composed it, and by their zeal and professional skill brought it to its highest state of efficiency.**

The Committee draws attention to this matter and very pertinently points out that English ladies, the wives of officers, strongly object to being attended by an Indian doctor. Nor curiously enough is this feeling confined to English ladies, for the Indian soldiers themselves generally prefer to be attended by an Englishman.

Apparently, the two Indian members were granted the privilege of writing each a short exposition of their private views after signing the main report. Sir Krishna G. Gupta, a Bengali, welcomed this opportunity for writing a note which, in plain language, presses for a state of affairs which would amount to the complete supersession of British military control in India by Indian military control. Idealists have maintained that the British do not hold India by the sword. They are in one way correct, and in another and wider sense incorrect. The British sword, whilst threaten-

ing none but evil-doers and revolutionary rascallions, protects the weak and restrains the strong.

The other Indian, given his say, is Sir Umar Hyat, the chieftain of a tribe in the Punjab, composed very largely of men born and bred light cavalrymen, superb riders, and possessing a skill in the use of sword and lance equalled by few nations. Were British control removed or even weakened, it would be perfectly open to Sir Umar Hyat and other warlike leaders to reap a rich harvest out of their weaker neighbours both in spoils and territory. But Sir Umar Hyat with soldierly bluntness takes exactly the opposite view to that enunciated by Sir Krishna G. Gupta; he advocates the maintenance of the strong arm which ensures the safety and well-being of India. He takes a broad and sane view of India and the problem of its prosperity, and every line he writes breathes an honest and upright loyalty to the Emperor of India and the great Empire of which this chivalrous Indian chieftain is a member.

THE PRESENT POSITION IN CHINA

BY HIS EXCELLENCY SAO KI ALFRED SZE

WE are a people who, of all living races, go farthest back into the past. We were a nation long before the Roman set foot in this island. For more than twenty centuries we were living in the valleys of our great rivers before the English entered the Thames Valley. And the whole of Europe was pagan when Confucianism was already, for more than five hundred years, a living creed and a social code in our midst. The peoples and the races who were our contemporaries in those distant days have all disappeared into the night of the past. But we survive. And we survive, not as a dying race, but as a great coherent body of 400,000,000 people. And note this fact : whilst we are the oldest living race on earth, our mind possesses a vitality and elasticity which has enabled us to adopt the most advanced forms of parliamentary government—namely, republicanism.

What is the reason for this survival—for this passage of the Chinese people, as a living nation, through the ages ? It is no doubt difficult to explain a great historical fact like this in terms of a single cause. But I suggest that it is largely to be explained by Chinese adaptability—by the capacity of the Chinese to respond to the demands of change and adapt and readjust themselves to any new environment in which they may find themselves.

This, perhaps, may sound strange to those who have always been told that China is changeless. But this is a saying that is not only untrue, but full of mischief. It is mischievous because it causes people to think that the present state of China, with its unrest and disarray, is due

entirely to the incapacity of her people to adapt themselves to the new conditions of life which foreign pressure and influence has set up around them. And from this belief you get that very sinister view which would see China, with her illimitable man-power and vast natural resources, placed under the tutelage of some other state inspired with a greater will to power.

It is no doubt true that there exists a certain degree of unrest and political disturbance in China to-day. But it is very important to realize that this is a state of things which occurs, and has occurred, in every country where a new system of government or some other fundamental change in the life of a people has taken place. You see this fact of unrest and disorder in nearly every country in Europe to-day. The Great War has released ideas and forces which go to the foundation of what is called the European system. And there are observers who hold that this period of unrest and disturbance will continue for at least a generation. It is argued that a new system of life is being introduced into Europe, and, until you have bred and trained new men to work this new system, the men trained under the old dispensation must go on with the task of government. And, it is added, as it is impossible to have the new system properly worked by these men, a period of disturbance must ensue and continue pending the appearance of the new workers.

Twenty-five hundred years ago Confucius defined this same problem of government. "Let there be the men," the sage said, "and government will flourish; but without the men government decays. With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth. Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men."

Whether this Confucian view of the European situation is sound or not, there can be no doubt that we are faced in China with the same sort of problem which seems to confront you here in Europe. And most Chinese who

think over the matter believe its solution lies in the direction indicated by the Master. Up to the date of the Chinese Revolution in 1911-12 China was ruled by an autocracy. The revolution destroyed the autocratic system of government and replaced it by a democratic system. This point was emphasized some little time ago by a Chinese publicist in one of the daily papers in London. China, he said, is now passing through a period of transition and is adjusting a system of government created under autocracy into a democratic system. Under autocracy the country was considered the property of the ruler, whereas now it is regarded as the common possession of the nation. And he went on to point out that the present difficulties in China were largely due to the inevitable disorganization caused by this transition. To work the democratic principle you must have the necessary machinery in the form of parliamentary institutions; and this machine has hitherto been worked by men trained under the old system of government, because the country must be governed in one way or another, even if mistakes are made. And he insisted that in every instance where a nation had passed through a fundamental change there had always been a period of unrest and disturbance, which was but an expression of the nation's efforts to adjust its old life to the conditions and demands of a new environment.

This view of the situation in China implies that the present political and economic difficulties of the country are not the outcome of racial incapacity or faults of character, but the marks and signs of a period of transition. In other words, these difficulties are the surface effects of the great movement of life that is daily changing the whole face of China. They are signs of vitality, not of decay.

Now let me show that this is a view shared by others who are not Chinese. M. Paul Painlevé, the ex-Premier of France, who was the chief of a mission to China in the summer, issued the following statement on the departure of his mission for France :

"The three months which we have spent in vast China have been of enthralling interest to my friends and me. For many years I have had great admiration for China's past, and at the same time great confidence in her future. The views, observations, data, which I have continuously amassed during my tour have only confirmed my convictions.

"Here, briefly, are the chief reasons for this :

"(1) The military disorders as between Provinces and the rivalries of the Tuchuns or military governors, which give rise to so much pessimism regarding the evolution of Chinese democracy, are far more *superficial* than deep-rooted, and only paralyze to a very faint degree the working activity of the nation. It must be realized that these events are being enacted on a stage greater than Europe, and, further, that the Chinese Republic has only existed for less than ten years.

"(2) Contrary to the opinion current in Europe, it is not true that the Chinese nation is vegetating in a sort of stagnation. The evolution of its ideas, customs, and industries is, on the contrary, quickening in striking fashion. The twentieth century will be China's century, just as the outstanding feature of the nineteenth century was the unprecedented development of America.

"(3) The thirst to learn and to become familiar with the Western sciences is prodigious among the young generation in China. In spite of difference of language, the Chinese brain is just as capable of cultivating the rational and experimental sciences as the European brain. But what this huge nation lacks is scientific atmosphere. The Western nations must help China to form the first thousand of Chinese savants as speedily as possible. China will then resume the place which she occupied in the past and which she must occupy again, in world civilization.

"(4) Public opinion already exists in China to-day, and, although it does not manifest itself, as in the West, in accordance with legal forms prescribed by a Constitution, it

is already singularly powerful, and will soon be irresistible. It is becoming more and more national without being anti-foreign. In a recent and penetrating work, M. Hovelague wrote that China was a civilization rather than a nation. To-morrow, whilst remaining a civilization, China will be a nation, extensively decentralized, but one and indivisible, a nation which will be an element of weight in the concert of civilized powers."

Dr. Reinsch, the late American Minister at Peking, is also a witness in the same sense. Dealing mainly with the political aspect of the Chinese situation, he concludes a powerful statement on the subject in these words :

"The recent history of China has been a series of trials and of great lessons teaching the futility of all personal ambition and narrow politics and intrigue. President Yuan Shih-k'ai, with all of his personal ability and strength, was unable to realize his ambition to force Chinese development back into dynastic currents. Chang Hsun in vain attempted to resurrect the dynastic tradition of the old régime. Notwithstanding the conservation of the Chinese race, the nation did not desire such a return to an outlived system.

"More recently the attempt has been made to found a political power on military organization and foreign financial support. Before intense popular disapproval an organization which seemed formidable crumbled in a week. All these attempts have been unsuccessful.

"Through all these trials and with much discouragement the growing consciousness of the Chinese people has victoriously asserted itself. That has been superior to the cunning of politics and the force of military organization. An attempt to oppose this force is like trying to stem the tide of the Yangtsze River with an artificial dam; the majestic flow may be held up for a little while at the cost of flood and misery to the surrounding country; but the final course of the stream cannot be obstructed. Even so the course now definitely taken by the Chinese people towards representative institutions may indeed be obstructed, and

that at the cost of much misery and discouragement ; but its constantly more effective realization is now apparent. Wise statesmen will ally themselves with this great force and will then stand firmly planted with a legitimate influence with which no personal power won by intrigue or self-assertion can be at all compared. The lesson of the recent experience is plain. It would be blindness to ignore it."

I hope that I may be pardoned for having quoted, at some length, these views of the ex-French Prime Minister and the late American Minister to China, but these views are of exceptional interest and value. They are the considered opinions of two distinguished observers who have lately informed themselves of the facts of the Chinese situation on the spot.

It seems to me that, in the light of what M. Painlevé and Dr. Reinsch have said, the Chinese situation ought no longer to be obscure, for instance, to your distinguished Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, who, at the annual dinner of the Central Asian Society last month, said that China had become republic and was in the throes of a military crisis whose upshot no one could see.

Fortunately for the peace and security of the world, the peaceful development of China and her millions is an absolute certainty unless, indeed, that development is deflected by foreign agency into channels of militarism. The *Chinese* development of China, if I may put it that way, must make for peace if only because the whole of Chinese culture rests on the power and appeal of moral force. The entire body of Confucian teaching centres around that conception. We hold material force so meanly that the soldier is the lowest member in our social hierarchy. And this Chinese valuation of the fighting man will remain unchanged as long as the Chinese people are allowed to progress and develop along the lines of their own national character.

EUROPE AND ASIA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY THE HON. W. ORMSBY GORE, M.P.

ADVANCES in the discovery and application of the physical sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave to the white races of Europe and their kinsmen in the American and Australasian continents such technical superiority in the arts of peace and war over the more numerous inhabitants of Asia and Africa that the impact of the West upon the East appeared to be an impact of domination. Japan provided the one exception. Japan alone of non-white people acquired in an even shorter time the same technical mastery in the use of metals and mechanical contrivances which is such an outstanding feature of modern Western civilization. The result of this technical superiority in the arts and sciences of the white races has been described as economic imperialism, and though this inevitable pressure by the more skilled on the less skilled has been gradually developing ever since Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape over 400 years ago, the rate was tremendously accelerated during the twenty years immediately preceding the Great War.

Take Africa as an example, and what is true of Africa is true of Asia, though in a lesser degree. In 1880 less than a million square miles, with a total population of nine millions, were in the hands or under the control of European States. By 1914 eleven million square miles, with a population of one hundred and sixty millions, had passed under such control. Since 1870 France has annexed Annam Tonkin; Britain, Burma; and Russia, West Central Asia; and more far-reaching than even any annexation has been the depenetration of Western economic influence upon China, the Ottoman Empire, and even Persia.

The construction of railways and opening up of Western trade and commerce in China from 1897, when a Belgian syndicate obtained a concession for building a railway from Peking to Hankow, up to the "twenty-one demands" of the Japanese in 1915, has in effect destroyed the old political, social, and economic system of three hundred millions of people. Such a revolution as has been effected by this impact of the West upon the East cannot be matched by anything in previous history, and from whatever point of view we look at it (whether Asiatic, African, or European) the problem now presented by the effects of the world war upon this impact is in many ways the most gigantic problem of the coming generation.

We have seen the whole social and economic system of one of the great European Powers come to complete ruin and disaster in the case of Russia. The rest of Europe is burdened with a gigantic war debt and threats of internal convulsion. Such a situation materially alters the capacity of European national States and peoples, and has rendered them incapable of continuing in the same manner the exercise of the pre-war rate of pressure upon the East. Apart from the great changes effected by the war upon social and economic conditions in Europe, there is a moral change as well. Judging from the Indian Reform Act of 1919, and from the Milner proposals regarding Egypt, it would appear that the moral and political relations between Europeans and non-Europeans are about to undergo wide change.

Before the war the technical superiority of the Europeans in the arts and sciences of peace and war had their counterpart in a certain consciousness in the minds of both Europeans and non-Europeans alike that this technical superiority extended to the arts of government. This consciousness is now challenged, and not by non-Europeans only, and it is challenged at a moment when non-European races, so far from seeking development of their own indigenous ideas, have become captivated by the political thought of Europe, which may be summed up in the two words "nationalism" and

"democracy." Nationalism, or perhaps we should say patriotism, has for many centuries been the distinguishing feature of Japanese political thought, and this has in the past principally distinguished Japan from the rest of Asia, and has facilitated the westernizing of Japan.

In China, India, and South-Western Asia, nationalism as we know it in Europe and Japan is a very young plant indeed, and its growth has been forced as if in a hot-house by the events and ideas produced by the Great War. We must not be surprised, therefore, if the plant, though apparently vigorous, shows signs of having overgrown its strength. It is, however, a plant that has its root well established in the soil, and as such is probably capable of resisting diseases within and buffetings from without. Great Britain, America, and even Russia, seem inclined to accept its consequences. The first of these consequences is that in the future the East may be willing, and even anxious, to accept the superior technical services of white races—it will accept them more on its own terms rather than upon terms dictated by the West. There will, of course, be those Asiatics who will form the opinion that the West has no further good to give, and that they had best try to work out their own salvation or damnation unaided. The impact of the nineteenth century, however, has been so far-reaching in its results that Asia will probably find, and probably even now realizes, that it cannot do without European assistance. If Asia wished to react and to restore the system of dynastic autocracies and religious conservatism, it might then be able to do without the West, but this does not seem to be the present wish of Asia.

The Asiatic peoples have caught the European belief in material progress and political liberty, but, for the most part, they are not yet equipped with the necessary command of forces, whether intellectual or material, to realize such ideals unassisted. Of course, the changed outlook of the Asiatic peoples does not extend to the unlettered masses, any more than similar changes have extended to similar masses in European countries in the past—no more, for instance, than

the materialist philosophy of Karl Marx has really affected the mental outlook and traditional habits of the Russian peasant. But the new outlook does extend almost universally to the educated minority, and in the history of mankind it is the educated minority that usually prevails over the uneducated majority, for no form of government can persist for any length of time without them. It will not be sufficient in the twentieth century for Europeans to endeavour to act as the trustees who protect the uneducated cultivator of the soil against the educated minority of his fellow-countrymen. The West has got to come to terms, and preferably to friendly terms, with the educated minorities.

The task is not an easy one either for the European or the non-European. Race-consciousness or colour-feeling is probably stronger to-day on both sides than it has ever been. Political and economic factors are tending to emphasize a feeling which fundamentally is based on a growing dislike of intermarriage and a heightened sense of racial purity. In its acute form this sense of racial differentiation has increased with advancing civilization, although it seems to cut athwart the teachings of all the great world religions—Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism. One of the chief political causes of this intensification of racial feeling among Europeans in Asia is the consciousness among the Europeans that they are numerically a mere handful surrounded by overwhelming numbers. The unhappy events in the Punjab last year were very largely the result of almost instinctive feelings of self-preservation aroused by an outburst of racial passion in Amritsar following on the intervention of the executive Government by the arrest of a couple of political leaders.

The task of those selected Europeans who are called upon to devote themselves to share in the responsibilities of government or of functional organization of any kind in Asia and Africa is not rendered any easier by this growing racial consciousness, for in the future even more than in the past there will be required from them, not merely that moral standard

and technical efficiency which have been the foundation of their successes, but also an intellectual understanding which is a rarer quality. Granted that race-consciousness and the growth in the East of the conception of nationality, which is, after all, but a personal attribute shared by a number of individuals, is inevitable and right, the only possible golden bridge, the only possible guarantee that such consciousness will not result in conflict, lies in better mutual comprehension. The self-determination of nations without a League of Nations leads inevitably to Armageddon. The intensification of national passion is the chief cause of modern wars. The recent history of the Balkans is clear evidence of the danger to humanity and peace of over-emphasized nationality. The antagonism between two races and two different systems of religion in Ireland is a danger-signal regarding the limitations which beset nationality. And yet nationalism is the real basis of the present organization of the world. It cannot be destroyed even if it were desirable to do so. The mediæval Empire and the mediæval Papacy, both heirs of the Roman Empire, sought the achievement of a world polity. The very attempt produced European nationalism. On top of the modern intensification of nationalism all over the world has come that dangerous phrase "self-determination." Malta for the Maltese, Orissa for the Oriyas, Nauru for the Nauru Islanders, might result in the world being divided into between two and three thousand national States. The fissiparous possibilities of self-determination are wellnigh limitless and would result in the downfall of civilization. Almost any form of imperialism would be better. The worst thing about Sinn Fein is its name. "Ourselves alone" is of all political doctrines the most damnable. The problem of the age is not how far we can live apart from each other, but how much we can live together. Combination and co-operation are infinitely preferable to tribalism. In the Near and Middle East already political disintegration is a danger to all peace and progress, particularly in the Arab world. The great danger is lest Asia, in attempting to apply the political catch-

words of the West, may commit political suicide. Nothing is more significant of the age in which we find ourselves than the "tyranny of phrases," and the consequent power of the man who can create or manipulate phrases, whether he be politician, journalist, or philosopher. Hitherto Europeans in Asia have been equipped to act, but not to explain. Now they are called upon to explain, and to the average Englishman even more than to the average Frenchman explanation does not come easily. In England itself the superior rhetorical facility of the Irishman and the Welshman, the more argumentative rationalizing of the Scot, have obtained for the "Celtic fringe" political ascendancy in the Labour party, just as they have in the Parliamentary arena. It looks as if the same phenomena would take place in India. The power is being slowly transferred to the glib of tongue and the man with the skilful pen. To a certain extent this is inevitable in an age where there has been a general but very limited advance in literary education. The hope is that the educational standard of to-day will be greatly surpassed in the coming generation. Meanwhile the moral responsibility for the future rests heavily on the "political" classes, both in East and West. The skilful use of speech and pen has become the high road to power, and many are the temptations that lie lurking along that road. And when power has been obtained by that road, power is not always so easily retained. The competition is great and the stakes are high. No form of government can ever be perfect in this world, and democracy is no exception to this fundamental law. Democracy is at best the least dangerous and most easily corrected form of government. The demagogue and the phrase-maker constantly threaten democracy by irresponsible use of exceptional gifts not possessed by their fellows. *Vox populi* is not *vox Dei*. Asia is bent on following Europe in further experiments in democracy, and many are apprehensive of the results. Mr. Montagu stated on the third reading of the India Reform Act of last year that whereas we had given India good government, we were now giving her something

better—viz., self-government. From this, once given, there can be no turning back. The conditions are changed fundamentally for good or for ill. India is embarking on her great experiment, and it is up to us to help and encourage and not to discourage; but let there be no mistake, responsibility is passing from European to Asiatic shoulders. This fact, important enough in itself, is a symbol of a change of relationship between East and West which is far-reaching. The war marks the termination of one era and the commencement of a new one. The new is full of peril, but it is also full of promise. Let us hope that it is the optimist and not the pessimist who will be justified by events.

THE PROBLEM OF KOREA

BY F. A. MCKENZIE

The well-known *Daily Mail* War-Correspondent in the Far East, whose book on "Korea's Fight for Freedom" has just been published

THE future of Korea presents a problem not alone for Japan but for the world at large. The extraordinary and dramatic developments in that country during the past few years, the revival of nationality in a people whose patriotism was thought to be dead, the growing unrest and the ever-increasing importance of the peninsula in deciding the future of Eastern Asia cannot be ignored.

Is there any way in which Japanese ambitions and Korean claims can be mutually satisfied? Can both peoples find a compromise which will make an end of the present unrest?

No reasonable Japanese, fully acquainted with the history of what has happened in Korea, will deny that his country has been unfortunate and ill-advised in many of its actions there. No friend of Korea will deny that the Korean people themselves were at the start largely to blame for their own troubles; and that the corruption of their Court, the ineptitude of their government, the apathy and passiveness of their people generally made them easy prey. No wise Japanese will deny that the Korean people have certain rights, and that it would be a good thing to win their good-will and friendship even at the cost and the sacrifice of some Japanese claims. No friend of Korea who is not absolutely blinded by prejudice will deny that Japan's territorial position does give her certain special claims for consideration in solving this Korean problem. There was much to excuse the policy of Japanese statesmen who took action to prevent a continental land so close to themselves from being a mere stepping-off ground for their foes.

One great danger to the world at large in the maintenance of the present condition of unrest in Korea is the possibilities which it affords to the Bolsheviks in their aggressive Far Eastern campaign. The leaders of the Korean Independence Movement are by tradition and instinct strongly opposed to Bolshevism. Christian and non-Christian, they are mostly of a scholarly, somewhat conservative type; men who, while they have adopted Western ideals, are Westernized in the Conservative rather than the Radical sense, clinging to old ideas and religion; men of good family, representing property rights. But if this Independence Movement attains no success on its present lines, there is an undoubted danger that other men will make an alliance with the Russian Soviets, which are eager to help them. At the time when this article is being written the Foreign Department of the Soviet in Moscow regards Japan as its enemy. It can maintain, if it wishes, a long, harassing, exhausting war in Eastern Siberia which may prove a real bleeding to death of Japan. The greater the Japanese victories on the field—no one who knows the Japanese armies as I do doubts that they will be considerable—the greater the final dangers for Japan. The further Japan is lured into Central Asia, the harder it will be to maintain her hold. Under such a contingency it would add greatly to the risks Japan was running to have at the base of her line of communications a country of seventeen million people hating her with a virulent hatred and looking for opportunity to damage her. It is to Japan's interests to avoid this. The attempt to crush Korea by military force has failed to do anything but produce greater unrest. The attempt at semi-conciliation has been an equal failure. For Japan completely to reverse her settled plan, to transform her annexation into a protectorate and to restore real self-government to the Korean people, would do more to allay the uneasiness of the West about recent developments in the Far East, to regain the waning confidence of the white races, and to restore peace to Asia than any other step.

The problem of the relation of the two countries cannot be

grasped except in its historic sequence. The dominating factors have been twofold : (1) the Imperial ambitions of the Japanese people, and (2) the excessive pacifism of the Korean.

Japan for centuries has seen China as her great prize. The Japanese people were wounded in their most sensitive parts by the arrogance and contempt of the old Manchu Court towards them. China was a great nation, Japan little. Chinese contempt epitomized itself in the scornful name the Chinese spat out at their neighbours. Japan wanted vengeance. The conquest of China was only possible through the territory of Korea, and Japan could not dominate her great neighbour until she had first overrun Korea.

This is the secret of Hideyoshi's great invasion at the close of the sixteenth century. Korea was to be the way through which the Japanese armies were to march to Peking. This was the explanation of the Chino-Japanese War a quarter of a century ago, begun by a quarrel over Korea, deliberately planned by Japanese statesmen for that purpose. Japan's foremost aim since she took over virtual control of Korea in 1904 has been to make the land a great highway through which troops and munitions can be thrown into Central Asia. The fine railway through Korea and through the mountains of Manchuria to Mukden, the magnificent roads that have been built and the harbours that have been developed have all been planned with that central aim in view.

Now, if Japanese statesmanship still hugs this ambition, it will be idle to expect any great concessions for Korea. If Japan, as many claim, is still resolved to dominate China, to rule her people as we in the past ruled India, and to secure a virtual monopoly of most of her natural resources, then she cannot afford to abandon any fragment of Korean power. She must, until the conquest of China is complete, remain in absolute dominating military possession of the land.

If, on the other hand, more enlightened views are prevailing in Japan, if her statesmen are coming to see that they will secure greater glory for their Empire and greater safety for the world by friendly co-operation with an independent China, then there is hope.

The attempt of Japan to govern Korea on Crown colony methods has failed not in a material but in a moral sense. Materially the Japanese can show certain great gains—in means of communication, sanitation, arboriculture, in increased crops, the rise of fresh industries and the multiplication of schools. It may be claimed that many of these improvements have been carried out in such a way that their main material benefit has been reaped by Japanese and not by Koreans, and that in their development much hardship has been inflicted on Koreans themselves.

The real trouble is that the Japanese attempt to rule by a policy of material advancement, ignoring the traditions, the rights, the dignity and the national instincts of the people they have annexed. They started out by despising the Koreans, a feeling that displayed itself from the highest officials down to the poorest coolie from Tokyo who landed at Fusan. They did not attempt to win their good-will. Their attitude was that of the stern teacher towards a fractious and incorrigible child.

Had the Japanese looked deeper they might have seen that, despite surface corruption and general apathy, the Koreans had certain strong characteristics which were likely to prevent them from being easily assimilated or absorbed. They are a singularly homogeneous people, with a distinct national tradition which runs throughout all classes from Fusan to the Yalu. They have mighty traditions behind them, traditions of ancient days of which other lands know little. Their apathy was largely the result of bad government and of centuries of isolation. Their troops who fought the Americans and the French in the middle of the last century showed that they do not lack courage. The developments of Western knowledge in cities like Pyen-yang before the Japanese took possession of the land revealed how susceptible the people are to Western influence. The way in which group after group of younger men rose up within a few years against the old corrupt Government proved too that patriotism was not dead.

It would have been easy for Japan to enlist on her

side the progressive elements, to respect the national rights of the people, and to act as their friendly guide and protector. Had she done so, she would have secured the enthusiastic support of the very Koreans who are now her most dangerous opponents. She would have secured, too, the sympathetic support of the Western world which now looks on her Korean experiment so doubtfully.

Unfortunately Japan took the opposite course. The policy of annexation and assimilation ruthlessly carried out re-created Korea, but not in the way Japan intended. It gave fresh life to ancient patriotism and kindled it into a fierce passion against Japan. I have no desire to dwell at this point on the harshness of the military régime which found its culmination under the rule of Count Hasegawa, and produced the uprising of 1919. The Conspiracy Case, the police oppression, the elimination of every form of liberty produced definite results. The Koreans were put through the furnace, and came out a new people.

When the story of the uprising of 1919 and how it was suppressed became known, the Japanese Government first hesitated, then tried more oppressive measures, but finally recognized to some extent its mistake, recalled Count Hasegawa, and promised reforms.

There have been three outstanding men in the new administration—Admiral Baron Saito, the Governor-General; Dr. Midzuno, the Administrator-General; and Mr. Akaike, the Chief of Police. Baron Saito is a man of a wholly different stamp from his predecessor, Hasegawa; he is a sailor, of humane instincts, sincerely desiring, so far as can be judged, the pacification of the country. His benevolent purposes have been well backed up by Dr. Midzuno, the Administrator-General. Everyone who knows these men speaks well of them. Mr. Akaike is a more doubtful element, from the point of view of the pacification of the country. Yet even the administration of Admiral Saito has been marked by great abuses, by much suffering and by great unrest. There are several reasons for this. The first is that the Korean people

having been awakened to the desire for liberty, are not going to be satisfied by improvements of administrative machinery. Mr. Cynn, one of the ablest and most temperate of Korean publicists, emphasizes this point : " The Korean desires to be recognized as *man*, and a mouthful of rice more or less, or a copper or two more or less does not weigh much with him. ' What does a man profit if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul. ' "

Next, the new Japanese administration has been hampered by the fact that it is still dominated, as the old was, by the idea of assimilating the Koreans, making them into a kind of lesser Japanese. This is the foundation error of Japanese Imperial policy, and so long as it persists, conciliation is virtually impossible. The third cause of failure has been the fact that while the heads of the Japanese organization are changed, the vast administrative machine remains very much the same. The old gendarmerie now call themselves Civil Police. The old official methods in rural parts, the old abuses, have a way of surviving. The stories that reached me of tortures in the Korean prisons during the winter of 1919-20 were as terrible as any that I had heard before. No one supposes that Admiral Saito and Dr. Midzuno do not hate these things, and desire their end as heartily as any of us. But they go on. The Japanese method of endless interference with minor details in the life of the individual, of excessive bureaucracy, of super-policeism, bears hardly enough upon the Japanese, accustomed to it from infancy. To an alien people it is intolerable.

And so during the summer of 1920 we have seen profound unrest throughout the peninsula. The Militarist Party in Japan say that the Saito policy is a failure ; that he has gone too far in conciliation, and that severity should be restored. If the Saito policy is a failure, it is not because he has gone too far to reconcile the people, but because the machinery at command prevents Admiral Saito from doing all that should be done.

What is the real remedy ? Let Japan leave the Korean

people to conduct their own internal affairs. She might reasonably, from her point of view, demand securities against the alienation of Korean land to any foreign Power or the establishment of authority by any foreign Power in Korea. Let her call a real assembly of the Korean people, and give a definite time during which the process of restoring national government will be completed. Let her do the thing generously, taking a fair return for what she has spent, protecting fairly the interest of her nationals settled in Korea, and obtaining a pledge against special tariff disabilities.

In other words, let Japan do for Korea what America has done for Cuba, and what England is preparing to do for Egypt. Let her secure the support of the younger progressive element in the land. By such a course she would do more to wipe out the hateful memories of the past sixteen years than in any other way. She would have not a dependency whose people regard her with hatred, but a neighbour proud to be associated with her. Her men of affairs would of necessity play a great part in Korean life because the Korean Government itself would, during the next generation at least, appeal to their more experienced Ally for help, for advisers and for co-operation in their development. Japan by such an action would lose nothing except a nominal sovereignty over a revolting people; she would turn rebels into allies and prove to the world the baselessness of the fabric on which the fears of the West concerning her Imperial ambitions had been founded.

THE SURGE OF LIFE

THE FOLLOWING IS BASED ON A LECTURE DELIVERED
BY SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE, C.I.E., C.S.I.

(At the India Office on November 18, 1920)

THE multifarious complexity of life has been one of the baffling problems in science. Inorganic matter remains practically unchanged day after day ; but the living organism is in a state of incessant change under the stimulus of the environment. Not only does the present modify, but there is also a subtle impress of the memory of the past. How, then, are we to get an insight into the mysterious workings of life? The problem becomes greatly simplified if it could be proved that the physiological machinery of all life, including plant and animal, is one. This is the quest which I have been pursuing for the last twenty years, leading to the establishment of fundamental unity of life reactions in the vegetable and the animal—seen in the possession of common characteristics of nervous impulse ; in the periodic insensibility in both, corresponding to what might be called sleep ; as seen in the death-spasm which takes place in the plant as in the animal. This unity is further exhibited in that spontaneous pulsation which in the animal is the heart-beat ; it appears in the similar effects of stimulants, of anæsthetics, and of poisons in vegetable and animal tissues. The establishment of this generalization would mean a great advance in the science of physiology, of medicine, of practical agriculture, and even of psychology.

ARTIFICIAL ORGANS OF PERCEPTION

The success of the investigation has been due to certain inventions which brought into the realm of the visible what had hitherto been invisible. The microscope had created a

revolution in biological science by enabling us to see extremely minute objects ; but even the magnifying power of the microscope is limited. The lecturer's crescograph produces a magnification which is ten thousand times greater than that produced by the highest power of the microscope.

For the instant detection and movement of growth and its changes, I have been able to perfect my crescograph, whose magnifying power has been within a short time raised from 1 million to 50 million times. Under a similar magnification of speed a snail would race round the earth 200 times during the course of twenty-four hours. It might be thought that an apparatus of such inconceivably high magnification would be upset by the slightest tremor in a busy city. By means of special shock-absorbing devices, I have been able to protect the instrument from the slightest external disturbance, as is seen from the perfect steadiness of the indicating spot of light. As an example of the extreme sensitiveness of the apparatus, I have here strips of metal attached to the instrument. A piece of brass 1 inch in length, when raised through one degree, would expand about $\frac{1}{10000}$ of an inch, which is equal to a single wave-length of light. If a candle is held at a distance of some 3 feet, there would be produced an extremely minute rise of temperature—less than a thousandth part of a degree ; that is to say, the expansion of the strip of metal would be less than one-thousandth part of the wave-length of light—an amount which would be regarded as beyond the power of detection. I now subject the apparatus to a severer test. As the Chairman of the meeting approaches the apparatus, his presence is detected by the indicating spot of light executing a rapid movement ; as he walks away, the spot is seen to come back to exact zero. A difference between the state of repose and activity in the individual is clearly seen in the different indications given by the apparatus.

THE EFFECT OF DRUGS

I am now able to show the effect of different drugs on the growth of plants. After noting the normal rate of growth

visualized by the rate of movement of the spot of light, I subject the plant to the action of dilute vapour of chloroform. This is seen to cause a very great stimulation of the rate of growth, the spot of light rushing across the scale ten times quicker than the normal rate.

I have shown elsewhere how remarkably similar is the action of drugs on plants and on human beings. I have shown how the action of a poison could be counteracted by another poison which acted as an antidote. In medical practice anomalies are frequently met with where the same drug induces diametrically opposite effects in different individuals; the cause of the anomaly lies in the fact (discovered from experiments carried out with plants) that the tonic level of different individuals is not the same, and the reaction of a given drug is profoundly modified by this condition. In illustration of this, I may describe the results of experiments with two batches of seedlings, originally similar. The tonicity of one batch had been artificially raised above par, and in the other below par. A dose of dilute poison was applied to both; the weaker specimens succumbed immediately, but the reaction of the vigorous specimens was quite different. The toxic agent not only failed in its illegitimate work, but actually exalted the growth of its intended victim!

DEATH-SPASM IN PLANTS

A time comes when, after an answer to a supreme shock, there is a sudden end of the plant's power to give any further response. This supreme shock is the shock of death. Even in this crisis there is no immediate change in the placid appearance of the plant. Drooping and withering are events that occur long after death itself. In man, at the critical moment, a spasm passes through the whole body, and similarly in the plant a contractile spasm takes place at the moment of death. In the script of the Death-recorder, the line, that up to this point was drawn, becomes suddenly reversed and then ends. This is the last answer of the plant.

STIMULATION BY MINUTE DOSE OF POISON

A poison kills, but when given in sufficiently minute doses acts as an extraordinarily efficient stimulus for accelerating growth. The difficulty is to determine the critical dose which must not be exceeded; the investigation may, however, be carried out with great certainty by means of the crescograph. The importance of this in practical agriculture is sufficiently obvious.

THE UNIVERSAL CALL

In this short lecture it has only been possible to give a brief and incomplete account of the work in progress undertaken in my Institute in India. We have but answered to the call which has been echoing through ages, the call which compels men to choose a life of unending struggle to extend the boundary of human knowledge; thus may human suffering be alleviated and earth rendered productive, so that two ears of corn might grow in the place of one which grew before. In this aspect science is a Divine gift, and knowledge is regarded in India as one with religion. And no injunction could be more imperative on us than the ancient edict of King Asoka inscribed on imperishable stone twenty-two centuries ago :

“ Go forth and intermingle and bring them to knowledge and righteousness. Go forth among the terrible and powerful, both here and in foreign countries—in kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood—everywhere.”

EGYPT AND INDIA : A COMPARISON

BY STANLEY RICE (I.C.S., RETD.)

MANY years ago a Frenchman compared the English to a steel die, and nations with whom they were brought in contact to the wax on which it was stamped, because the English, wherever they may be, always remain English, whereas other nations tend to be absorbed in the countries to which they emigrate. Such a comparison may be testimony to the national virility of character ; when we are speaking of subject peoples, the suggestion of a want of sympathy is not so flattering. "Imagination," says Sir Valentine Chirol in his recent book on Egypt, "is not the quality usually most conspicuous in Englishmen, and without it there can seldom be much tact or sympathy, which consists, after all, chiefly in seeing and making allowance for one's neighbour's point of view." We have certainly lacked imagination both in Egypt and India. We have borrowed nothing from either country ; we have expected them to borrow from us ; we have smiled indulgently, sometimes contemptuously, at what they consider dearer than life, because it seemed to us not to matter ; we have gone our own way, satisfied that that way must be the best, and now that we have succeeded in awakening a national consciousness we are surprised that those whom we rule do not take things for granted but resent dictation.

For it is to the new national consciousness that the present situation is due. We did not believe in it because we had no imagination. We argued that India never was, and never could be, a nation because of her castes, creeds, and languages ; Egypt we knew had been a nation in the past, and so far as homogeneity of population went, had the making of nationality ; but we thought, if we ever thought at all, that

centuries of subjection had crushed all national spirit out of her. And so, starting from these comfortable premises, and, perhaps, deluded by the exaggerated, somewhat fantastic Oriental type of the movement, we reasoned that Nationalism in both countries was nothing more than the heated rhetoric of a small talkative minority, whose claim to represent the people was derived from nobody, and whose theories fell on indifferent and even unwilling ears. We forgot, perhaps in too egotistic a mood, that, in the words of Sir V. Chirol, "benefits conferred by another nation seldom elicit any deep or abiding gratitude," and we plumed ourselves upon the material prosperity and the peace and order which we had conferred upon these Eastern peoples. More important still, we forgot that the educated classes are the product of our own system, and that the Nationalism which has now been born is the inevitable result of our own teaching. In both cases the birth was loudly proclaimed when as yet the infant was scarcely conceived in the womb, and no doubt it was this vociferation which led us to think that what was not visible was a mere figment of the imagination. In Egypt the rising of Arabi in 1880 had for its origin the revolt of native-born officers against the preference given to their foreign, that is to say, Turkish, comrades. In India the exhortations of Tilak and others was followed in 1897 by an orgy of anarchical crime, which, though perhaps not intended by the leaders, gave at least the impression of being inspired by them. The Egyptian rising was put down by main force at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir; the Indian conflagration smouldered on, in spite of the failure of Swadeshism and the boycott, until it apparently died out for want of fuel. But the spirit was there; Arabi the Egyptian and Tilak may claim to be the fathers of the Nationalism of to-day.

Differences there are, of course, between the conditions of the two countries; it is unwise to push analogies too far. Unlike India, Egypt has never been a part of the British Empire: the position of Britain there has all along been anomalous. Forced by the misrule of Ismail into setting the

Egyptian house in order. France and England acted as controlling authorities under the nominal sovereignty of the Khedive, and the uprising of Arabi was directed, not against either Western power, but against Turkey. With the final withdrawal of France in 1904 England had a free hand ; but it became more and more clear that the occupation would be prolonged indefinitely. The climax came with the Great War and the proclamation of a Protectorate. Egypt has thus a clearer case than India. She can argue, and unanswerably, that she never intended a mere exchange of masters when, with the help of the British, she cast off her dependence on Turkey ; that she is a sovereign State which the British in explicit terms have promised not to annex ; and hence the fear that the change from a veiled to an open Protectorate is only a step towards annexation. India, on the other hand, bases her claim not on matters of fact but of opinion. She has been promised self-government, and she is confident that she is now capable of it. Her national pride is hurt by the differentiation made between herself and the Colonies. But the two countries are like two streams which, starting from different sources, ultimately unite in the broad flood of National Consciousness, and it is this rather than the tributary streams of past history which gives strength to the present demands.

The second great difference is in the religious and racial constitution of the countries. India is, of course, mainly composed of Hindus and Mussulmans, and speaks so many languages that English is the only real *lingua franca* in the country. Egypt, on the other hand, is wholly Mussulman and wholly Arabic. I do not overlook the existence of minor sects—of Jains and Parsees and Christians in the one, and of Copts and the heterogeneous population of Alexandria in the other : they do not affect the main argument. But if the homogeneity of her population is an Egyptian asset, the influence of her preponderating religion gives India a corresponding advantage. Islam, ever since the downfall of the Moorish power in Spain, has been conspicuously deficient not

only in the art of government, but in general intellectual pursuits. The three principal Mussulman powers—the Turkish Empire, Persia, and Egypt—have long been bywords of misgovernment, and Sir Valentine Chirol has graphically described the numbing effect of an education which, being based on an infallible and unchangeable tradition, and recognizing other forms of learning only in a secondary, if not negligible, degree, provide no scope for the intellectual faculties. The effect is very marked in India, where, according to the experience of everyone, the Hindu is unquestionably the brain of the country, and whose most renowned sons have invariably been Hindus.

The capitulations, again, have greatly hampered Egypt in the development of self-governing institutions. "Originally intended to safeguard the collective interests of the foreign communities against the power of Oriental despots," they have been used, not too scrupulously, to obstruct even necessary legislation. A sovereign power which is under obligation not to tax an important section of the people without the consent of other powers, to abrogate its functions of civil justice partly, and of criminal justice wholly, to foreigners in all cases in which those foreigners are concerned, and to connive, as it were, at disorder by restraining its police from entering foreign houses in search of offenders, must suffer detraction in efficiency as well as in dignity. Compared with these limitations upon authority the much-advertised differentiation of Europeans in the Indian Arms Act of 1878, and the minor privileges which they enjoy under the Criminal Procedure Code, are mere trifles, and, being subject to the consent of no foreign power, they can be abrogated at will by the Supreme Government. Amongst other minor differences may be mentioned the use of the French language in Egypt and the length of our occupation. Since English is universally recognized in India it is natural that the great majority of Indians who cross the seas should go to England, where they live in an English atmosphere and become familiar with English institutions. The Egyptian who has learned

French naturally turns to Paris when he sets out on his travels, and on his return to his own country he finds institutions and ideas which are foreign to his European experience. Moreover, the 170 years of our unquestioned supremacy in India are a very different thing from the 40 years of our ambiguous position in Egypt, and if we can point to monumental improvements in both countries, improvements which, like the Assuan Dam and the great Indian irrigation systems, have directly benefited the peasantry, we can hardly expect the Egyptians to have assimilated the lessons of Western administration in so short a time and under such conditions.

Yet, in spite of these differences, the course of events has followed lines extraordinarily alike. The Western system of education was introduced into both countries because, in our unimaginative way, we assumed that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," and that like results would proceed from like causes. But, says Chirol: "The moral and intellectual regeneration of a people is not a task in which it is possible for any man or group to command success—least of all if they are aliens and of a different religion and civilization." India may perhaps justly repudiate the word "regeneration," and in her case we may substitute "direction," but it remains true that such a task "provokes at once the resistance of incalculable forces of ancient traditions and prejudices . . . of a mentality and psychology which often escapes analysis."

By subordinating religion in obedience to our otherwise laudable doctrine of neutrality we made atheists of some and antagonized others. Owing partly to the want of money and partly to the want of suitable employment, the educated classes have drifted in both countries into Government service and the Bar, and the mouths of Government servants being closed, the lawyers, diverted from the ancient practice of philosophical speculation, turned their attention to politics. Given this training what else could they do?

And after the lawyers the students. It is unthinkable to us that a lad at Eton or Rugby should busy himself with politics rather than with cricket or football, and so we have

forgotten the extraordinary *præcoçity* of Oriental youths, who are married at sixteen and fathers at eighteen, and the extraordinary homage which we ourselves pay to athletic games. The boy, therefore, who would seem to us a prig to be birched out of his priggishness, is by them exalted into a national hero, a kind of young Apollo rejoicing in his youth, to be converted later, if retribution should chance to overtake him, into a national martyr. Like the lawyers, whose mentality they shared, and in whose occupation many of them no doubt proposed to find a living, they brooded upon the theories of political writers, and eagerly devoured the lives of Mazzini and other patriots, until they persuaded themselves that they too were made of the same stuff and summoned to the same high task.

Hand in hand with lawyers and students went the Press. Sir Valentine Chirol's description of the Egyptian newspapers might have been written of India so close is the resemblance. "The newspapers," he says, "caught the unfortunate habit of shrieking at the top of their voice, and it evidently was to the taste of their readers! . . . One of the worst tendencies they developed was to show gross intolerance and unfairness to all those who differed from them, and . . . on public questions were apt to degenerate into personal attacks. . . . Practical questions, or those that postulated close reasoning, found little favour with either writers or readers. They preferred rhetorical generalities or vehement political lucubrations with high-sounding catchwords."

National consciousness was then the root cause; the watchword of the new parties was Freedom. It was trumpeted forth in varying tones, by Moderates in the measured cadences of a Beethoven symphony, by Extremists in the passionate fortissimo of a Wagner climax. We were not altogether to blame for lack of foresight. Our vision was obscured by the apparent apathy of the masses, though even there the wiser among us could perceive the leaven working amongst the more educated of them—amongst the schoolmasters, the village accountants, the village headmen. Our ears were

deafened by the shouts from the Press and from the platform that the Nation was born, when in India there was plainly no national cohesion and in Egypt no national intelligence. And our reason was shocked and disgusted by the violent overstatement of the Nationalist case, by the unreason of the shrieking invective in the Press of both countries, which seemed to us the mere vapourings of irresponsibility. In the same spirit which, with less excuse, insists on Egyptian schoolboys wearing European clothes and on Indian schoolboys sitting on chairs and benches for the only time in their lives, we established free speech and the freedom of the Press, and when any attempt was made to curb unbridled licence we were treated to the "Areopagitica" and to Mill on Liberty.

The Age of Consent Act gave Indian Nationalism its first impetus; the proclamation of the Protectorate brought matters to a head in Egypt. In the earlier case, sporadic murder and anarchist crime were supplemented by the passive resistance of the boycott. In more recent years the specific grievance was the Rowlatt Act. In Egypt the proclamation of the Protectorate was followed by a note on Constitutional Reform, which, however well intentioned, only managed to inflame Nationalist sentiment. We had, in fact, in all our later dealings in the East "ignored the existence of the national sentiment which the war and the democratic ideals of the war had stimulated." The arrest of Zaghlul Pasha and his companions in March, 1919, was immediately followed by a general uprising, which resulted in rioting, bloodshed, and arson. Trains were looted, railways torn up, Englishmen murdered, and public buildings burnt, until the troops had to be requisitioned to quell the disorder by armed force. Almost at the same moment the arrest of Mr. Gandhi in India produced similar outrages, which culminated in the notorious and deplorable affair of Amritsar. Luckily for Egypt no such dramatic event was destined to mark a fresh starting-point for agitation, for, whatever be the view of General Dyer's action, almost any kind of repression such as the situation called for would have been resented.

The release of Zaghlul Pasha and of Mr. Gandhi had the effect of putting an end to disorder ; but in Egypt, where as yet there was no sign of any redress of grievances, the leaders resorted to passive resistance : lawyers left the Courts ; schoolboys stopped away from school ; scavengers, postmen, tramway-conductors were cajoled or coerced into a refusal to work. Finally, the Government servants themselves went on strike, and declined to return except on terms which they insolently dictated. A stiff proclamation by General Allenby broke the back of their resistance, and when the lawyers followed suit the other malcontents gave in. In India, where, with the Reform Act in being, the whole destiny of the country might be imperilled, passive resistance did not follow so hard upon the heels of active disorder, but under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi—whose creed is to obtain what he considers justice without regard to the consequences—we are now threatened with a movement corresponding in all essential particulars with the Egyptian model.

Such is the situation which we have brought about by our policy. We could not read the signs of the times. We were lacking in sympathetic vision, and the races drifted apart, partly for want of our foresight and partly because the hand of friendship which we so often held out was rejected with scorn and abuse. That we have meant well there is no doubt ; that we have accomplished much is acknowledged, and yet to-day we are thoroughly unpopular. This aloofness is set down to several causes, generally superficial—the facility of travel, the burden of office work, the increase of British officials, and, more than all, the impossibility of intimate social intercourse so long as the women are unapproachable. But the real cause of the estrangement, in spite of many warm friendships, is the claim of equality, and even of superiority too arrogantly asserted, and a sensibility too easily offended. In the old days the Indian official on his horse or in his palanquin, the Egyptian official on his donkey or his horse, distributed a benevolent patronage which was treated on both sides as a matter of course. To-day it is difficult—at any rate, to some

—to be barely civil to a visitor who is known to share the violent hostility of the Press. Suspicion breeds coolness, and coolness further vituperation, and so the whole vicious circle goes its round.

We have proclaimed in season and out of season the honesty of our intentions; we have pointed to the many benefits we have conferred—to the great improvement in agriculture and the uplifting of the fellahin in Egypt, to the peace and order, the irrigation and the railways, the incorruptible Courts of Justice in India. And we are surprised that the benign British rule, to borrow the favourite Indian catchword, has suddenly become intensely unpopular; in spite of all we have failed to grasp that most elusive of things, the spirit of the people. Because of that our best motives are misinterpreted and our considered measures have been flouted. We argued that like causes must produce like effects, but did not realize that the foundations on which we were building must also be similar. And so, having under the observation of Europe built up our structures in India and in Egypt on identical lines, we have produced startlingly identical results, but not those that were intended.

The past is gone; we cannot now undo our work if we wished to, but we may at least learn the lesson for the future, that Oriental countries are not as we are, that their psychology and their history are worth studying as a practical guide to administration, and so the experience of the one country may help us to avoid blunders in the others.

THE CASE FOR DYARCHY IN BURMA

By H. E. A. COTTON

THE problem of Burma's political evolution was expressly set aside for separate and future consideration by the joint report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford upon constitutional reform in India. But the Committee of both Houses, which examined the Government of India Bill in detail, while agreeing to the temporary exclusion of Burma, did "not doubt that the Burmese have deserved and should receive a constitution analogous to that provided for their Indian fellow-subjects." Mr. Montagu was equally encouraging. On December 3, 1919, he resisted an amendment by Mr. Spoor which aimed at placing Burma in the same position as the other Indian provinces, but at the same time he said: "Burma is not India, but Burma must get an analogous grant of self-government, a similar grant of self-government, subject to differences in the local conditions of Burma."

Now, the essential principle upon which the Government of India Act is based is "dyarchy"—that is to say, certain specified subjects of administration are "reserved," and will continue under the control of the Governor and Executive Council, and all other subjects stand "transferred" to Ministers, who will be chosen from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and will be responsible to that body. "Responsibility," say the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, "is the savour of popular government, and that savour the present Councils totally lack. We are agreed that our first object must be to invest them with it." No scheme for Burma can therefore be regarded as "analogous" or "similar" to the Indian model which, while providing an elected majority in the Legislature, confers no sort of responsibility upon that majority.

That is precisely the defect which appears in the proposals put forward by Sir Reginald Craddock, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, and approved by the Government of India in a despatch published for information in April last. For the executive government the

despatch recommends, instead of dyarchy, a council of six, of whom three will be officials and three non-officials—one of the latter to be a European. All are nominees of the Governor, and are to work in double harness, the departments of administration being distributed among the various couples. When one member of a pair disagrees with the other, an appeal may be made to the Governor and the Council as a whole. As for the Legislature, it obtains, theoretically, an elected majority, but these are recruited by a system of indirect election, the Budget is placed beyond its control, and its functions are merely those of a debating society. In other words, a scheme is propounded which, in spite of the fact that the Morley-Minto Councils have admittedly failed as a progressive or transitional stage towards political development, reproduces the cardinal features of those Councils, and aggravates them by a large increase in the number of elected members.

These singular arrangements are justified upon the ground that no Burmans can be found who are fit to be Ministers. There is no substance in such an assumption, as will presently be shown. But even if it had, the Joint Parliamentary Committee have supplied the answer. "There is," they say, "no way of learning except by experience and the realization of responsibility." Responsibility is exactly what this scheme withholds: and its realization is possible only by use of the method of dyarchy. The idea of Sir Reginald Craddock and the Government of India is apparently to choose two Burmans, and train them so that they may be transformed into Ministers at some later date. But what will happen if, when that golden day arrives, the Legislative Council refuses to extend its confidence to them? Upon the showing of the Lieutenant-Governor and his friends, no other competent Burmans exist. As for the members of the Legislative Council under such conditions, they will have received a training in hostile criticism, and nothing more. From this impasse there is no escape but dyarchy. If any risk is involved, it must be taken, for training can only be given by the grant and acceptance of responsibility—that is to say, by the actual exercise of the duty of

choice and also of the duty of decision, in circumstances in which an account must be rendered of errors, not to official colleagues, but to the elected representatives of the people in the Legislature. Dyarchy is admittedly a half-way house, but it has been applied to the rest of British India, and the Burmese have every right to insist that they shall not be denied the new privileges which have been given without hesitation to the people of Orissa and Assam.

Sir Reginald Craddock had, it is true, already while he was Home Member of Council at Delhi, shown opposition to the reforms which have been embodied in the Government of India Act. But, strange to say, his public utterances as Lieutenant-Governor of Burma are quite at variance with the scheme which he has proposed. In the first place, he has made it plain that Burma is far more well-behaved than India. "There has been no extremist party of Young Burmese," he has said; "there has been no unbridled and defamatory Press; there have been, thank God! no signs of unrest among Burmese students, and not even the slightest suspicion of anarchy." And Sir Reginald has further declared: "Delay or niggardliness in the grant of reforms to Burma, as compared with India, may deeply wound the Burman's *amour-propre*, and even throw him into the hands of the agitator and revolutionary." Nor is it a fact that the Burmans are "politically backward." Let Sir Reginald explain why:

"It can be confidently affirmed that Burma is endowed with many advantages, notably in respect of conditions which favour development on democratic lines. Thus she is free from those religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds. Toleration of the scruples of others is a ruling tenet of her religion. There is an entire absence of caste, and no marked cleavage of social distinction or occupation exists. The man of humble birth in Burma has always been able to rise as high as his ability or his education might permit. Burma undoubtedly offers a more prominent field for self-government than does India at this juncture."

Politically-minded Burmans have naturally accepted at its face value this flattering description of themselves by an

acknowledged expert. They have unanimously and emphatically rejected the scheme propounded in the despatch and demanded dyarchy.

There is nothing that will survive examination in the supposed impossibility of finding suitable Burmans for the offices of Minister and Executive Councillor. Exactly the same objections were heard when it was desired to appoint a Burman Judge to the Chief Court at Rangoon; but a Burman barrister was eventually discovered, and it is not disputed that Mr. Justice Maung Kin, the gentleman selected, has fully justified his nomination. Moreover, Burman Deputy Commissioners have been placed in charge of several districts, and it is not alleged that they have failed to reach the required standard of administrative capacity. Provided that the attempt is genuinely and sincerely made, suitable Burmans can be, and will be, found; and, in any case, no difficulty, should be experienced in securing men of the stamp and calibre of some of the Indians who have been appointed to high office in India itself. Finally, why ignore the fact that the Burman Executive Councillor and Minister will have the assistance of their official colleagues, and of a trained and presumably efficient Secretariat?

The controversy has now reached the final stage. Mr. Montagu announced in the House of Commons, on December 13, that, as there was a difference of opinion between the Secretary of State for India in Council and the Governments of India and Burma, it was not possible to exercise the notification powers under the Act. He has, however, undertaken to bring in a separate Bill for Burma next Session, and has once more stated that, despite all efforts to the contrary, no satisfactory constitution can be found which is not based upon similar lines to those granted to the Indian Provinces. It may be taken therefore that the principle of dyarchy will be applied; but the decision will rest with the new Standing Committee of both Houses, to whom the Bill will be referred, together with Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN BOYS OF THE BETTER OR UPPER CLASS FAMILIES

BY FATHER T. VANDER SCHUEREN, S.J.

It will be useful at the outset to set forth clearly the object and scope of this paper, together with its limitations. I do not mean to treat of education in general, but only of the education of such children as, by their birth and the position of their parents, are entitled to get the very best bringing up that can be supplied. I further limit myself to school education, embracing the years from the age of seven to the age of about seventeen. This corresponds to the education given in England in the Public Schools, and on the Continent in the College or *Athénée*. I mean to deal principally with the Indian boy and his education in the land of his birth. But a comparison with the education of the English boy belonging to the corresponding social class is likely to be useful, and a further comparison with the better-class Belgian boy and his education is likely to prove interesting.

The remarks set forth in this little study are based on a life experience in this special subject, as I have been connected with St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, for a period of thirty-two years.

Shane Leslie, an old Etonian, writes as follows in his book "The End of a Chapter": "It is bad taste at Eton to assume aught but a bored indifference to school work. Enthusiasm is reserved for games. To be too clever or intellectual is resented as un-English. About one boy in ten works his hardest and is nicknamed a 'sap,' since it is folly to be wise. Unless he is also athletic, he tends to become a social outcast. There is no modern side at Eton. Modern languages are a side-show. Science, irreverently called

'Stinks,' is taught rather like the accomplishment of drawing-room conjuring. The main studies are Latin and Greek : boys are served with daily rations of Latin and Greek that are seldom absorbed with pleasure and profit. Every week claims a copy of Latin verses, which to the ordinary boy is a maddening exercise in Chinese puzzlement."

If this picture be not overdrawn, and is, fundamentally at least, descriptive of the conditions existing in English public schools, the difference between the Belgian College or *Athénée* and the English Public School is very great indeed. In one sense, however, they are alike : the studies are essentially classical and literary and there is practically no modern side.

In the Belgian College, as in the English Public School, the classical course extends over six years—viz., the four grammar classes, followed by poetry and rhetoric classes. This division seems to be much more marked in Belgium than in England : in the grammar classes it is all grammar and grammatical exercises ; it is a constant grinding process upon which I cannot help looking back with a certain amount of awe. In poetry and rhetoric grammar books, with their attendant lessons and exercises, are completely dispensed with ; every exercise is one of original composition, and the classroom studies are of a purely literary character. I look back upon those years as a time which it would be a pleasure to live over again. The field was a vast one, embracing the great masterpieces in the four languages—Latin, Greek, French, and Flemish or Dutch. We literally lived in literature of the very best kind, brought home to us in the most effective way. While the immediate effect could not but be a marked degree of literary taste and refined scholarship, these were of necessity accompanied by a breadth of view and mental development eminently fitting the boy leaving school for any kind of University work or further study.

Before going out to India I spent nearly three years in England, where I had occasion to get acquainted with the English Public School system and to study and discuss its merits. With regard to the studies themselves, the thorough-

ness of the Belgian system was so much more marked that the successful rhetorician was undoubtedly in a position of decided superiority, and had secured a lead of one year, or rather of two years, over the successful English Public School boy at the same stage of their education. I was not slow, however, to see and to concede that this was but one view of the education problem, and that the English Public School system had brought out and developed other qualities of no mean order and importance, which certainly seemed very much less directly and efficiently cultivated in Belgium. The spirit of initiative, self-reliance, resourcefulness and energy in the field of action, more especially of action in emergency, qualities which are characteristically English and have been the great factors in the building up of England's world power, seemed to be far better suited to the loose-flowing moulds of the English Public School than to the rigid grinding mill of the Belgian College.

It may seem as if this comparative study of two national European systems of school education has very little bearing on the theme I have undertaken to treat, and as if I were wandering away from my subject at the very start. Such, however, is not the case. Events are moving fast in India, and the time is at hand when that country's children will be called upon to take the lead in shaping the destinies of this great Indian Empire. India must in future look less to the West for her statesmen and rulers. The men who fifteen, twenty, or thirty years hence will be called upon to take a prominent part, if not the predominant part, in guiding to prosperity and happiness an empire of 400 million people will have a task of greater importance and consequent responsibility than the task of the greatest living statesmen of the present day. These men are the Indian boys of to-day, and these boys, here as everywhere else in the world, are, in the first place, the sons of those fathers who are at the present time the highest expression of the best kind of national citizenship, the nobility of birth, talent, and wealth. It is with the school education of these boys that this paper deals. This education

must be absolutely the best that can possibly be had. It will not do to ape even the best type of Western school, or to transplant, as it were bodily, some of the houses of Eton from the smiling landscapes of the Thames valley to the parched banks of the Hooghly. Study the English Public School and find out what it achieves and where it fails, study the Belgian and French College or *Athénée*, study even the German Gymnasium (*jas est et ab hoste doceri*), and see what they achieve and where they fail. Study all these, not in a purely academic way, but in the light of the special characteristics, the special needs, the natural qualities of mind and heart of the best class of Indian boys, who are entitled to the very best education that can possibly be had. One thing for which I am prepared to answer is that the class of Indian boys whom I have in mind will supply material of the very best stamp, and in no respect inferior to the material upon which the European educator works. Pick out what is best in the English Public School, combine with it what is most effective in the Belgian system, complete it with what must be special to India, and you will produce something very good and very high, but none too high and none too good for the better-class Indian boy. This may appear flattery on my part. It is not; it is a statement made from conviction and for which I assume full responsibility. This will be made clear if, after comparing schools with schools, I now proceed to compare scholars with scholars, and the qualities and characteristics of the Indian boy with those of his Western schoolmates.

These characteristics differ greatly, and it would be unwise and courting failure to build up a system of education in which this difference is not taken into account, however perfect this system might appear as an abstract ideal.

First with regard to the mind. The Indian mind develops sooner than the European mind. I consider that the Indian boy at the age of ten, twelve, or fourteen is fully a year ahead of the English or Belgian boy with regard to mental development, quickness of perception and self-possession, and it would probably be nearer the mark to say that he is two years

ahead. There is, of course, an obvious advantage in this, but there is also a certain danger. It will not do at this stage to overload a young mind which seems capable of bearing so much and is generally eager to bear much, and to force, as it were, to ripeness a mind which is naturally ripening so rapidly. The end would be precocious maturity without full bloom, resulting in subsequent stunted growth and relative sterility. It has been stated that if the age limit for the Civil Service examination were fixed at twenty, the English candidate would have little chance against the Indian candidate ; that with the age limit at twenty-two or twenty-three their chances become equal ; while if the limit be raised further, the tables would be completely turned. If this be true, the fault lies at the door of the masters who have failed to control the growth of the plant entrusted to their care. A good twenty-five years ago I had in my class a Bengali boy who passed the Entrance or then Matriculation Examination at the age of fourteen, and secured 159 out of a maximum of 160 marks in the three branches of mathematics. I saw this abnormal development along one line at that age with no little alarm. I did all I could to check it, but unfortunately, as the boy was a day-scholar, I could not effectively control his home-work, and my warnings to him and to his parents went unheeded. He passed out of my hands and continued his studies, graduating at eighteen. At a great sacrifice to themselves, and against my advice, the parents then sent him to England. I knew he would achieve nothing further : the sap had already run out and staleness had set in. He returned a disappointed man, but happily not a ruined man, and he has been doing and is still doing good work in a humbler sphere. This is a striking instance, but by no means the only one. The Indian boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen requires especially careful handling, and for him I consider an outside examination at too early an age a danger from which serious harm may result.

If we now take the mind itself—i.e., its intimate natural constitution as manifesting itself in the special nature of the mental operations, the special lines along which these opera-

tions naturally move, the varying degrees of mental acumen, and the nature of the objects upon which this acumen is directed by instinctive preference, we shall find a great difference between the English, the Belgian, and the Indian school-boy. The distinctive characteristic of the English boy's mind seems to be its directness : he goes straight for the object and tackles it as it stands before his mental vision. He has a great respect for concrete fact, and he expresses himself best in action ; it is upon the field of action that he shines, that he is at his best. These are fine qualities, qualities which, as we know, make for success in life, for determined enterprise, for great achievement. The Belgian boy seems to have this quality of directness in a lesser degree, but his mind seems to be more inquisitive, less easily satisfied, more critical, more inclined to turn round the object presented to his mental vision to see what lies around it and lies at the back of it, and to exhaust the possibilities it may present for mental observation and disquisition. In a word, the mind is more theoretical, its operations are more purely intellectual, but it is less practical.

The Indian boy's mind, while being, perhaps, in a minor, but still in a fair, degree similar to the Belgian boy's mind, is nearly the antithesis of the English boy's mind. He has a great reverence for abstract truth, and the field of concrete fact only appeals to him as a stepping-stone to the field of abstract thought. His mind is highly imaginative and delights in subtleties. He is quite at home in mental speculations which are nearly inaccessible to his Western schoolmates.

It will, I dare say, be readily admitted that the education imparted to the young mind must be in the main in keeping with the nature of that mind. The mentalities are different, hence the system of education must be different. The British system of education suits the English boy, the Belgian system the Belgian boy, and a system of education must be evolved in India to suit the Indian boy. Take what is best and most effective in the Western systems, and in as much as they are adaptable adapt them to the East ; but these can only be accessories ; the essential and more substantial parts of the

Indian system must be Indian, and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind. To-day Indian boys are growing up, worshipping this great Motherland of theirs. These children of the soil will live their lives in this great land of their birth, and the India of fifteen, twenty, thirty years hence will in the main be what the Indian boys of to-day will make it. As time moves on, a constantly and steadily increasing measure of the prosperity and welfare of the Motherland must depend on the responsible share of her own children in working out her destinies. The closer the understanding between the governing and the governed, the better the government. The highest degree of this understanding will be obtained in India, not by merely grafting upon the Indian mind foreign methods of thought necessarily uncongenial and artificial, but by giving the fullest development to the indigenous plant of the soil. This must be borne in mind and adhered to in the planning of the Indian school system, mapping out the curriculum of studies, and defining the lines along which these are to be pursued. At the same time the lessons taught by the West must not be neglected. In this connection, however, it must be noted that education is imparted not only in the classroom. Much of the directness and precision, the grit and courage, the resourcefulness, the self-control, the tolerance, the magnanimity, which have built up the great British world-empire has been developed on the school playground. The value and importance of this playground education, so well understood in England, has become of late better realized outside England.

I was surprised—agreeably surprised, I may say—when I was in Belgium in the spring and summer of 1914 to see the general interest, or rather excitement, taken in the competition for the "Mercier Cup." The great Belgian Cardinal, who has since won the world's admiration and esteem by his noble and unflinching patriotism, and who was then known as a great educationist, had presented a challenge cup for inter-collegiate association football, and day after day the Belgian press contained full accounts of the progress of the

competition. In my school-days in Belgium football—or, indeed, any game played scientifically under a definite code of rules—was unknown, and the idea of school meeting school in a competition for a challenge trophy was undreamt of. The Indian boy, more than the Belgian boy, and very much more than the English boy, requires all the education the school playground can impart to him. By nature he is inclined to soar above the concrete and live in the higher regions of the abstract. On the playground the abstract has no room; it is all concrete and solid fact and, as it were, a dead level. I cannot conceive an Indian public school answering in any way to my ideal without the absolutely essential educational factor of organized playground training. In England school games might nearly be left to themselves; in India they must be organized, and the organization must be thorough and systematic. There must be a games master—a special master if need be, with real authority and influence over the boys, and realizing the importance of his educational duties.

The Indian boy, in my experience, is clever, prematurely clever, with a degree of self-possession far ahead of his age. He has a wonderful facility for mathematics, both pure and applied. In England the teaching of mathematics in the schools is essentially practical, in Belgium it is essentially theoretical; algebra is taught like geometry: it is all theories and theorems, with a discussion of the proofs with which they are established. It is a more purely intellectual study. The Indian boy excels in both. In the Entrance Classes which I taught in St. Xavier's I had generally about thirty to forty boys, sometimes more. Of these, about ten or twelve would be Indian boys, the rest being European or Anglo-Indian. In a competition in mathematics all the Indian boys would generally be in the first half of the class, while among the ten first boys in the class would be found no less than five or six or even more Indian boys. The Indian boy likes mathematics, and he brightens up when the hour comes that is devoted to this branch in the school curriculum. I have mentioned the case of the youngster (he was a mere little brat at the

time) who scored 159 out of 160 marks in mathematics at the Entrance Examination. He has since been eclipsed by other Indian boys, not, perhaps, in the percentage of marks scored, but certainly in the standard of knowledge reached. When the son of Mr. A. A. Ghaznavi, then a member of the Imperial Council, was in my Senior Cambridge Class some years ago, he could quite easily have taught mathematics in any Intermediate Science Class of the Calcutta University, and probably in the B.Sc. class as well. I do like a boy, even young, with a sound knowledge of mathematics, but I do not like a mathematical phenomenon. I have pointed out the danger : he requires very careful watching and guidance.

The Indian boy has, in my opinion, a marked facility for learning languages. I am perfectly satisfied that if the Indian boy were to be put through the grinding-mill of a Belgian College, as I have described it, he would hold his own with the best of his schoolmates. He would emerge from the Rhetoric Class with a knowledge of the classics and classic literature implying that the very best that can possibly be done in the line of mental development has been done with full success in his regard. Classical studies in the Western sense of the word cannot be said to exist in India. The little there is is limited, as a rule, to an imperfect grammatical study of Latin ; yet this little has been sufficient to tell me what the Indian boy could achieve if given the opportunity and a proper field for his talent. I could give striking instances in this respect. The late Harinath De joined St. Xavier's in the Preparatory Entrance Class labouring under the disadvantage of knowing nothing of Latin, which his class companions had already studied for four years. Before the end of the year he was the best boy of his class in Latin, and the following year, instead of submitting along with the other boys exercises in Latin translation, he asked as a favour, readily granted of course, to be allowed to submit original compositions in Latin in their stead. I was quite prepared to receive the news a few years later that he had been awarded the Gold Medal for Latin verse composition at Oxford University. Girendra Nath Basu, son

of the Honourable Bhupendra Nath Basu, joined St. Xavier's in the Entrance Class which I was teaching at that time. He had learnt no Latin so far, but was keen on learning it, although it meant preparing in one year an examination in that language which the other boys had already prepared for five years. Before the end of the year he was quite on a level with the best in the class, and he had no difficulty in securing first division marks in the Examination. In this connection I cannot help thinking with regret of opportunities lost, and of what could have been achieved by these and so many other Indian boys whom I have known. I am a very strong believer in the value of a thorough classical education as absolutely the soundest for the most perfect development of all that is best in the mind. Shane Leslie may write of Eton that the boys are served with daily rations of Latin and Greek that are seldom absorbed with pleasure or profit. They are absorbed with profit by the Belgian boy, and if served out to the Indian boy they would be absorbed with pleasure as well as with profit, and they are rations of absolutely the best food that can be administered to the mind.

In St. Xavier's the Indian schoolboy mixes on terms of the most perfect equality with his European and Anglo-Indian schoolmates. In the present stage of educational development I see many advantages in this. The sole medium of instruction is English, and in the classroom and out of it the only language spoken is English. The Indian boy, thrown into the midst of other boys who know no other language, soon acquires a familiarity with it which, with his natural facility and talent, rapidly removes whatever disability or disadvantage he may have at first experienced. It is a remarkable fact, in my own experience, that in every class I have taught in St. Xavier's some of the best English writers, with a knowledge of the language and a talent for literature far above the average, were Indian boys. The Tagore Gold Medal for English Composition, the most coveted of all the school prizes, has been carried off by Indian boys with a frequency not warranted by their numbers. There is in St. Xavier's a

Literary Society for the boys of the two upper classes of the school department. It has been in existence for thirty-five years. The upper class master is its president, while the vice-president, secretary, and committee are elected by the boys themselves. In my experience as president I have never had a committee to which one or more Indian boys had not been elected by their class companions, while on several occasions Indian boys received a more signal proof of the esteem in which they were held by their English companions by being elected to the post of secretary or vice-president.

It was always a labour of love to me, and a thing in which I took special delight to find out hidden or budding literary talent among the boys and to develop this talent along the lines which I saw to be best suited for such development. Some ten or twelve years ago I had in my class a young Indian boy named Syed Hosein. I saw he had a great taste for reading, and, as I detected in him an exceptional power of assimilation, I encouraged him to read and read much, and directed him in the choice of books. He soon acquired a vast amount of general knowledge and developed a remarkable facility in writing. He was, of course, the shining light of the Literary Society of the year. In season and out of season, I kept on repeating to him : "Journalism, my boy, is your line. Keep this before you and stick to it ; you will one day rise high in the profession." He was then about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and after passing the Entrance Examination he passed out of my hands and I lost sight of him. The next time I met him was in London at the end of 1914. He was then on the staff of one of the great London dailies—the *Standard*, I believe it was. The first question he put me was about the St. Xavier's Literary Society, and then he told me that with the help of Mr. Dip Naraian Singh, another of my old Indian students, who was at one time a member of the Bengal Council, he had established in London a Literary Society for the Indian students in residence there. It was modelled after the pattern of the St. Xavier's Society and was on the same lines. Syed Hosein has since returned to India,

where he holds at present the responsible and remunerative position of chief editor of the Allahabad *Independent* daily newspaper.

A few years later I saw manifest signs of marked literary talent in another Indian Entrance Class boy, H. Khundkar by name. The talent, however, was of a totally different description, and had to be drawn and coaxed out, as the boy was diffident and shy in putting himself forward. His quality was style, a finished style, a perfect expression in idiomatic English with a natural polish. I made him read books abounding in this kind of style to further cultivate it in himself, and I encouraged him to write frequently. He soon acquired a wonderfully pleasing style, in which every individual sentence was a setting of choice words and epithets nearly poetical in their musical cadence. It was fine, but evidently it was laborious, as it required a great amount of gentle persuasion and coaxing on my part to set him going. I urged him to write something nice for the Literary Society, and suggested a number of subjects which I knew would suit him. Days went by and weeks passed, but notwithstanding my frequent reminders he brought me nothing. At last one morning he brought me a rough copy written in pencil of a character sketch entitled "The Indian Dhole," the result of his overnight work. After examining it I returned it to him with the remark that it was much too long, too elaborate, and in parts wanting in terseness and grace. He was a boy of moods, I mean literary moods, and for several days did nothing, till one morning he brought me his second attempt on the same subject. I was pleased this time, and left it as it stood without changing one word in it. It was received with great applause at the next meeting of the Literary Society, and as the original composition of an Entrance Class boy of sixteen, it was given a place of honour in the College magazine. It may interest you, and I feel so confident that it will please you, that I give it as a kind of appendix to this paper, which I will read if time will allow me.

When I was teaching the Entrance Class, it was always a

matter of great regret to me that at the end of the year's work there was the Entrance Examination. I found the standard much too low, and the curriculum prescribed for it unsuitable in many points as not providing sufficient scope for the development the boys were capable of. On the other hand, an outside examination entails always a special responsibility for the master, who is expected to pass his boys and pass them well, while for the boys themselves there is a natural eagerness to distinguish themselves and fall victims for this purpose to the lure of the worst enemy of mental development—"cram." The struggles I have had against this enemy! I became inflexible the moment that I saw a fine talent was beginning to run waste in this direction. The cruellest deed I have done, perhaps, was one day to go over to a boy's home, some little time before the examination, and take away all his books to lock them up in my room. His parents looked on in awe, and the boy was loud in his protests and entreaties. Of course, at the examination he secured a first division, as I knew he would. An outside examination requires a period of special immediate preparation. I could not deny the boys this, but I always made it a point to keep them closely under my eyes during that period to direct and guide them, and, what was in many cases more important, especially with the Indian boys, to control and check them. As I have mentioned, I found the Entrance Examination standard much too low for the boys. To remedy this I taught them up to a much higher standard, on the principle *qui potest plus, potest et minus*. The result was quite satisfactory, and, as might be expected, the numbers in the first division were always exceptionally large. About 90 per cent. of all the candidates I have altogether presented for the examination were successful. I remember one year in particular when there was a slaughter of the innocents, because the standard in English had just been raised, and when only 7 per cent. of the candidates in the whole University were placed in the first division. That year I had presented 30 candidates, and 29 passed, of whom 12, or 40 per cent., secured a first division, while 15 were placed in the second. English

was the stumbling block on that occasion, and it is remarkable that every Indian boy I presented passed, and that among them no less than 71 per cent. obtained a first division. As showing how very far above the Entrance Examination standard my Entrance Class boys were, I may quote the instance of young Mohin Sinha, the son of Major Sinha, I.M.S., and nephew of Lord Sinha. He passed the Entrance Examination in Calcutta in March, went to England in May, and, with just a little more than a month's preparation at St. Paul's School, sat for the London University Matriculation in August, and obtained a first division. Young Mohin was my favourite pupil and perhaps the very best I have had, and it caused me great grief to learn that his brilliant career in Oxford University was cut short by an untimely death. His name lives in St. Xavier's, where an annual Mohin Sinha prize is given in his memory.

It would be a long list if I were to give the names of all the Indian students who have been my pupils, and whose career I am now watching with the well-founded confidence that they will do great things for India in time to come. I must, however, mention one of my latest pupils, Aswini Kumar Chandhuri, son of the Honourable Justice Sir Ashutosh Chandhuri of the Calcutta High Court. As a boy Aswini was from every point of view the delight of his master. I have since followed every step of his career at Oxford University, where he lived up fully to the highest hopes I had centred in him. He has just returned to the land of his birth, after having received at Oxford the degree of Doctor of Laws, the first Indian student, I believe, to achieve this distinction.

I conclude this part of my paper with a quotation so apt and so much to the point that it looks as if all I have said so far were only a development of it. The words were written more than eighty years ago by Sir Charles E. Trevelyan in his book on the Education of the People of India, published in London in 1838 and reproduced in the University Commission Report, vol. ii., p. 231. Sir Charles wrote: "The Bengali children seem to have their faculties developed sooner, and to

be quicker and more, self-possessed than English children. Even when the language of instruction is English, the English have no advantage over their native classfellows. As far as capability of acquiring knowledge is concerned, the native mind leaves nothing to be desired. The faculty of learning languages is particularly powerful in it."

To have at least a semblance of being complete, I must say something about the qualities of heart and their training, and the education of the will. I shall try to be short.

The Indian boy loves his master, respects and venerates him, has a perfectly childlike and complete confidence in him, and constantly seeks his company. The English as well as the Belgian boy realizes that he has to spend four or perhaps five hours a day with his master, forms an estimate of him based on his work in the classroom, and metes out his respect, esteem, and consideration, or otherwise, strictly in the measure of the estimate he has formed. Unless the English master be athletic and young at heart, joining the boys in their games and talking with them about cricket, football, and the rest, he is hardly ever what might be called popular, and out of class hours the boys will leave him severely alone, as too superior a person, and perhaps also a little on the principle of *procul a fove, procul a fulmine*. Not so the Indian boy. If he meets or sees his master outside the classroom, he seems to feel instinctively drawn towards him, with a persistency which is not always appreciated, unless the master himself have the true vocation. The reserve of the classroom, due to the externals of a master's authority, gives way to a natural "abandon" and a kind of filial familiarity in the intercourse between the Indian pupil and his master outside the school-room. It is something implanted by nature in the boy, but which does not die out with his boyhood. It is a special trait in the Indian character, love and reverence for the Guru, or teacher, respect for authority, loyalty to and veneration for the Raja, or ruler, and the best of every one of these feelings, amounting nearly to religious worship, for the great Maharaj, His Majesty the King-Emperor.

All this gives to the person in authority, to the teacher, a power and influence undreamt of in the West, and this brings me naturally to the training of character and the education of the will, the direct objects on which his power and influence must be exercised. The subject is so much more important in India as, together with extraordinary power in the master, you have an extraordinary degree of plasticity in the boy. Hand over to me an Indian boy at the age of seven or eight, and leave him entirely in my hands. After ten or twelve years I shall hand him back to you filled with knowledge, and clever—very clever—but at the same time I can hand him back to you either the best man you can wish to meet, or as consummate a scoundrel as ever entered a prison cell. Such is the plasticity of the Indian boy's character, and such the master's power to shape and mould it. Hence the importance of a graded course of moral development, along with a graded course of mental development. By developing the intellectual faculties you create power, but as fast as you create power you must train the moral faculties in order to create corresponding responsibility. There is no need of my enlarging on this subject. All I wanted to do was to point out its special importance in the case of Indian boys, and the consequent importance of having as masters men of the highest moral standing, able to give, and giving, the best moral training both in their teaching and by their example.

I am coming to the end of this paper, and the conclusion of it all is the urgent necessity of grappling with the important problem with which the paper has dealt. The obvious solution is the creation in the principal centres of India of boarding-schools in keeping, as much as possible, with the ideals set forth.

In these schools the studies must be serious, and the mental training supplied must be the best. Every point which counts in education must be attended to. The government of the school must be paternal, and the intercourse between staff and pupils must be close, constant, and familiar. Realizing the importance of their mission, the staff must be wholly devoted

to their work, which is to produce good men as well as clever men. This must be done by word of mouth and by example. This must be done in the classroom, on the playground, in the master's private room, in the headmaster or rector's sanctum.

For many years I have had such a school for Bengal in my thoughts—or was it, perhaps, in my dreams only?—a school for gentlemen, the sons of the foremost gentlemen in the land, cultivating whatever is noblest and most refined, whatever deserves to be called gentlemanly in the best sense of the word.

The problem is no doubt to a fair extent a problem for those to whom the destinies of India are at present entrusted, but it is essentially a problem to be solved in the main by the foremost citizens themselves. Let them bring to bear on its solution the broadest of views and the highest of ambitions, and they will never do too much or soar too high for the material which India can supply, and for the importance of the interests of that great country which are at stake.

APPENDIX

THE INDIAN DHOBIE

To a student of human nature the Indian dhobie proves a subject of deep and all absorbing interest.

He is a complex character, this knight of the tub. A born despot and able diplomatist, he is yet the humblest of men and greatest of pests.

In his ears there are rings, on his toes there are rings, and in his heart there is guile. His salaams are studied productions of humility, and yet against his devastations threat and remonstrance are alike useless. His shirt is as pure as the undriven snow, and yet *yours* seems ever to have special affinity for stains. His only possessions, as he is at great pains to inform you, amount to a large family, a small donkey, and a good character. The first of these misfortunes is to him a source of great affliction. Defunct mothers-in-law and bail-hunting sons require due attention and expense, while as to marriageable daughters their name is legion. You he considers in the light of his mother and father, and depends in consequence upon your generosity for such expenses.

The first wash brought home is all the heart could desire. It is needless to enlarge upon its merits. We have all experienced once in our lives the joy it gave us, a joy, alas ! too transient. Those, however, that follow in its wake are but a living example of "the light that failed." Beneath its smiling folded surface each garment begins to conceal a treacherous bosom, and destruction slow but steady creeps upon the wardrobe.

The dhobie is a stubborn believer in the virtues of ventilation. The inordinate zeal with which he practices its laws carries his deeds beyond the bounds of decency, and in the pursuit of this nefarious habit his views are as unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.

He considers, moreover, the duty of separating stains from clothes, or rather we should say of separating clothes from stains, as subordinate to the self-imposed task of separating buttons from clothes ; and if in this, now and then, he does not entirely succeed, well does it argue for buttons and thread, for it seems nothing short of cast iron and whipcord can withstand the patient exertions of this modern Milo.

Yet another pastime from which the Indian dhobie derives

exquisite satisfaction is the art of indelibly marking with hair-raising hieroglyphics each linen article on precisely the most prominent surface, so that all the world can gaze on it and wonder. When you hurriedly don your inexpressibles and discover them to be innocent of buttons, you feel annoyed; when you encircle your neck in a collar and perceive the button-hole has permanently withdrawn from service, you wax wroth; when you put on a shirt and find the front meet you with a vacant, toothless grin, or become painfully aware of a chill draught playing merrily beneath your arms, you begin to have a kindred feeling for the proverbial worm. But when in the open street a friend claps you on the back and, pointing to your collar, inquires gleefully what branch of the advertising line you have taken up, you feel like "Furor impius" when the portals of Janus refused him exit, and a great longing swells within your bosom, a longing to be for five minutes a bull in a china shop.

When confronted with the result of his iniquities and reviled for the baseness of his actions, the dhobie meets righteous indignation with a childish question: "Do I eat buttons?" With joined hands and bowed head, he will survive in humbled silence a torrent of vituperation; and then, calm and serene, he will rise amidst the ruins of misdirected eloquence and frame excuses and make promises with appalling verbosity, bringing the proceedings to a close with a whine for pice wherewithal to buy rice in order to fill his stomach.

The dhobie's most faithful slave and companion is a superannuated donkey. Being a creature of diminutive proportions, all that is visible of it when on duty are the four hoofs and the tail, this latter part of its anatomy serving the purpose of a guiding rein, by which the long-suffering quadruped is hauled around from street to street. The rest of the animal is all bundles. When off duty its four hoofs are tied together and it is left to its own sweet resources, the said resources being to find food. The food-finding propensities of this creature render it unique among its class. Every place, from a dry ditch to a newly metalled road, contributes to its appetite, and its field of diet is wide and varied; a decomposed cabbage it considers as a delicacy, and a discarded dish-cloth as a morsel not to be despised.

The dhobie seems to have a natural feeling of spite against his faithful beast. The process of loading is invariably accompanied with volleys of abuse and occasionally with blows. Sometimes "Balaam" shows fight, and then there is music—"Auld Lang Syne," with variations—the words, however, are highly original and altogether unprintable.

However far we peer into the distant future, which bears for India and its peoples great and mighty changes, where nations rise and empires totter to their fall, there yet stands ever before us one hoary survivor, one grisly relic among the crumbling ruins of orthodox ages. That relic is the dhobie. His origin is wrapped in the veil of ancient mythology, and his end will be with the end of things—the crack of doom.

His home is in a dirty tank. Here, up to his knees in stagnant water, he is supremely happy. Here, with a minimum of soap, a minimum of lather, and a maximum of ferocity, he wreaks vengeance for his wrongs, and seeks solace from the cares of the world in battering to bits the clothes entrusted to his tender mercy.

H. KHUNDKAR.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, October 25, 1920, at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper was read by Father T. Vander Schueren, S.J. (of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta), entitled: "The Education of Indian Boys of the Better or Upper Middle Class Families." The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen were present: Sir John C. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Lady Carmichael, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Drury, Miss Scatcherd, Mrs. Macleod, Mr. H. Das, Mr. S. Laharny, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Miss Rosanna Powell, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. F. M. Sayal, Mr. and Mrs. Blaise, Miss Cooper, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mrs. Reginald Carter, Mr. M. N. Asnodkar, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. M. C. Malik, Mr. H. R. James, Mrs. Collie, Mrs. White, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, General Chamier, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. J. P. Mukerji, Mr. T. C. Jones, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Mr. Leo de Muller, Mr. Sydney Loo-Nee, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. S. Tabor, Mrs. Underwood, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin, may I say in the first place that I have had a letter handed to me from Cardinal Bourne, who says:

"DEAR LORD CARMICHAEL,

"I am extremely obliged for the kind invitation to the meeting of the East India Association on Monday next. Unfortunately, I fear that it is impossible for me to be back in London in time to attend. I have been allowed to see Father Vander Schueren's very important paper, and I earnestly hope that, in the interest of the future of India and of the good of the Indian people, it may be possible to give practical effect to the high ideal that he so powerfully sets forth.

"Believe me,

"Yours very faithfully,

"FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,

"Abp. of Westminster."

I will now call upon Father Vander Schueren to read his paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether any of you wish to make any

remarks about Father Vander Schueren's paper. I hope some of you do, for it is a very interesting and important one." I listened to Father Vander Schueren with great interest. It is by no means the first time I have heard him speak, though I generally heard him speak in a somewhat different strain, at a prize-giving or something of that sort. I was, as most of you know, for a few years a dweller in Calcutta, where St. Xavier's College is, and while there I saw a good deal of St. Xavier's. I tried to learn what I could about education in Bengal, and I hope I learned, I won't say as much, but almost as much as a Governor could learn in that short time. Perhaps if my boyhood had been like that of an Indian boy I should have learned more. I admit that I was not at all like an Indian boy when I was small. My great desire always was to shirk my lessons. One doctrine which I held firmly was that one should never learn too much, or at any rate that one should never run the risk of cramming one's head with knowledge which might be unnecessary; I think I successfully practised that—at any rate, I know I am very sorry now that I did. I think many English and Scotch boys are like that. There is something, though, to be said for it, for honestly I think it is well for a boy to keep a bit in hand. Very often you learn a thing later on a great deal better than you could learn it when your master wants you to do. My experience, and I think Father Vander Schueren does not altogether disagree, is that the most valuable things you learn when you are a little boy at school are what you learn outside the classroom. No one will ever convince me that this is not true, and I say it now deliberately, because I do think that so far as I can see that is where the Indian boy does not get quite a fair chance. I do not think from what I saw of educational institutions in Bengal—of course, I only saw those which the Governor was allowed to see, and very few of those were anything but Government institutions—that Indian boys were given quite as good a chance outside the classrooms as English boys are given, and I will say further that I think more might be done for them than was done while I was Governor in that direction. More might be done in securing better masters. I did not blame the masters, but I often used to think that a master whose ideal is to be a schoolmaster might be a better master than one who is merely filling in his time while studying in hopes of becoming a lawyer of some sort. It certainly would be so in England, and I think perhaps it is so in any country. However, I will say this, Indians do make the best of a bad bargain: they use every opportunity we give them. That was my opinion as a Governor. I am sure they used the opportunities we gave them to the full. I only wish I could say I feel certain we gave them all the opportunities we might have given them. I say that speaking as an ex-Governor, but things are changing in India. Englishmen, even those who take an interest in India—they are not the majority, the usual Englishmen who take an interest in India—hardly realise how quickly that change will come about. I feel sure that the effect of reforms that have been passed, whether for good or evil—I think it will be for good—will show itself far more rapidly in the direction of giving ~~Indian~~ ^{Indian} management of Indian affairs than we are inclined to think.

(Hear, hear.) I say that mainly because I have been in a self-governing colony. I was a Governor in Australia, and I was often struck by what I heard about how rapidly—much more rapidly than people expected—change took place in the direction which I hope will be followed in India as the result of changes, not, of course, the same, but on analogous lines. Indians are not less ambitious than Australians. I do not think they are less anxious to do what they think is for their own good and for the good of their country, and I believe that the changes may be even more rapid than they were in the self-governing colonies; anyhow, I feel certain there will be a very great change soon.

One sentence which struck me in Father Vander Schueren's paper was at the very end, where he said that the problem is one for those to whom the destinies of India are at present entrusted. Perhaps he was thinking of English people, but it is essentially a problem to be solved in the main by the foremost citizens themselves, and I feel perfectly certain that it will not be very long before the persons to whom the destinies of India are entrusted are the foremost citizens of India. We cannot help that. I do not think we should want to help it. What we can do is to do our best to help those foremost citizens, and there is nothing to which I think they are more likely to try and help themselves than in education. I have ideas of my own about education in India—I am not going into them, I was not there nearly long enough, and I had not time when there to go deeply enough into many important points to enable me to speak with authority. It is for Indians to realize and make up their minds what sort of education they want. Father Vander Schueren says education in England is what suits England. I can tell him education in Scotland is rather different from English education. I suppose it is what suits Scotland. I was taught in England myself, though I am a Scotsman, but I do think there are some good points about Scottish education (Hear, hear) which would suit England if only England would adopt them. Speaking as a Scotsman, I am not sure that I am sorry England has not adopted them. Father Vander Schueren has pointed out the difference in Belgian education. He is a Belgian and he knows. He said Indian education must be such as suits India. It must be. And I think it is only Indians who can really judge what that is. I always felt that myself. I was surprised at some things that Indians used to tell me they required in their education. I often had arguments with Indians and I was often surprised at some points which they dwelt on as necessary. I am not sure that they were right, but they had made up their minds, and that being so, they must try to find the best kind of schools to suit their views. I think it is in the second part of the paper that Father Vander Schueren says that the schools must be for the foremost gentlemen of the land; he points out that education must be given to them to fit them for ruling their land. At first, at any rate, those who are likely to occupy high posts will be those who by good fortune in their birth—if you like to put it that way—are the sons of men who can afford to give them a good education. That is true. It may be regrettable, but it certainly is true, and, therefore, though I am one of those who think one of the greatest needs of India is a very widespread sound

elementary education, I do think that perhaps very excellent higher education is an even greater need. It is a greater need now than it was when I was in India. When I was there I did not think it more important than elementary education, but now, as the result of legislation which will come into effect directly, it seems to me that the greatest need of all is a thoroughly good education for those who, owing to the accident of their or their father's birth, will be in a position to lead Indians and carry out the destiny of their race. That is why the education of what I think Father Vander Schueren calls the better or upper-class families is of the utmost importance. I know that many of these so-called better and upper classes have different ideas from what I should have expected them to have about education. They seem to me to want to Westernize it more than I should, but they no doubt have good reasons; and at any rate I do think, if they are going to run their country politically on Western lines, as they seem deliberately to wish to run it—very likely perfectly rightly—if they are to run it effectively they must be able to see that the good points in Western government are carried out, and if the government is to be carried out well there must be between those who are governed and those who are governing a thorough understanding. If Indians are going to govern on Western lines they must know really what Western lines are. I confess I was surprised sometimes how little they seemed to appreciate that. Even the best educated Indians whom I met and discussed these matters with seemed to me strangely ignorant of some things. It was not their fault. It was the fault of their education. But they were strangely ignorant of some matters which practically every English boy knows. Even the greatest shirkers of school lessons, even boys like myself who never write more Latin verses than they can avoid, cannot help learning a great deal, not from their masters, but simply from what was going on round them, which the Indian never does learn, because he has lived under different circumstances. The Indian has been governed perhaps to too great an extent. Well, at any rate, those who governed him were trying to do their best, but they were men who had been brought up under perfectly different circumstances, and who looked at things from a totally different point of view.

But now one thing which Indians want is to see more Indians in high positions in the administration of Indian affairs. That was an object I set before myself, and I tried, I hope, as far as a Governor could try, to put Indians into positions of responsibility, but I could see there was one very real difficulty and one very sound reason for not always putting an Indian into a position one would have liked to have seen him put into—it was that when some difficulty arose, as it must arise in any country, if an officer made a mistake, as all officers, even the best, whether they are boys fresh from college or whether they are at the top of the tree; whether they are Governors with no experience of India, or men with great experience—they must make mistakes at times. Well, the real difficulty I always felt was to get in true touch with the person who had made the mistake. If an English officer makes a mistake, as they sometimes may, it is very easy for the Governor to send for that officer. He does not need to be

too down upon him, or get his members of council or his secretaries to rebuke the man too much if there has really been an honest mistake. He can say to the officer: "Look here, you have done this. Now, why did you do it?" An Englishman could generally explain to you why he did it very quickly, and you can easily explain to him why he was wrong, and can tell him: "Do not do it again;" it is possibly the fault of the Governor for not having understood his position. That is an easy thing to do, and I can tell you as a Governor I know that sort of thing is often done, more so than people think, although perhaps it might be done a little oftener.

But with an Indian officer it is more difficult. He does not understand the thing from the same point of view as you do, and it takes time probably to persuade him that you really want to understand his point of view. Mind you, I never found them shirk. They find it hard to believe you forgive them and that sort of thing; it is very difficult sometimes to persuade them that you do not think they have been so wrong as they think themselves have been, and that their mistake is due to circumstances which would equally have affected an Englishman. I often found it difficult to realize how important some things seem to Indians, and I have been very much struck by the frequency with which Indians have, I was going to say, almost begged me to consider well before putting them into positions of responsibility. I have been struck by that over and over again. I admire them for it. And I was struck, too, by the way in which some Indians realized that they had not exercised responsibility as well as they hoped and would have liked to do. I will say this for them, I can recall several cases in which they told me they did not think it would be fair to me as Governor that they should try to do what they feared they could not do well. I think that is very greatly to their credit. But the time has come when they will *have* to assume responsibility, and when they will have to make mistakes, even if they feel they are making them, and when they will have to be judged on their mistakes. It may not be so easy for them for a little time perhaps to get behind the ægis of the Governor as it is and as it has been in the past. (Hear, hear.) I know some of them realize that. As a matter of fact I was talking to one Indian gentleman in a very high position not very long ago who realizes it thoroughly, and who I know is convinced that India has no greater need at the present time than a thorough education for those young Indians who are likely to hold high positions and ought to hold them to fit them to do their best for their country.

Now the same thing applies, though in a different way, perhaps, to commercial matters. Rather a different education must be given to a great many Indians than is given now if they are to hold their own in worldwide commerce. I believe they could hold their own, I hope they will, but it will depend a great deal on their education. They will get the education that they want. We English or Scotch people must not thrust the education we like on to them. If we do we are sure to make mistakes. We have tried that too much in the past and we have made many mistakes. They will be much better judges than I am or any ordinary Governor, and I

think—though I shall probably be corrected—even than members of the I.C.S. can be as to what they require.

I remember all the discussions about the Hastings House School when I was in Calcutta. I do not know how far that has been a success; I know it has not realized all the hopes and expectations that some of my friends had for it, and I know that some of the fears which some of my friends and I myself entertained for it have been found somewhat real. But I do hope that something will be done quickly towards bringing about a real good school. And I will go farther and say that from what I know of him, Father Vander Schueren would not be at all a bad man to ask to help. I know, from my visits to St. Xavier's, what great interest he and those who have worked with him have always taken in their Indian boys. I know that in many schools, in all the best schools I went to, great interest is taken in Indian boys, but nowhere more than at St. Xavier's used it to be pointed out to me that pure Indian boys were showing qualities which contrasted well with English boys in the same school. I know what Father Vander Schueren thinks about that. I daresay he and I would not agree on many points, but I feel certain that if Indians would take my advice—I do not know why they should, but I hope that any who are interested in that question in Calcutta will at any rate consult Father Vander Schueren.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I hope there are some here who can talk with more experience than I can. We shall be pleased to hear any such lady or gentleman.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER said they had all been very much impressed by the eloquent lecture they had just listened to. He would not have ventured at his first visit to a meeting of the Association to offer any remarks except for the fact that in the matter of school education he happened to be in an intermediate position between the *laissez-faire* attitude which the noble lord told them he had adopted and the very strenuous attitude which was adopted towards education in those excellent institutions which the Jesuit Fathers controlled. He had had the good fortune to be educated for some years in one of those institutions, and he was therefore in a position to appreciate the admirable way in which rations of Greek and Latin were dispensed, though he could not say he had always swallowed them with pleasure or profit. He felt in a middle position between the two theories: the British theory of education in which the development of character came first, and book-learning had in the past been more or less looked down upon as the work of a "smug"; and the Continental theory, which perhaps placed undue stress upon instruction as apart from the development of character. As regarded India the problem, as the lecturer explained, was to find the happy mean between the two. Hitherto in India they had gone too much on the principle of imparting instruction and too little on that of the formation of character. But he was of opinion that if they had a multiplicity of institutions like St. Xavier's, controlled by men of the same high ideals and the same wide knowledge, they could look forward to the development of education in India on proper lines with great confidence. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately, at

present, there were few such schools. Nothing struck him more in the various parts of India where he had served than the extraordinary desire on the part of the higher classes, irrespective of race and religion, to send their children to the very best institutions, even though those institutions were controlled by Jesuit Fathers or nuns and by missions of various denominations. They felt that there, to some extent, the old Indian theory of the Guru and Chela was realized, and they felt that though the teachers were not of their race and religion they still stood for high moral qualities, and that those moral qualities were necessary for their children. It was therefore not a matter of wonder when in Hyderabad he found several of the leading nobles had sent their children to Bombay to be educated in the Jesuit school there. If they had a multiplicity of such schools run by men of the same type the problem of education would be much easier for India. The problem was one essentially to be solved by the Indians themselves, and, as the chairman had said, it was their duty to solve it in the right way. Some of them had looked with anxiety on the proposal in the reforms scheme to transfer all branches of education to Indian control, but Indian advanced opinion pressed strongly for it, and it would now be for Indians to justify the decision.

There was one type of institution which the lecturer had not referred to, which to some extent had solved the problem. He was referring to the Chiefs' Colleges. There were three or four of them in various parts of India chiefly engaged on the education of the children of the rulers or the aristocracy of the Native States. They had been organized by Government and were staffed by selected members of the educational service, but the ruling princes and the aristocracy took an important share in the management. He had seen a great deal of the products of Indian education in the schools and universities from all parts, and on the whole he thought those so-called Chiefs' Colleges had come nearer to solving the problem with regard to Indian education than any others. (Hear, hear.) They had been successful in his opinion because they approached in many respects the ideals of the English public schools. They all knew that education could not be solely imparted in the classroom; it must be imparted partly at home by the influence of the parents, which he feared in these days was steadily decreasing, partly in the schools, both by the teachers and the classmates, and partly and very largely outside the classroom in the playing-fields. In those Chiefs' Colleges many of the masters were men of the best English school type, men who had a love for education and for the boys, and who threw themselves heart and soul into understanding and developing the character of the boys. In his experience in many parts of India the best type of men were turned out by those institutions, and they had now succeeded in establishing a tradition, the lack of which was the most serious defect in most Indian schools.

One point he wished to make clear was that St. Xavier's was in the happy but exceptional position of being able to draw on the most talented students of Bengal, and was therefore able to produce excellent results which could not be looked for generally. But though the aristocracy of talent collected in St. Xavier's was perhaps greater than in any other

institution in India there were two features observable at St. Xavier's but also common to India generally—namely, a universal desire among Indian parents to do the best possible for their children, and the eagerness of the Indian boy to make the best use of the opportunities which were given to him. Those two conditions were to be found everywhere in India, and the great question was how best to satisfy those conditions—how to provide the best machinery for getting the best out of the boys. That was a problem the future had to solve. Indian schools generally had certainly so far failed to solve it. Education was not a profession which had been looked up to, but a great deal had been done of late to improve the service. The responsibility was now to be thrown upon the Indians themselves, because education was a transferred subject which would be within the purview of an Indian Minister responsible to the new Councils. He hoped the result of the increasing responsibility which was to be thrown on the Indians would ensure the results they all desired—namely, to set up in India a series of institutions similar to St. Xavier's and the Chiefs' Colleges, which would be staffed by men with a love for their work and a desire to do the best for their pupils and to turn them out worthy sons of India and worthy citizens of the Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Professor BICKERION briefly described the magnificent work that was being done in India by Captain Petavel in the way of self-supporting schools, and pointed out that the system of co-operation on a large scale was exceedingly successful. He heartily agreed with all the lecturer said as to the difference between the various systems of school education and in the characters of the boys of different nations. He was brought up in an English Grammar School and had been science master at Winchester, and he knew the lecturer's descriptions were quite true, but in Captain Petavel's system they had at once a method of outdoor work which led to enthusiasm, and above all overcame the difficulties of the caste system.

Mr. M. C. MALIK, in thanking the lecturer for his very excellent paper, said that nearly forty years ago he had the pleasure of advising his friends to send their boys to St. Xavier's, and since then many boys of the families to which he belonged had been to St. Xavier's. The subject was a very interesting one, and the problem of Indian education was a difficult one to solve under the present conditions. First of all there must be sympathy between the teacher and the pupil, and the teachers of St. Xavier's were known to provide that sort of teaching. That was the reason why so many boys there distinguished themselves. The education required for India ought to be a blend of the higher thought of both India and England, but until they secured teachers who possessed that higher thought he did not think the teaching in India would be efficient. An Indian teacher ought to be in the position of being like a father to his boy; if he was not, then he could not have a proper influence over his pupils.

In conclusion he said he had great pleasure in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Father Vander Schueren for his splendid lecture, and hoped that all teachers in Indian schools and colleges would be imbued with the same sympathy and affection for their pupils as the reverend lecturer was.

Mr. COLDESTREAM said he had much pleasure in seconding the vote of

of thanks to the lecturer for his very entertaining and suggestive lecture, and he also wished to include in it his thanks to the noble lord who had so kindly presided over their meeting.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: For my part, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you.

The LECTURER, in replying, said that with regard to the remarks made about his paper he gathered there was very little criticism and much praise, and it only remained for him to thank them all. He was especially grateful to Sir Michael O'Dwyer for his remarks, which showed a great knowledge of the matter, and he agreed with every point he had made, because he recognized the excellent efforts he had made in regard to education for the upper classes. He would shortly be returning to India, where he hoped to continue his work for the good of the Indian people until his dying day (Hear, hear), and would do all he could to work on the lines as detailed in his paper. He had been thirty-six years in India—for thirty years without putting his foot out of it—and if he were to die before getting back to India he was sure there would be great trouble with his bones, because they would never rest in peace anywhere unless in that great beloved land of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

Mr. H. R. James, Indian Educational Service (retired), writes:

Father Vander Scheuren's subject is so important, and his paper so valuable, that, perhaps, I may be allowed to write one or two things about it, which I did not find opportunity of saying at the lecture.

The very title of the paper is challenging, for in this country one is not ordinarily now permitted to speak of "upper class," still less of "better class," education, nor are we always free to hold up the public schools as models for imitation. *The Times* Supplement had lately an article on "Public Schools for All," and this straightway provoked the protest from more than one correspondent that the public schools were nurseries of class prejudice and forcing-houses of snobbery. But in India, at any rate, there are still "upper classes" by common consent, and Father Vander Scheuren is quite right in directing thought to schools specially adapted to boys of those classes. For it is indeed an important subject at the present time—important beyond expression. "In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and the rest, and in her schools, lies, without doubt, the hope of modern India; for in proportion as they can extend the spirit of toleration, of co-operation, and sound patriotism among her sons of different cultures and faiths, will India be fit for the new era which is about to commence."* Father Vander Scheuren has done a great service to the Association by bringing the subject before them for discussion.

But Father Vander Scheuren would himself readily admit that he has only stated the problem—not solved it. We agree that it is of the utmost immediate importance to establish in India the best possible kind of

* *Calcutta Review* for July, article by E. F. Qaten on "England's Indian Policy."

schools for the boys Father Vander Scheuren has in mind. But how is it to be done?—"Hic opus, hic labor est." For it is a very difficult thing to do. Fathers have to be persuaded that the schools we propose really are the best for their sons, and they very rightly have the chief say in the matter. Greater expenditure is involved, and where is the money to come from?

The proposal of such schools is not, of course, a new one, though Father Vander Scheuren puts it with freshness. Others have dreamt dreams like his. In particular, there was Sir Andrew Fraser's Ranchi scheme, the vision of a place of education on an Indian upland that should be all that free air, and space, and money, and enthusiasm could make it. The eyes that saw that vision most clearly were closed for ever among the hills in sight of Jerusalem three years ago.* There is Sir Rabindranath Tagore's wonderful experiment—no, not experiment—achievement at Bolpur. At Bolpur assuredly the essential and more substantial parts of the system are "Indian and suited by their nature to the nature of the Indian mind." "It is a boarding school for boys," says the Report of the Sadler Commission of Bolpur, "situated on a rolling upland in open country, and combining in its course of training and methods of discipline Indian traditions with ideas from the West." Is Bolpur the solution of Father Vander Scheuren's problem? And, if not, how is it to be done?

I suggest as a small contribution to a very large subject, that we should begin by making the most of what we have. And happily, when we inquire carefully, we find we have a good deal. There are the Chiefs' Colleges, of which Sir Michael O'Dwyer spoke. These do undoubtedly attempt the task already, and with considerable success. There is the work done by St. Xavier's and other schools of a like kind; there is even peculiar virtue in Indian boys associating at schools with boys who are European and Christian. No one who has listened to Father Vander Scheuren needs assuring that a sound education is offered to Indian boys of the upper classes at St. Xavier's, Calcutta. There are several schools in Calcutta under private management which reach a fair standard. The Calcutta University Commission's Report gives an account of some of these—you find it in the eighth chapter of the Report. There are the two Government schools in Calcutta, with a hundred years of tradition. These have been connected from generation to generation with some of the leading families in Bengal. Their right to be counted schools for better-class families cannot be disputed. You will find evidence in the chapter of the Sadler Commission's Report already referred to. These too reach a fair standard. If a wise liberality were exercised in their regard, instead of a dubious frugality, they would reach a higher. There are throughout India many excellent Zilla schools also well worth developing—and on public school lines, boarding-houses and all. An experiment of the kind was made at Ranchi between 1906 and 1912. It is well to keep in mind in this connection a criticism made in the Dacca Report of 1912: "There can be no question that Bengal has suffered

* Charles Russell of the Indian Educational Service.

from the failure on the part of the upper classes to take their proper share in the educational systems^a of the country."

A discussion on this subject should certainly not ignore the recent contribution to its solution of the Calcutta University Commission. Their main suggestion is the proposal of new institutions, to be called Intermediate colleges, in which school education should be completed. I confess I am somewhat shy of Intermediate colleges. They are too much like the Second Grade college, which was long ago found wanting. But the Commission recognize two other possibilities. One is for a new type of institution, consisting of the two highest classes of high schools of the present type, combined with the two classes of the Intermediate college. This is Mr. Garfield Williams' proposal, and is to my mind better than the two years' course of the Intermediate college. But better than either is the other alternative which would effectually give India a new and higher type of "public school." It is to take selected schools, public and private, of the present High English School type, and add to them two more advanced classes, so bringing the school-leaving age to seventeen or eighteen. This would, I conceive, be in a true sense, making the most of what we have by enlarging it into something higher and better. I know it could be done with many existing schools—including the Calcutta, Hindu and Hare Schools—with which for some years I was closely associated. It could be done, at any rate, on one condition. Boys now enter these schools as young as seven or eight years of age. If ten were made the lowest limit of age, the difficulty of accommodation at these schools could to a great extent be met. The rest would be mainly a problem of staff—a difficult and most important problem, but not, I think, insuperable.

In support of such a new type of school, which might be called in a new sense a "collegiate school," I can take a parting shot from the arsenal of the Calcutta University Commission's Report. They say: "The boys would be kept under the same direction long enough to render possible the creation of a real corporate spirit, and the exercise of a strong influence on mind and character." This seems to me the most important consideration of all—the value of the school as an institution. It is implied, I think, throughout Father Vander Scheuren's paper, but I could wish it brought out more explicitly. The school must be on such a scale, and so organized, that it can impress the mind and the imagination of the boy as something fine and great, for the sake of which he is to do and to be his best. In the school, if it is to fulfil the demands of the present hour, we must teach respect for law and zeal for the common good. The boy must learn there to live and work for something higher and more inspiring than self-interest. The hope is that loyalty to the school may lead on to the larger loyalties—loyalty to the State and nation, loyalty to the cause of mankind.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN INDIA *

By J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

Professor at the University of Leiden; late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India

THERE is, I believe, no sphere of the present Indian Administration in which it enjoys a greater and wider sympathy than in its care of the ancient monuments of the country. It is possible that I am inclined to attach to this branch of service, to which I myself belonged for thirteen years, too great an importance. But let me remind you that the ancient monuments, which lie scattered in such numbers over the wide lands of India, have, with only a few exceptions, this feature in common, that they one and all bear a religious character; and, if we consider how in India religious consciousness still pervades every thought and action, we cannot but understand how great must be the appreciation which the Government's care of the old temples and topes, mosques and mausoleums, wins amongst the mass of the population, when every religious community sees its own sanctuaries protected and preserved with an impartial care.

The care of the monuments in India undoubtedly has a high political value, and on this account it has surprised me sometimes to find this ignored by officials who, although they might not personally take any interest in old buildings, should at least have perceived that merely from a practical point of view it ought to be promoted. To such people it may at any rate be pointed out that it is the ancient monuments which draw numerous tourists to India every cold season, thus constituting a valuable source of income—an argument

* An address delivered at a meeting of the Indian Society (Indisch Genootschap) of The Hague, November 14, 1916. Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed.

which cannot fail to make an impression upon those who convert all values into pounds, shillings and pence.

Fortunately, let me hasten to add, amongst the Indian officials such Philistines are exceptional. As a rule the members of the Civil Service fully acknowledge the importance of the preservation of the monuments, not so much from the practical point of view as for its ideal significance. Indeed, in the course of my work in India it was very rarely that I did not find them warmly interested and ready with their assistance. I may add, too, that the Indian Civil Service has produced several distinguished scholars who in the field of Indian archæology have accomplished excellent work. Among such men I need only mention Dr. J. F. Fleet, who takes a prominent place amongst epigraphists, as shown by his standard work on the inscriptions of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and Mr. Vincent A. Smith who has produced numerous reliable works on the subject of the political and æsthetic history of ancient India.

It is a remarkable fact that in India, where such great respect is felt for everything ancient, the scientific study of the old monuments was first begun by European scholars. The inscriptions of King Asoka and of the Gupta Emperors, which even to the most learned Pandit were an unsolvable riddle, were deciphered by James Prinsep and others. The ancient buildings were first studied and described by James Fergusson. In this way interest was aroused both in India and in Europe, but at that time there was as yet no question of the regular care of monuments.

In the first half of the previous century it was especially the Asiatic Society, founded in 1784 by Sir William Jones

There are, however, isolated cases of the restoration of important buildings, amongst others of the celebrated Qutb Minār near Delhi in 1829—that is, during the “rule” of the Great-Mogul Akbar II. (1806–1837). An account of this not very judicious restoration is found in a rare and little-known publication, the *Journal of the Archæological Society of Delhi*. It should also be mentioned that as early as the fourteenth century the enlightened Sultan Firōz Shāh Tughlaq (1351–1388) set himself the task of restoring the great buildings of his predecessors—a remarkable and probably unique example of monument preservation in the pre-British period!

80 *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India*

at Calcutta, which led scientific research into archaeological channels. At that time such research was not considered to be a matter for the Government. A change, however, came a little later, with the appointment of Colonel (afterwards General) Alexander Cunningham, R.E., who had already distinguished himself as a member of the Asiatic Society, to the post of Archaeological Surveyor—that is to say, to control archaeological investigation on behalf of the Government. It was in 1862, under the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning, that the institution of the Archaeological Survey of India took place.*

It would have been difficult to find a better head for this new branch of the public service (for the present he was head and body at the same time). Numbers of ancient sites in Northern India were examined and identified by him. In ancient topography, in particular, he possessed an insight that amounted to positive genius. It was my privilege, more than once in the course of my researches, to be able to demonstrate the correctness of his conclusions, which his critics had called into question. The results of Cunningham's untiring labour in almost every field of Indian archaeology—epigraphy, numismatics, architecture and sculpture, chronology and history—are to be found in the imposing row of twenty-three volumes which form the first series of the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, to which Vincent Smith added, as the twenty-fourth volume, an extensive index.

With the preservation of the ancient monuments Sir Alexander Cunningham was not entrusted. In his reports he repeatedly mentions cases of vandalism committed upon old monuments, or the plundering of ancient sites on a

* According to a note by the architect William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archaeological Survey of India owes its origin.

After the new Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, had abolished the office of Archaeological Surveyor in 1866, in June, 1870, the Archaeological Service was re-established at the special request of the Secretary of State for India, and Cunningham was again appointed chief, with the designation of "Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India."

large scale, especially in connection with the construction of railways. As an archæologist he must have felt deeply grieved, but he regarded it, perhaps, as a fatality, which it was useless to strive against. I am not aware, at any rate, that he ever suggested any means of combating the natural decay or wilful destruction of the monuments, except so far that sculptures and inscriptions were collected by him in great numbers and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In this way the nucleus was formed of the magnificent archæological collection preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

Among other treasures, Cunningham removed the profusely sculptured railing of the Bharhut Stūpa to the Calcutta Museum, after those priceless sculptures had—alas!—received irreparable damage at the hands of the neighbouring villagers. But the immovable monuments—that is, the buildings themselves—remained abandoned to their fate. Even those which Cunningham discovered in his excavations usually soon fell a prey to the greed of the villagers, unless they were protected by the sanctity of the spot.

This was the case, for instance, at Kasiā, where Cunningham, led by his brilliant power of combination, recognized in a heap of rubbish, overgrown by brushwood, the site of the ancient park of Kusinārā, which had witnessed Buddha's Nirvāna. His brilliant hypothesis was confirmed when his assistant, A. C. L. Carlleyle, at the outset of his excavations on the spot, struck a gigantic image of the dying Buddha—the same image that had been seen there and described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century. Thus was the Nirvāna temple of Kusinārā, once one of the four most holy pilgrim shrines of the Buddhists, after centuries of oblivion, again discovered and restored to honour.

* There are now museums containing important archæological departments in Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Quetta, Nāgpur, and Rangoon, while there are purely archæological museums in Delhi, Agra, ~~Muttra~~ (Mathurā), Taxila, Peshāwar, Ajmir, Sarnāth (near Benares), Faizabad, Bijapur, Poonah, Mandalay, and Pagan, besides those found in various Native States. The museums I have mentioned are in charge of the officers of the Archæological Survey.

82 *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India*

"Restored" also in the literal sense, for Carlleyle deemed it necessary to repair both the image and the temple in which it was enshrined. Although this restoration is not faultless in all respects, Carlleyle rendered a great service by it to the faithful, who now, as in the days of yore, come from all quarters of the Buddhistic world to do honour to the venerable image of the dying Buddha.

This is, therefore, one of the few cases in which the Archaeological Survey, under Cunningham's leadership, occupied itself with restoration work. Another even more important case which deserves mention is that of the Mahābodhi temple at Bôdh Gayā, which, according to earliest Buddhist tradition, marks the pre-eminently sacred spot where Sākya-muni experienced the great spiritual awakening which made him "the Awakened," the Buddha.

Beyond these solitary exceptions, Cunningham, as has been said, did not occupy himself with the preservation or restoration of monuments. In fact, it may well be said that the archaeological investigations, so vigorously undertaken by him and his assistants, greatly encouraged the hunt for antiquities and the consequent despoiling of ancient structures. Buddhist stūpas which for centuries had remained undisturbed, now that it had become known that they often contained gold coins, gems, or other valuables, were opened and ruthlessly despoiled. For the sake of their problematic contents, the sacred monuments were all too often irrevocably damaged, and thereby the most precious of all, the relic that the pious Buddhist, centuries ago, had carefully enshrined in the heart of the structure, not seldom disappeared.*

* Even before Cunningham's time numerous stūpas were ~~plundered~~ and destroyed. One of the first cases which has come to our notice is that of the ancient stūpa of Sārnāth, near Benares, which, in 1794, was demolished for its building material by Jagat Singh, the minister of Raja Chet Singh of Benares. The reliquary was rescued by the British Resident, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, and presented to the Asiatic Society.

Somewhat later the stūpas of Afghanistan were systematically "opened" by the English traveller Masson, while in the Panjāb it was especially the French and Italian Generals in the service of the Sikh King Ranjit Singh who carried out archaeological "investigations" in a manner not exactly scientific.

The discovery of so-called Græco-Buddhist sculpture (that is, Buddhist sculpture created under strong Hellenistic influence) in the trans-Indus country—the ancient Gandhāra—led to the plundering of the ruined monasteries, in which the Afghan population of the district took an active part. The fanatical Pathans, always so eager for the spoiling and destruction of idols, soon perceived that the unearthing and selling of such “buts” (every old piece of sculpture is in their eyes a “but” or idol!) was in the long run a more profitable occupation.

And it was not only in the outlying frontier districts that neglect and destruction of ancient monuments was the order. In the great centres, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, and Allahabad—once the residencies of the art-loving Great-Moguls—another kind of vandalism was practised, which might be called utilitarian. For there the magnificent palaces of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh-jahān, and even the mausoleums of their Amirs, were used for various highly useful but highly unsuitable purposes.

In Lahore, the capital of the Panjāb, we have seen remarkable instances. The Pearl Mosque, or Moti Masjid, in the Citadel was used as a treasury, and another mosque, founded by the foster-mother of Shāh-jahān, as an office of the North-Western Railway. Moreover, various sepulchres were misused for practical purposes, amongst others, the tomb of Jahāngīr's favourite, Anār-Kali, was first used as a church and later as a record room. In the same way the Sleeping Pavilion of Shāh-jahān in the Lahore Fort was turned into a church, and the open throne-room of the Great-Moguls into a barrack. It is only fair to add that the abuse of these Muhammadan buildings in the great majority of cases had already been begun by the Sikhs, and that, thanks to the exertions of Lord Curzon, the most important of these edifices have now been vacated and thrown open to the public.

In the same way, after the suppression of the Mutiny in 1857, the palace of the Great-Moguls in Delhi—its ancient glory can still be read of in the pages of François Bernier—

84 *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India*

was consigned to the housing of the British garrison. Only the large buildings, that could serve for the accommodation of officers and men, were left standing; the rest was demolished. James Fergusson is bitterly indignant over this deed, "a deliberate act of unnecessary vandalism, most discreditable to all concerned in it."

As late as 1886 the distinguished French savant, James Darmesteter,* wrote: "Les débris du fort, où étincelaient le Trône d'Or et le Trône du Paon, sont transformés en casernes. Le Divan public, où le Grand-Mogul recevait les ambassades de Jacques I^{er} et de Louis XIV., est une cantine, et le mur où s'appuyait le trône porte le prix des consommations."

"O Aurang-zeb ! vous souvient-il des vers que, il y a deux siècles, au bord de la Joumna, vous traciez en lettres d'or sur le marbre du Divan Hass ?

"Si le paradis est sur terre, c'est ici ! c'est ici ! c'est ici !"

At the time when these words were written a better spirit had already arisen. It was the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, who took the initiative in 1880 by instituting the office of "Curator of Ancient Monuments," which was held for three years by Major H. H. Cole, R.E. A complete idea of his extensive labour can be gained from his copiously illustrated publications. Special mention should be made of his restoration of ~~the~~ famous Buddhist stūpa of Sānchi, with its stone railing and four profusely sculptured gates or "tōranas"—next to that at Bharhut, already mentioned, the most ancient structure of its kind. In the beginning of the last century, shortly after the stūpa (or "tope") of Sānchi was discovered, English amateurs had damaged the building in such ruthless fashion that the gateway facing the west had completely collapsed. Major Cole set himself the task of closing the disgracefully opened stūpa and rebuilding the western

* James Darmesteter, "Lettres sur l'Inde," p. 15. It may parenthetically be noted, that the writer erroneously associates the Persian verse quoted (*Agar jirdaus ba rā-e-samin ast, Hamin ast to, Hamin ast to, Hamin ast*) with Aurang-zeb. As a matter of fact, the Divān-i-khāss, like the whole palace of Delhi, was built by order of his father, Shāh-jahān.

tōraṇa. The southern gate also called for repair. This restoration was not carried out with the care and knowledge which a work of this kind demands. Some portions of the western gate have been wrongly replaced, others were left behind among the débris. At the same time we should be thankful that this remarkable monument now reigns again in its ancient glory, on the hill of Sānchi, and is preserved from the fate of its sister monument of Bharhut.

Another important work of restoration executed under the guidance of Major Cole concerned the mausoleum of the Great-Mogul Jahāngīr, not far from Lahore. Here, too, there is evidence of errors against historical truth and good taste. If the Curator of Ancient Monuments, in addition to his undoubted energy and enthusiasm, had possessed a greater amount of antiquarian knowledge, his work would certainly have gained by it.

This seems to have been felt in Government circles too. At any rate, the newly created post was not renewed, and two years after Major Cole's retirement it was decided to entrust the care of ancient monuments to the Archæological Survey, which, as we saw, had until then devoted itself exclusively to research. The new arrangement was accompanied by important alterations in this branch of the service. In 1885 General Cunningham had retired as head of the Archæological Survey; his successor was Dr. James Burgess, who had for some years carried on archæological investigations in Southern India (the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras). The enormous territory over which he was now appointed as Director-General of Archæology for the whole of India was divided into five circles, each including one or

* A. Foucher, "La Porte orientale de Sanchi" (*Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation du Musée Guimet*, tome xxxiv., pp. 5 *et seq.* Paris, 1920). The writer reminds us that in 1867-68 the Muhammedan Queen of Bhopal, in whose kingdom Sānchi is situated, was on the point of sending the whole eastern gate to Paris as a present to the Emperor Napoleon III. This act of vandalism was fortunately prevented by the intervention of the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, and later, in 1869, complete casts were made of this gate, at the cost of the Indian Government, which may now be seen in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, and Berlin.

86 *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India*

more provinces. There were Madras, Bombay, the Panjāb (with Sind and Rajputana), the North-West Provinces (with Central India and the Central Provinces), and Bengal (with Assam). For each of the five circles an Archæological Surveyor was to be appointed. As a matter of fact, only three surveyors were appointed—viz., for the Panjāb, the North-West Provinces, and Bengal—while Dr. Burgess continued to conduct the researches in Bombay and Madras, with the help of two assistants. He only held the post of Director-General for a few years, till 1889, and during that period he occupied himself almost exclusively with exploration, which appealed most to his scholarly tastes.

After Burgess had gone home in 1889, the office of Director-General was left vacant. There happened to be one of the periodical fits of retrenchment, and of course such a service as the Archæological Survey, which was looked upon by some as "a mere luxury," was the first to suffer. Thus, not only the post of Director-General was left unfilled, but also some of the by no means liberally paid surveyor's places—viz., that in Bengal, Burma, and the Panjāb. Moreover, there still reigned in Government circles the strange idea that the work of the Archæological Survey as regards the care of monuments (which had gradually become the most important part) would only be of a temporary character. The task should be confined to the compiling of lists of monuments for each province separately. In these lists the monuments were to be divided into three classes, and, when this were once completed, the conservation of them could be handed over to the Department of Public Works and the Archæological Survey could be abolished. Accordingly, in 1885, it was sanctioned on the new footing for five years, and each time, in 1890, 1895, and 1900, it was renewed for five years, as it constantly appeared that its appointed task had not yet been accomplished.

Of the difficulties encountered during these years I need not go into detail. Let me rather give you the name of the man to whom it is due that better days have dawned. It

is Lord Curzon whose undying honour it is, as Viceroy of India, to have firmly established the Archæological Service and to have regulated the preservation of monuments in an efficient manner. A few weeks after he landed in India, February 1, 1899, the Viceroy declared at a meeting of the Asiatic Society that he regarded the promotion of archæological research and the preservation of the ancient monuments as "a part of our Imperial obligation to India." A year later, at the next annual meeting of the same Society, Lord Curzon in a comprehensive address explained with great eloquence how he wished to interpret the task of the Government with regard to the interests above mentioned. I wish that I had space to quote the whole of this brilliant speech. Let me be permitted to quote a few passages.

"I hope" (thus the Viceroy began his address), "that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect to ancient buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days, when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independent study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology, which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

"In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners as well as

to our contemporaries and to our descendants—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if, indeed, any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries."

And a little further:

"If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of mankind.

"To us the relics of Hindu and Mahommedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid and the other a weaker emotion. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power."

With regard to the claims of "research" and "preservation" to support from the Government he remarks:

"Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronize the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judg-

ment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample."

"For my part" (thus Lord Curzon ends his address), "I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do."

"I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archæological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the taxpayers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archæological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge."

In accordance with Lord Curzon's views it was agreed that in the Indian Budget a yearly sum of a lakh of Rupees (Rs. 100,000, or £6,666) should be reserved for archæology. This sum by no means represents the entire amount expended by the Government in archæological interests. It is, more-

over, the provincial Governments principally that must care for these interests and supply them with funds, and of these the amount varies greatly. The lakh yearly devoted by the supreme Government in its Budget serves for the support of all manner of work of special importance, both in British India and in the Native States—for excavation, research journeys, purchases for museums, publications, etc.

A second measure of great importance was the re-establishment of the office of Director-General of Archaeology, which, since the retirement of Dr. Burgess, had practically ceased to exist. Before the end of the year 1901, in which the Viceroy had delivered his Calcutta speech, Mr. J. H. Marshall was appointed Director-General for a term of five years. In the early spring of 1902 he landed in India.

The appointment of Mr. Marshall was received with some suspicion, especially on the part of Orientalists. For he was a youthful scholar, who had devoted himself with great distinction to classic archaeology, had studied some time at the British School in Athens, and also taken part in excavations in Crete, but who had never had occasion to occupy himself with the study of Oriental languages.

The objections raised to Marshall's appointment would have been more serious if he had been called upon to devote himself alone and single-handed to scientific research, as had been the case with his great predecessor, Sir Alexander Cunningham, who, as a matter of fact, had also gained his knowledge of ancient India and Indian languages in India itself. The newly-appointed functionary, however, was given the charge, both of research and of the conservation of monuments, and for the present the latter, the shamefully neglected conservation, was put first. The Director-Generalship was now, therefore, an entirely different thing to what it had been.

The new functionary needed to be not only a scholar, but, above all, a man of judgment and good taste. As adviser to the Indian Government, as head of a Government Department and of an extensive office, he must be, moreover, a man of tact and of prestige, capable of combining the greatly

divergent elements, within and without his own department, in harmonious co-operation.

Let me say at once that Sir John Marshall (for he, too, received a knighthood a few years ago) proved to be "the right man in the right place." He reorganized and extended the Archæological Survey, and, what was of particular importance, before Lord Curzon retired from office the service was made permanent.

The new Director-General succeeded in improving and developing both the conservation of monuments and archæological research. In the first part of his task he showed himself to be a man of good taste and sound judgment; in the second part a man of great intelligence and extensive knowledge. His particular merit is that in his excavations he applied the strict scientific methods that he had acquired in Crete.

The results of the work done by the Archæological Survey under Marshall's guidance are laid down in the stately series of illustrated *Annual Reports*, which, begun by him in 1903, are still continued. Eleven volumes of the series have already appeared. As Government publications they are presented gratis to scientific institutions, not only in India, but throughout the whole world.

In 1910, when I was called to replace Marshall for a year and a half as Director-General, it was proposed to abolish the *Annual* and to publish the results of archæological research in another form. I took this opportunity of asking

* In a resolution of April 28, 1906, the Archæological Service was made permanent, and at the same time some improvements were made in the salaries and position of the officers connected with it. They had already received the more imposing title of "Superintendent of the Archæological Survey" in place of that of "Archæological Surveyor."

At present the Archæological Service consists of a Director-General, seven Superintendents, six Assistant Superintendents, and two Epigraphists. Both at the central and provincial offices there are, moreover, native draftsmen, photographers, and clerks. The cosmopolitan nature of this branch of the Service may be gathered from the fact that some years ago amongst the Superintendents were found an American, a Chinese, a German, a Hungarian, and a Dutchman, while the office of Epigraphist was filled by a Norwegian.

the opinion of a number of well-known Orientalists, and it was a matter of great gratification that they almost unanimously expressed a high appreciation of Marshall's *Annual*, which was accordingly continued in a slightly modified form.

I should also like to call attention to a little book that appeared recently, a Government publication entitled "Indian Archaeological Policy, 1915, being a Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council on October 22, 1915 (Calcutta, Superintendent Government printing, India, 1916. Price six annas, or seven pence)." In this "resolution" (drawn up principally by Sir John Marshall) a clear and business-like account is given of all that has been accomplished by the Indian Archaeological Service during the last twelve years in its various branches (conservation, research, museums, publications, etc.).

In this connection it should be mentioned that the task of the archaeological officers is purely advisory, while the execution of the work is left in the hands of the Public Works Department. As a rule the procedure is as follows: The archaeological officer inspects each year a certain number of the most important monuments in his circle. To visit them all within that time would be out of the question on account of the enormous extent of the district in his charge. At the inspection of important buildings, the district engineer is, as a rule, invited to be present, in order to discuss all technical difficulties on the spot. Then the archaeological officer embodies his recommendation in a "Conservation Note," in which his recommendations are put down as accurately as possible. These "Notes" are then sent to the Director-General for confirmation. As most of the monuments are known to him, through his annual tours, he can often extend and improve the suggestions made by the provincial archaeologist. The "Conservation Note" is then printed, and serves as a guide for the execution of the work.

How necessary it is that those who are entrusted with the execution of the work should be furnished with minute instructions I have more than once been able to observe. In the

course of an inspection tour I once visited the remarkable ruined brick temple of Bhītargāon, in the district of Cawnpore, which was first described by Cunningham. To my horror I perceived, even from a distance, that the walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster, the spotless whiteness of which contrasted strangely with the subdued colour of the high roof, which (probably owing to lack of funds) had been left in its dilapidated condition. On inquiry it appeared that a subordinate Public Works officer, to whom the conservation of this temple had been entrusted, had conceived the plan of thoroughly doing up the old building, so that it would look fresh and new ! Fortunately it was easy in this case to undo such an ill-considered piece of restoration, to remove the layer of plaster, and take more adequate measures for the preservation of the ancient temple.

On another occasion I had made proposals for the preservation of the coloured tile-decoration on the wall of the Lahore Fort.* Many of the panels had badly suffered, partly from natural causes of decay and partly in consequence of a bombardment during the years of confusion that immediately preceded the British annexation of the Panjāb. My proposal was that the gaps in the tilework should be filled in to prevent further crumbling away. When, however, I went to inspect the work, I saw that the masons, not satisfied with the prescribed measures for preservation, were engaged in touching up the surface, whereby the difference in colour between the vulgar paint used by them and the magnificent colours of the old tiles became painfully conspicuous. Fortunately this "restoration" was only just begun, so that no damage of importance had been done.

The fact is that the execution of such work often devolves upon subordinates, who, as the example quoted serves to show, do not understand that in this work the principles and

* The technique of this mode of ornamentation, which is of Persian origin (both in Persia and India it is indicated by the word "kashi"), has been lost at least in India. In the days of Shāh-jahān in particular this art was applied on a large scale to the ornamentation of brick buildings at Lahore and other centres in Northern India.

methods are entirely different from those followed in the repairing of a modern building.

What, now, are the leading principles to be followed in the treatment of ancient buildings? Marshall, not only in his handbook on the subject, but also in his Annual Reports, has repeatedly laid them down. In general it may be said that the object is preservation, and that for this purpose the most important thing is to prevent decay.

"Preservation before Repair.—Officers charged with the execution of conservation work should never forget that the reparation of any remnant of ancient architecture, however humble, is a work to be entered upon with totally different feelings from a new work or from the repairs of a modern building. Although there are many ancient buildings whose state of disrepair suggests at first sight a renewal, it should never be forgotten that their historical value is not to renew them, but to preserve them. When, therefore, repairs are carried out, no effort should be spared to save as many parts of the original as possible, since it is to the authenticity of the old parts that practically all the interest attaching to the new will owe itself."

The two great enemies of ancient monuments that must be strenuously combated are water and the growth of plants. It is water which, in the celebrated cave temples of India, has wrought irreparable damage. By the moisture the heavy pillars are often completely eaten away underneath, so that at last the upper part of the column hangs from the ceiling and, instead of supporting the overhanging rock, increases the peril of collapse by its weight. It is distressing to think that very simple measures of drainage, if applied in time, might have prevented a great deal of irremediable damage.

The same is the case with vegetation. It is particularly the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) which seems to have a special predilection for ancient masonry, and which, with its huge roots, will slowly but steadily break up an old building. It is especially the luxuriant vegetation peculiar to India which renders periodical inspection so necessary. The Public

Works Department is, therefore, obliged to inspect the most important buildings in the district regularly, and yearly to clear them from weeds.

But to prevent the collapse of a more or less ruined structure other measures may be required. Overhanging walls must be supported, cracked arches propped up, and gaps filled in. Here, therefore, new masonry is required, but to most it will be plain at a glance that the new work is not part of the old building, but only serves as support. Naturally it must be the endeavour of the archæologist to make such additions as little conspicuous and objectionable as possible.

In this kind of conservation work it will, in certain cases, be necessary or desirable to replace old portions of the building that are decayed or fallen away by new work.

Thus we come at last to the vexed question of how far it is permissible to renew portions of an old building on a large scale. Marshall has expressed himself clearly on this point and declared that he cannot agree with those who condemn all restoration (that is, reconstruction)—a principle that was once upheld by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. This Society has published a manifesto in which it insists on putting "Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall and mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine, to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying."

"The attitude of the Department," says Marshall, "in fact, coincides very closely with that of the moderate thinkers at home, who fully recognize the deplorable harm that can be done in the name of restoration, but recognize also that there may be religious, social, political, or other considera-

tions to be taken into account which render it impracticable to lay down one law which will be applicable to one and every case."

What would have become, asks Marshall, of the Tāj Mahal, the celebrated mausoleum that the Great-Mogul Shāh-jahān had built on the shores of the Jamna for his beloved wife? What would have become of it, if this building had always been treated according to the strict rules of this Society?

"Now, let us suppose that this method of dealing with structures had been applied throughout to the most famous and perhaps the most extensively restored of our Indian monuments—the Tāj Mahal at Agra. What would have been the state of that priceless tomb to-day? It would have been a ruin, stripped of half its marbles, tied together with bands, propped up with buttresses or scaffoldings, and disfigured by other accretions and eyesores. Instead of that, the counsel of perfection which has prevailed in its restoration has given back to India a gem of unblemished beauty, perfect in itself and perfect in all its surroundings. I cannot think that even the staunchest opponent of restoration, if he viewed the Tāj as it is to-day, could wish it back in its old state of dilapidation, or could regret for one instant that the charm that lingered round it in its decay had been replaced by the more abundant loveliness of life. But apart from æsthetic sentiment, which can hardly fail to endorse all that has been done for the Tāj, there were other very potent reasons which demanded its restoration. For the Tāj is not a 'dead' monument. It is still the resting-place of the Great-Mogul Emperor and Empress for whom it was erected, and as such it deserves to be maintained in all its original splendour. Nor does it appeal to the Indian people as an antiquarian relic. It is to them a national heritage, of which they are justly proud, and which they have a right to expect will be preserved to posterity as something more than an interesting ruin.

* In his speech quoted above Lord Curzon reminds us that in the time of one of his predecessors, Lord William Bentinck, the Tāj was on the point of being demolished and the marble converted into money.

Indeed, I think I may truly say, that there is no archæological work in India that has given more profound gratification to the people than the rescue of this cherished mausoleum from neglect, and the effacement from it of all signs of vandalism committed by earlier generations of Englishmen."

Everyone who reads this eloquent appeal and who has had the good fortune to behold the Tāj Mahal with his own eyes will heartily agree. It is impossible to treat all monuments according to one principle, by which all reconstruction is simply forbidden. Each case must be judged on its own merits.

As a matter of fact, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, on reconsideration, associated itself with Marshall's opinion and declared "that, as regards Indian architecture, it drew a distinction between the older Hindu and Buddhist edifices on the one hand, and the more modern erections of the Muhammadan invaders on the other; and that in the case of the latter it was of opinion that local conditions might sometimes demand or justify a policy of limited restoration, on the ground that the art of the builders has not completely died out, as in the case of the more ancient Hindu and Buddhist buildings."

Marshall was right in perceiving that in general a distinction should be made between the Muhammadan monuments of the last seven centuries and the Buddhist and Hindu buildings, which for the most part belong to an earlier period. The former, which include the magnificent works of the Great-Moguls at Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, are often in a perfect condition of preservation, whereas the Buddhist and Hindu buildings are usually more or less ruined. In many cases they have been wilfully defaced; for innumerable temples have fallen victims to the fanaticism of Muhammadan iconoclasts. In many cases the restoration of such a building would be out of the question, as they have completely assumed the character of ruins. There is another characteristic difference between these two classes of monuments. Hindu temples are usually covered with sculpture, in which the

strange effigies of the gods are mingled with the quaint forms of fantastic beasts. The Law of Islam forbids the imitation of living creatures, and although free-thinking rulers like Akbar, Jahāngīr, and even Shāh-jahān, often disregarded this rule, yet it can be said in general that the ornamentation of Moslem buildings consists in pure geometric designs or in floral and foliated patterns, which, however delicate they may be, do not bear an individual character and can be executed equally well by a modern workman of sufficient skill. It is a craft which has been preserved in unbroken tradition, and therefore there can be no such objection to renewing, when necessity demands it, the stonework of this class of buildings.

On the other hand, no attempt can ever legitimately be made to restore the sculpture of Hindu temples, either by complete renewal or by patching up defaced or worn-out images.

In the domain of Muhammadan monuments, of late years, an enormous amount of conservation work has been done, especially at Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, where the magnificent palaces and tombs of the Great-Moguls are found. No trouble or expense has been spared to rescue these buildings from long neglect. The Archaeological Department has gradually succeeded in getting the military to evacuate nearly all the buildings. In the palace at Delhi the Great Audience Hall ~~had long ceased~~ to be misused as a canteen, but certain buildings, such as the Rang Mahal, were still employed as officers' quarters. At present the whole archaeological area is fenced off and thrown open to the public. A few years ago the palace garden Hayāt Bakhsh was newly laid out in its own peculiar severe architectural style.

"The old causeways, water-channels, tanks, and fountains," writes Marshall, "which were buried beneath several feet of soil, have been excavated and restored; structures that had perished have been replaced by shrubberies, and the courtyards they enclosed by grass lawns; and what was formerly a barren waste has now been converted into a pleasing garden."

On the east side, alas! still rises the row of huge barracks of which Fergusson complained so bitterly. As long as the citadel is used to accommodate the garrison, it is to be feared that these will remain indispensable. I must add, however, that the Italian mosaics which decorated the Imperial throne in the Hall of Audience, and which, after having been removed during the Mutiny, finally found their way to the South Kensington Museum, have been, at the instigation of Lord Curzon, restored to their original place, while the rest of the mosaic work, which had been damaged, has been restored by a *mosaicista* brought from Florence.

But it would lead me too far to sum up all that has been done to these remarkable buildings during the last few years. It may produce the impression that rather too much attention has been bestowed upon this class of buildings, which, however attractive they may be for the "globe-trotter," and however suitable for brilliant entertainments, which were given here during the Darbārs of 1903 and 1911, are still, from an archæological point of view, almost modern, and products of a foreign art introduced under alien rule.

It must, therefore, be pointed out that constant attention is being paid to the preservation of Buddhist and Hindu monuments, although here, just because it is confined to steps for conservation only, no such large sums are involved.

The number of ancient buildings or groups of buildings in British India that was under repair in the year 1902 was less than 150; in the year 1915 it had risen to nearly 700.

Some of the most important ancient monuments happen to be situated in the territory of Native States. Thus the stūpa of Sānchi lies in Bhopāl State, which is governed by a Muhammadan dynasty, and, remarkably enough, that dynasty has for a length of time been represented by a woman, the Begam of Bhopāl. The celebrated group of cave temples of Ajānta, as well as those of Ellora, lie within the domains of the Nizām of Hyderabad (Deccan).

The Native States may avail themselves of the advice and assistance of the Archæological Survey, and for that purpose

they were, in 1901, allotted to the different "circles." To what extent the care of the monuments can really be fruitfully undertaken in such States largely depends upon the attitude of the Darbār concerned. One would expect that in these States, which are ruled by Indian princes, the preservation of ancient monuments would be felt as a national interest. This is by no means always the case. I remember the strange answer given by one of the first chiefs of Rajputana when it was reported that a tower of great artistic and historical value in his ancient capital was in great danger of collapsing. His answer was: "Kyūn na giregā? Bahut purānā hai." (Why should it not fall in? It is very old.)

Fortunately, there are others amongst the Indian princes who appreciate the importance of archaeological research and the care of ancient monuments. I remember with gratitude the enlightened Raja of Chamba, a small hill State in the Western Himālaya, from whom I experienced nothing but sympathy and support in the course of my researches.

In Marshall's "Indian Archaeological Policy" (p. 10) the following remarks are made with regard to the Native States:

"The efforts which have been made by Government to rescue from decay and to repair the national monuments of the country have not been confined to British territory alone. In 1901 the Government of India invited the co-operation of the Native States in the task which it was undertaking, and offered to help them with advice or financial assistance if the latter should be needed. This invitation met with an immediate and warm response from the ruling chiefs, and many important measures of conservation have since been carried out by the Darbārs of Hyderabad, Udaipur, Bhopal, Dhar, and other States. Several of these Darbārs—namely, Hyderabad, Kashmir, and Gwalior—have now gone a step further and have instituted archaeological departments of their own, placing them in each case in charge of qualified officers obtained from the Archaeological Department of India."

How fruitful these "Archaeological services" in Native

States may prove to be, time alone will show. Their results must be awaited. The archaeological officer in the South Indian State of Mysore (which is not mentioned above) publishes a carefully elaborated Annual Report, in which photographic reproductions of buildings, images, and inscriptions are included.

Finally, I want to say a few words about the "Ancient Monuments' Act," which—again thanks to Lord Curzon's initiative—India has possessed for the last twelve years. It is not my purpose to discuss this law in all its details: I will confine myself to a few leading features. In general it may be said that it does not enforce any general rules and prohibitions, but confines itself to the means for the preservation of ancient monuments which can be adopted by the local governments.

The Act contains, for instance, no prohibition against the export of antiquities from India, but gives the Governor-General in Council the power to enact such a prohibition, either for all antiquities or for one special kind (§ 17), while the provincial governments have the right to forbid sculptures, inscriptions, etc., from being removed from the place where they are found, except with special permission of the Collector (§ 15). In this way the Government of the United (formerly North-West) Provinces resolved to forbid the exportation of antiquities from the district of Muttra (Mathurā).

The most important provision of the Indian Monuments Law is that (§ 3) by which the provincial governments are empowered to declare certain monuments "protected" by announcement in the local Gazette. In itself this would not, of course, be of great significance, but the law contains certain penalties, by which anyone who destroys or defaces a "protected monument" is liable to a fine which may extend to Rs. 5,000, or with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with both (§ 16). This section of the Act creates a powerful means of punishing, if not preventing, wilful damage to ancient monuments.

Buildings which are private property can also be declared

"protected monuments." The Collector (or Deputy Commissioner), with the previous sanction of the local government, then makes an agreement with the owner, in which, as a rule, the government undertakes to keep the building in proper repair, whereas the owner promises to leave it undisturbed (§ 5). Thanks to this regulation, it has been possible to save many a monument from neglect and ruin, e.g., the tomb of Tegah Khān—amongst the buildings in the neighbourhood of Delhi one of the few from the reign of Akbar and one of the most beautiful of its kind. It was the property of a Mirza, a descendant of the Great-Moguls, who did not possess the means for taking proper care of it.

In special cases Government has the right to acquire a preserved monument which is in danger of being destroyed, injured, or allowed to fall into decay, upon the ground that the preservation of such a monument is to be regarded as "public purpose" (§ 10). Buildings which are periodically used for religious observances are excepted from this regulation.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the term "ancient monument" is taken in a very wide sense by the authors of the law, as in § 2 of the Act it is described as designating "any structure, erection, or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archæological, or artistic interest, or any remains thereof."

It is a matter of extreme importance whether on the grounds of this definition so-called "ancient sites" may be regarded as "ancient monuments," to which the regulations of the law are applicable. By an "ancient site" is meant the ground upon which an ancient building or a group of such buildings has stood. The expression includes, therefore, the emplacement of an old fort or town. Such a place may be recognizable from a rising in the surface of the ground, sometimes hardly perceptible, sometimes sharply defined in the shape of one or more *tumuli*, and by the presence of fragments of antique earthenware, brickbats, and so forth. The remains of regular buildings are, as a rule, entirely hidden

beneath the surface. Only too frequently an "ancient site" of this kind is exploited by the neighbouring villagers, as it supplies them with building materials for their dwellings, with manure for their fields, and sometimes even with gods for their temples. If the archæologist subsequently wishes to undertake systematic excavations, he finds, to his distress, that exactly those things that were of primary importance to him have already been removed, or irrevocably destroyed.

It will be readily understood of what importance it is for archæological research that such territories should be preserved. More than once the archæological officers have proposed that an "ancient site" of this kind should be put upon the list of "protected monuments." At first they met occasionally with some opposition from officials who considered that the expression "monument" could not be applied to such territories, but finally the Government has conformed to their opinion. Thus a number of "ancient sites" were placed on the list of protected monuments in the Panjāb and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, amongst others the site of the city of Taxila (Sanskrit Takshasilā), known from Alexander's campaign, which embraces the territory of four villages. In the last few years important excavations have been undertaken there under the guidance of Sir John Marshall.

However gratifying it may be that India possesses an Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, it goes without saying that the best-thought-out and most precisely formulated law is of no use unless it is enforced. And this is sometimes extremely difficult in the case of ancient structures that lie in remote places, and can only seldom be visited by the responsible officer. It is doubly difficult when extensive territories of the kind just described are concerned. Even if the poor villager is caught in the act of digging up old bricks within such a "protected" area, is there not every chance that the district official will be inclined to overlook the offence instead of resorting to the rigour of the law? It must be remembered, too, that what now became an offence had, from time

immemorial, been, a perfectly legitimate practice, by which practical and industrious persons had been able to provide themselves with cheap building material. I remember how, towards the end of excavations carried out by Sir John Marshall and myself at Chārsadda in the Peshawar District, an undoubtedly respectable mullah proffered us the request to be allowed to make use of the exposed bits of Buddhist walling for the building of a mosque. In the eyes of the Afghan population, who now inhabit the ancient Gandhāra, there could naturally be no more fitting use for the not very imposing remains of the *but-khānah* ("idol-house") which we had excavated. The request was—certainly to their surprise—politely refused. And yet, after a few years, no traces were to be found of our excavations, although they had been specially recommended to the protection of the headmen of the neighbouring villages.

A still more painful experience was that of my American colleague, Dr. D. B. Spooner, when, at Shahr-i-Bahlol in the same district, he had laid bare a small stūpa decorated with beautiful stucco-work. Knowing the fanatical nature of the inhabitants, he had taken the precaution of setting a watch while he devised a plan for removing the whole structure to the Peshawar Museum, when, in consequence of a misunderstanding, the watchmen were recalled by the local official, with the immediate result that the delicate ornamentation was completely destroyed.

While in the districts inhabited by Muhammadans it is against destructive fanaticism that the monuments have to be protected, amongst the Hindu inhabitants religious zeal expresses itself in a different way. As soon as an old image comes to light, it is immediately carried off to the village temple, there to be worshipped as a god. Whether it had originally belonged to a heterodox sect is of no consequence: an image of Buddha is worshipped as the goddess Kālī or under another familiar name. If the image is once within the sacred walls, the Government will refrain from having it taken to a museum, however great the art value may be,

and in spite of the fact that it may be regarded as State property, for the Indian Government scrupulously avoids all interference in matters of religion.

A third factor that should be mentioned is the childish craze for collecting curios of European and American "globetrotters," who, every cold season, visit India in large numbers.

To protect the innumerable monuments of India against these different destructive elements is a task the difficulty of which cannot be exaggerated. Only for the most important monuments lying near the greater centres are special custodians appointed, but almost without exception these are natives, called Chowkidars, not disinclined to increase their small pay of seven or eight rupees a month by the bakhshesh offered them by well-meaning and perhaps evil-intentioned visitors. Generally speaking, the most satisfactory ones are pensioned non-commissioned officers of the Native army, especially if they are decorated with a number of war medals.

The fact is that the safety of India's ancient monuments will only be adequately assured when a true appreciation of their value has penetrated the masses of the population. We have some grounds for hoping that this appreciation will gradually develope out of reverence for tradition and the religious spirit which is in so high a degree peculiar to the Indian character. To this characteristic it is certainly due that so much has already escaped destruction. Amongst the educated national feeling also plays its part, which, although really foreign to the Indian spirit, has become more and more developed of late years. In addition to the work of the Archæological Survey, it is certainly the learned societies of the different provinces which contribute to the growth of interest in the antiquities of the country, both amongst Europeans and Indians. It is upon public opinion, as Baldwin Brown rightly observes, that the safety of ancient monuments chiefly depends.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, November 22, 1920, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., at which a paper by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D. (Professor at the University of Leiden; late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India), entitled "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India," was read by the Secretary, Mr. Stanley P. Rice (in the absence of Henry Cousens, Esq., M.R.A.S.). Owing to the unavoidable absence of The Rt. Hon. Lord Curzon, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, among others, were present: The Rt. Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Lamont Hale, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Duncan James Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Owens Clark and Lady Clark, Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, C.I.E., Mr. G. Owen Dunn, Lady Kensington, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Miss Scatterd, Miss Webster, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. E. F. Kinneir Tarte, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richner, Mr. S. G. Hart, I.C.S., Mr. H. R. James, Mr. H. J. R. Hemming, Mr. M. C. Malik, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. B. P. Desai, Mr. V. N. Parekh, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, Mr. G. Morgenstierne, Mr. E. H. Tabak, Mr. J. H. Advani, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Lady Scott Moncreiff, Mr. H. Das, Miss Allen, Miss Vertue, Mr. Sydney Loo Nee, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. Bal Krishna, Mr. K. Gauba, Major and Mrs. Tugwell, Mr. J. M. Cousens, Mr. M. N. Asnodkar, Mr. B. G. Paranjpe, Mr. F. J. Conway, Mr. C. Kunhi Ramay, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Collis, Colonel H. Picot, Mrs. Villiers Stuart, Mr. T. C. Goswami, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., and Mr. S. Arumugam.

THE HON. SECRETARY said that he regretted to have to inflict a disappointment upon them by informing them that Lord Curzon was unable to attend, owing to illness. Unfortunately, also, the gentleman who had undertaken to read the paper, Mr. Henry Cousens, was unable to be present. However, he had great pleasure in announcing that Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree would take the chair, whilst he himself had undertaken to read the paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the noble lord appointed to take the chair this evening has not been able to be present, and a substitute has had to be found at the last moment. I am sure you will agree with the remark of our Secretary that our disappointment must be great at finding that Lord Curzon could not be here to-day to preside over this meeting, as he had intended to do, because it is not only Lord Curzon's high and distinguished position which would have made him a most suitable chair-

man, but more especially, in regard to the subject of the lecture, the great interest which he took during his Viceroyalty in the preservation of ancient monuments. That was one of the landmarks amongst the many which distinguished his Viceroyalty, one of those activities of his career in India which will bear fruit in the future. (Cheers.) I am pleased to find in the paper quotations from his speeches in connection with this subject, and I cannot help reading one sentence in order to show the real spirit of the enormous interest he took with regard to the preservation of monuments in India. He said: "If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of mankind. To us the relics of Hindu and Muhammedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain, are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred."

Now, it cannot be gainsaid that one who has expressed such views about the preservation of monuments in an ancient land like India was eminently fitted to take the chair this afternoon, and I feel a sense of great disappointment myself that he is not here, which disappointment, I am sure, is shared by you all. (Hear, hear.) I myself am no expert on the subject, so that I feel all the more I cannot replace him with any satisfaction to you; but you must realize we are just improvising to-day so as not to disappoint the audience of the great treat for which they have come here, and instead of postponing the lecture in order to secure Lord Curzon's presence at a future date, the Council of this Association thought fit that the lecture should proceed, and asked me to fill up the gap by taking the chair.

I am reminded that this paper is a translation of a very valuable paper read before the Indian Society of the Hague in 1916, by Professor J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D., who himself was for thirteen years the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, so that the paper itself will be of immense value, and I feel sure you will be interested in the way in which he has treated this particular subject.

I will now call on our Secretary to read the paper.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think it will be agreed that we are much obliged to Mr. Rice for having at a moment's notice undertaken to read through this most interesting paper. It throws an enormous amount of light upon one of the most interesting subjects, which ought to appeal at all events to the people of India, and, as I remarked in the few sentences I spoke at the beginning, by far the largest share of the credit of the present policy with regard to the preservation of ancient monuments is due to Lord Curzon. You have all heard his views which he expounded before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and you also know how he followed those views up by practically passing an Act and doing all that he could during

his Viceroyalty to ensure the preservation in future of those monuments. What strikes me as the most important lesson pointed out in the course of this paper is the effect which this policy has exercised upon the minds of the people of India. The people of India are no vandals; they do not, like many more enlightened people, break and treasure up pieces of ancient monuments just out of curiosity or for merely exhibiting amongst their friends. If there has been neglect on their part in preserving and caring for them—and I dare say there has been for centuries past—it has been from a want of knowledge of the value of ancient monuments, of the light they lend to historical research, of the testimony they afford as regards the capacity for art and architecture of previous generations. As you heard in the course of the lecture, it had been remarked by one of the old Indian Princes: "What is the use of preserving an old thing? Let it fall." That, I believe, was the sentiment to which was due the fact that there was a great deal of negligence with regard to the conservation of monuments. But we also had another instance quoted in the paper of the new generation of Chiefs attaching value to the work of Dr. Vogel's department and giving all the help that they could. If I had only known that I should be addressing this meeting to-night, I would have brought with me a publication which was issued about twenty years ago by the enlightened Maharaja Takhtsingji of Bhavnagar, who had all the Asoka monuments lithographed and published in a very handsome and elaborate volume with explanatory text. Another instance of revived interest, which was doubtless due to Lord Curzon's policy, was that in regard to a certain monument of great historical value in Western India, for the preservation of which the late Sir Ratan Tata gave a handsome donation. There has also been created a wholesome influence of great value in another direction. We have seen stated in the paper that the Muhammedans were keen to secure certain relics of Hindu religious architecture, and to make other uses of them, or destroy them as symbols of idolatry; and Hindus carried them away to be worshipped. Well, at the bottom of it, no doubt, was some religious feeling, but they have now learned that difference of creed or religious zeal need not be displayed by mutilation of ancient relics; that it not only avails nothing, but means simply the destruction of antiquities which might be of very great historical and educative value. That effect upon the minds of the people of India is to me something of very great value as resulting from the policy of the preservation of monuments. (Hear, hear.)

I understand that our late Secretary, Dr. Pollen, who for many years did such veteran service to this Association (Hear, hear), and whose name has been in many parts of India so well remembered, has, with his usual energy, addressed Miss Scatterd a letter in which he has made a reference to this paper, and I shall ask Miss Scatterd to read to you that part of Dr. Pollen's letter. After that I propose to call upon Sir Aurel Stein, the famous Central Asian explorer, and a member of the Survey, who has honoured us with his presence here to-day, to address the audience; and if there are any others who would like to contribute their quota to the discussion, I should be pleased to have their names handed in.

MISS SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had written wishing for a successful meeting, and she would be glad to report to him that it was a very well attended meeting. After congratulating the Association for having secured Lord Curzon, Dr. Pollen went on to add :

" . . . No one has done more for the preservation of ancient monuments in India than his lordship. I remember some thirty odd years ago crossing the Indus with him between Sukker and Rohri. He was then the Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon, a travelling M.P. I drew his attention to the new railway-bridge then under construction across the Indus at Sukker, and spoke of it as 'one of the wonders of the world.' But he turned away from it at once and gazed at the beautiful tombs of the Seven Sisters on the Rohri side, expressing regret that they had been allowed to crumble into ruins. I do not suppose he had then any idea that he would become Viceroy, but years afterwards as I stood behind him at the Apollo Bunder in Bombay—when he was making his first speech as Governor-General-elect on Indian soil—I recalled his Indus crossing and his care for Indian monuments. A few weeks after landing in Bombay he spoke out about the promotion of archaeological research and our Imperial obligation to India in this matter, and by his energy and determination he succeeded in rousing Government officials to a sense of their duty. In this connection, as in many others, India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. I always foretold that sooner or later Indians would recognize the debt they owe to him."

She would like to draw attention to a footnote on p. 3 of the paper : " According to a note by the architect, William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archaeological Survey of India owes its origin." That, however, in her opinion, did not by any means detract from the enormous debt they owed to Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

SIR AUREL STEIN said that he could not resist the very kind invitation of the chairman to say a few words. He was anxious to do full justice to the very great services which Lord Curzon and the department he subsequently organized had rendered with regard to the preservation of Indian monuments. Though he had had the honour of belonging to the Indian Archaeological Survey, his own particular work had lain mostly in parts where such preservation as could be recorded had been the work of Nature—i.e., in Central Asian deserts, where the drift-sand covering ancient sites had prevented the mischief often done by human hands.

He had the great privilege of being present in Calcutta in 1900 at the very meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which the lecturer had called attention, at which Lord Curzon for the first time set forth his full programme for the preservation of ancient monuments and the organization of the Archaeological Survey. Having had long previous experience of the conditions under which Indian monuments had suffered, he then felt that the programme was a big one. One could hardly feel sure that even the energy of such a great statesman as Lord Curzon would achieve good results within the usual five years of a Viceroy's office. But after his return to India from his first Central Asian expedition it was not long

his Viceroyalty to ensure the preservation in future of those monuments. What strikes me as the most important lesson pointed out in the course of this paper is the effect which this policy has exercised upon the minds of the people of India. The people of India are no vandals; they do not, like many more enlightened people, break and treasure up pieces of ancient monuments just out of curiosity or for merely exhibiting amongst their friends. If there has been neglect on their part in preserving and caring for them—and I dare say there has been for centuries past—it has been from a want of knowledge of the value of ancient monuments, of the light they lend to historical research, of the testimony they afford as regards the capacity for art and architecture of previous generations. As you heard in the course of the lecture, it had been remarked by one of the old Indian Princes: "What is the use of preserving an old thing? Let it fall." That, I believe, was the sentiment to which was due the fact that there was a great deal of negligence with regard to the conservation of monuments. But we also had another instance quoted in the paper of the new generation of Chiefs attaching value to the work of Dr. Vogel's department and giving all the help that they could. If I had only known that I should be addressing this meeting to-night, I would have brought with me a publication which was issued about twenty years ago by the enlightened Maharaja Takhtsingji of Bhavnagar, who had all the Asoka monuments lithographed and published in a very handsome and elaborate volume with explanatory text. Another instance of revived interest, which was doubtless due to Lord Curzon's policy, was that in regard to a certain monument of great historical value in Western India, for the preservation of which the late Sir Ratan Tata gave a handsome donation. There has also been created a wholesome influence of great value in another direction. We have seen stated in the paper that the Muhammedans were keen to secure certain relics of Hindu religious architecture, and to make other uses of them, or destroy them as symbols of idolatry; and Hindus carried them away to be worshipped. Well, at the bottom of it, no doubt, was some religious feeling, but they have now learned that difference of creed or religious zeal need not be displayed by mutilation of ancient relics; that it not only avails nothing, but means simply the destruction of antiquities which might be of very great historical and educative value. That effect upon the minds of the people of India is to me something of very great value as resulting from the policy of the preservation of monuments. (Hear, hear.)

I understand that our late Secretary, Dr. Pollen, who for many years did such veteran service to this Association (Hear, hear), and whose name has been in many parts of India so well remembered, has, with his usual energy, addressed Miss Scatcherd a letter in which he has made a reference to this paper, and I shall ask Miss Scatcherd to read to you that part of Dr. Pollen's letter. After that I propose to call upon Sir Aurel Stein, the famous Central Asian explorer, and a member of the Survey, who has honoured us with his presence here to-day, to address the audience; and if there are any others who would like to contribute their quota to the discussion, I should be pleased to have their names handed in.

The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India 109

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had written wishing for a successful meeting, and she would be glad to report to him that it was a very well attended meeting. After congratulating the Association for having secured Lord Curzon, Dr. Pollen went on to add :

" . . . No one has done more for the preservation of ancient monuments in India than his lordship. I remember some thirty odd years ago crossing the Indus with him between Sukker and Rohri. He was then the Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon, a travelling M.P. I drew his attention to the new railway-bridge then under construction across the Indus at Sukker, and spoke of it as 'one of the wonders of the world.' But he turned away from it at once and gazed at the beautiful tombs of the Seven Sisters on the Rohri side, expressing regret that they had been allowed to crumble into ruins. I do not suppose he had then any idea that he would become Viceroy, but years afterwards as I stood behind him at the Apollo Bunder in Bombay—when he was making his first speech as Governor-General-elect on Indian soil—I recalled his Indus crossing and his care for Indian monuments. A few weeks after landing in Bombay he spoke out about the promotion of archaeological research and our Imperial obligation to India in this matter, and by his energy and determination he succeeded in rousing Government officials to a sense of their duty. In this connection, as in many others, India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. I always foretold that sooner or later Indians would recognize the debt they owe to him."

She would like to draw attention to a footnote on p. 3 of the paper : " According to a note by the architect, William Simpson, it was really due to the warm interest of Lady Canning in the ancient art of India that the Archaeological Survey of India owes its origin." That, however, in her opinion, did not by any means detract from the enormous debt they owed to Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

Sir AUREL STEIN said that he could not resist the very kind invitation of the chairman to say a few words. He was anxious to do full justice to the very great services which Lord Curzon and the department he subsequently organized had rendered with regard to the preservation of Indian monuments. Though he had had the honour of belonging to the Indian Archaeological Survey, his own particular work had lain mostly in parts where such preservation as could be recorded had been the work of Nature—i.e., in Central Asian deserts, where the drift-sand covering ancient sites had prevented the mischief often done by human hands.

He had the great privilege of being present in Calcutta in 1900 at the very meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society to which the lecturer had called attention, at which Lord Curzon for the first time set forth his full programme for the preservation of ancient monuments and the organization of the Archaeological Survey. Having had long previous experience of the conditions under which Indian monuments had suffered, he then felt that the programme was a big one. One could hardly feel sure that even the energy of such a great statesman as Lord Curzon would achieve good results within the usual five years of a Viceroy's office. But after his return to India from his first Central Asian expedition it was not long

before he began to realize that the measures undertaken by Lord Curzon had borne far more fruitful results than he had ventured to hope for.

Historical students all over the world, not only in India, owed a very great debt of gratitude to Lord Curzon. It was very encouraging to know that, apart from that love of antiquity and love of art which he had amply shown, he possessed the power of the true organizing statesman to ensure his ideas continuing after his own personality had ceased to assert itself. Every year they now saw the Indian Government steadily pursuing the policy which Lord Curzon had laid down. He could speak from personal experience, and say that every Viceroy who had since held office had shown a full appreciation of the duties which England owed to India in regard to its ancient monuments.

It was a very promising feature that monuments, which would otherwise have to be dug out in ruins perhaps 2,000 years hence were being now kept in such a state that the existing generation could enjoy their beauty. But equally important it seemed to him that the spirit of historical study was thereby being fostered in the Indian mind. No one had a greater admiration for the achievements due to the special Indian mentality than he had ; but he realized that as regards historical sense in viewing past events India had yet very much to learn before it reached European and American standards. The present system of the preservation of monuments, however, was acting as a big object-lesson to Indian students. He thought it of the greatest importance that educated Indians should devote themselves to the critical study of their country's great past. He looked forward to the time when there would be formed in India a school of archaeological and historical research.

He was glad to report that as far as the Native States were concerned the signs of promise were great. Only a short time ago he had been able to visit famous temple sites in the dominion of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, and he was most pleasantly surprised to see the care bestowed upon them on the part of the State officials. It seemed even as if a little more money were available there than was sometimes to be obtained for similar sites in British territory. He could also say the same about Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who had shown all through the greatest personal interest in the safeguarding of the remains at Sanchi.

Of course, one could not expect from a District Officer, who was burdened with important obligations of a more pressing nature, that he should lay himself out to find the money for archaeological work. But he had never yet come across any British District Officer in India who was not prepared to do his best in order that the policy of preservation, once determined, should be effectively carried out.

In conclusion, the main point Sir Aurel Stein wished to emphasize was that it was a piece of very great good-fortune that Lord Curzon went out to India as a statesman prepared by his historical studies for understanding the past of more than one Oriental Empire, and that for six years he had had that full scope which a Viceroy's power could give in the days gone by. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. B. KRISHNA said that as a student of ancient Indian history he was

very much delighted to hear the paper. There could be no doubt in his opinion that they were most highly indebted to Lord Curzon for the initiation of the policy of preservation of monuments, since it was due to his inspiring ideal that students and scholars had been able to learn something definite and concrete of ancient Indian history. He had been to various places to see the work of the Survey for himself, and therefore could bear personal testimony to the fact that throughout the length and breadth of the country great efforts were being made for the preservation of Indian monuments. One thing which was in his mind above all others in regard to the scheme of preservation was—and those who had seen some of the relics and the excavations made would have found—that many of the statues and things had been, without absolute necessity, removed from their original places to the museums that had been established near the excavated areas. With regard to the well-known "Wheel of Law," represented by a monolithic stone of perfect beauty and polish in Sarnath, near Benares, he was sorry to see that one great specimen of Indian art which had stood in its place probably from a date previous to the Christian era had been removed to the museum, and some of the pieces had been broken as a result, so that it was not now so perfect as at the time of its excavation. The taking away of some of those specimens and installing them into museums, very often patched up with plaster, gave us no real idea of the things as they stood in the days of their construction. In Peshawar and other places it was a pity the statues had not been preserved in their original condition. Great expenditure, no doubt, would be required, because it was necessary that there should be some effective means to protect them, otherwise there would be the trouble of visitors taking away mementoes, and thus spoiling the appearance. As a student of history he again expressed his indebtedness to the Government for the useful work they had done from the year 1901. He was sure that during this period specimens of ancient art and culture had been brought more and more before the people of India, and undoubtedly a great impetus had been given to historical research by this policy of the preservation of monuments in India.

He thought there was great cause for them to be highly indebted, and for them to pay their tribute so far as they could in words, to the wise policy that had been initiated by Lord Curzon. (Hear, hear.)

Mrs. VILLIERS STUART said that it was a great pleasure to her to be present and to hear this paper on Indian Archaeology, and also to hear such a well-deserved tribute paid to Lord Curzon. During her two years' stay in India she had made a point of studying the old Indian gardens and garden-palaces, which interested her very much indeed. She would like to say, in support of what Sir Aurel Stein had just said, she thought this great service should appeal to all young Indians who cared for their country. She also thought that Indians should be members of the Surveys, and that it should not be left solely to English and Europeans to study the monuments of India, because with Europeans there was always the danger that their interest would be historical only, and that the living relation of the Indian monuments to the life of the country would be to a certain extent missed.

Lady MUIR MACKENZIE said that she had always been a great admirer of Lord Curzon as she followed his footsteps round all those wonderful restorations and preservations that he had had the privilege to bring about. She had not heard Burmah mentioned, however, but it was in Burmah more especially that Lord Curzon took a great interest. It was a country which was extraordinarily interesting. Before the war the Germans had managed to get a great many old and valuable Buddhist things smuggled out of the country. Personally, she had never seen anything more wonderful than the caves in India, and she was glad to be able to say that they also had been preserved in an excellent way, and perhaps the Ellora Caves were better preserved than any other monument she had had the pleasure of seeing in India. She was delighted to be able to add her small tribute to Lord Curzon's wonderful care of the ancient monuments of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. S. DUTT, I.C.S., said that he would just like to say a few words from the point of view of a District Officer. Several speakers had referred to the work of a District Officer, especially with regard to the question of the preservation of monuments, so he felt that, being probably the only District Officer present at their meeting, he ought to say a word or two with regard to the matter.

It was quite true, as the chairman had pointed out, that India seemed less alive to the value of ancient monuments than any other people, but he believed that the widespread recognition of the importance of ancient monuments was one of comparatively recent growth. What had impressed him very much was a recent visit to Winchester and Christchurch Abbeys, of which the people of this country were justly proud. But even there he was given to understand, even in this great country where such great respect was paid to everything ancient, that pieces of sculpture had been systematically removed by relic-hunters until not very many years ago. That made him think that, after all, Indians were not the only ones to blame in that respect. It appeared to him that people of some religions were more given to conserving their ancient monuments than others. While in Japan last spring he noticed that, although their ancient monuments were mostly of wood, they had been kept in a beautiful state of preservation. And there had been no instances of vandalism there. The Buddhistic faith appeared specially to foster the spirit of conservation of monuments and relics.

To deal with the matter from the point of view of the District Officer. One of the speakers had rightly said that it was not always possible for a District Officer, with all the various duties he had to perform, to keep always in touch with the ancient monuments and to see to their preservation. They must remember, too, that a District Officer was not always a man who had the archaeological instinct, so as to be able to perceive which monuments were important and which were not. In his opinion the Archaeological Department should have sufficient activity in order to make inquiries as to the location of ancient monuments and to take the necessary steps for their preservation. From his experience in this connection in Bengal, he was under the impression that the department was very much understaffed, and

it was desirable that public opinion should insist on the department being strengthened. In that connection he thought that an opinion expressed by the East India Association would do incalculable good. There were many monuments waiting to be discovered and conserved, and if the department was strengthened in that way he thought they would soon see many more monuments conserved, thus carrying out the beneficent work of that great man of whom they had heard so much that afternoon. (Hear, hear.)

THE HON. SECRETARY said that in the capacity of Secretary he wanted to say a few words. Although they had all been very much disappointed at the absence of Lord Curzon, he thought they would all agree it had been a great privilege to have heard Sir Aurel Stein, who was such a great expert authority on those matters, and on behalf of the Association he wished to thank Sir Aurel for the remarks he had made.

The chairman had laid great stress upon the educative value of the preservation of ancient monuments, and he thought it had a great deal to do with the growth of the spirit of nationality also. Surely one of the strongest elements of nationality was tradition, and one of the greatest traditions in a country was its ancient monuments. If nationality was a good thing, then the Government were doing a great work, of which Lord Curzon was the outstanding figure, in helping on that nationality in India.

There was another class of monuments of which they had not heard much—*i.e.*, historical monuments, which were equally important. It had been his privilege under the inspiration of Lord Curzon to set a seal on two of them in a great historical district in the Madras Presidency, where many of the conflicts of early times took place—one at Arcot, and the other at a place whose right name was Vanduvási, and he thought that, apart from any other considerations, they ought to preserve for the sake of India alone the monuments of that connection between England and India, which he felt certain would endure for many years to come.

In conclusion, he had great pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the author of the paper, and also to their chairman for so generously undertaking such a task at the last moment.

Colonel YATE, in seconding the vote of thanks, said it had been a great disappointment that Lord Curzon was not able to be present, especially as he took such a great interest in the subject raised by the lecturer. Personally, he was glad to notice that the preservation of ancient sites was urged just as much as the preservation of ancient monuments, as he looked upon many of the ancient sites as being most valuable and likely to lead to the discovery of many extremely interesting and valuable things in the future.

THE CHAIRMAN : I thank you all very much for that expression of thanks, which I know I do not deserve, because I could not at all adequately replace Lord Curzon on this occasion.

One piece of good news which we have to-day is that the Viceroy of India for the next five years will most likely be Lord Willingdon, and I trust we may expect from him a continuance of the policy of Lord Curzon for the preservation of ancient monuments. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

114 *The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India*

The following letter, has been received from Dr. Vogel :

LEIDEN (HOLLAND),
December 11, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

I am very much obliged to you for kindly sending me a proof of the discussion which followed the reading of my paper on "The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India." I have read it with great interest, and am extremely pleased to see that my friend, Sir Aurel Stein, was one of the first to take part in it. I wholly endorse the view expressed by him with regard to the necessity of greater prominence being given to historical studies in India. A central institute of historical research would do a vast amount of good.

Mrs. Villiers Stuart observed that Indians should be members of the Surveys, and that it should not be left solely to European scholars to study the monuments of India. In this respect there has been, indeed, a great change within the last ten years. Whereas previously the Superintendents of the Archaeological Survey were exclusively Europeans (with the only exception of Burma), now most of the posts—six out of the eight, I believe—are held by Indians. It is, no doubt, a matter of gratification that qualified Indians are forthcoming in sufficient numbers. At the same time I am strongly convinced that it will be in the interest of the work if Europeans too are allowed to take part in that great task of preservation and research. As Mrs. Villiers Stuart rightly observes, the European and the Indian scholar will study the monuments each from his own point of view. But I am sure that the best results will be obtained by co-operation of the two.

I strongly hope that in the future too the Government of India will be liberal enough not to exclude non-Britishers. The work done by Continental scholars in the past—I need only mention Sir Aurel Stein—would justify such a policy. I know from my own experience what an enormous benefit it is for a Sanskritist to spend a number of years in India in research work.

It is greatly to be wished that the Government of India may see its way to extend the staff of the Archaeological Survey. In the course of my work in India I have always very strongly felt how enormous a task had been put on the shoulders of a small band of workers. Mr. G. S. Dutt's impression that the Department is understaffed is perfectly true.

May I take the opportunity to remove a misunderstanding about the "Wheel of the Law" of Sarnath to which Mr. B. Krishna referred in the course of the discussion? That gentleman complains that the object in question, which he describes as "a monolithic stone of perfect beauty and polish," was removed to the local museum and consequently broken, "so that it was not now so perfect as at the time of its excavation." Let me say in explanation that the stone wheel in question must have belonged to the lion capital which once crowned the Asoka pillar of Sarnath. This magnificent monument, however, was ruthlessly destroyed by vandals, we don't know of what nationality or period. In any case, at the time of excavation in the early spring of 1905 it was found in an utter state of

ruin, only a stump of the shaft, with part of the inscription (an edict against schismatics) being still *in situ*. The lion capital, which evidently had been hurled down from the top of the pillar, was completely defaced on one side. Of the stone wheel—the symbol of the Buddhist Law—which once surmounted it, only four small fragments were recovered. The ends of thirteen spokes remain on these pieces, their total number presumably having been thirty-two (*vide* D. R. Sahni's Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath, Calcutta, 1914, p. 28).

I may add that it is a general principle adopted by the Archaeological Department never to remove any images or other objects which have been found *in situ* and can be preserved *in situ* without risk of loss or deterioration. Unfortunately this is comparatively seldom the case. Mr. B. Krishna mentions Peshawar. But anyone familiar with conditions on the Frontier knows that to leave Buddhist sculptures there in the open would mean their utter ruin. I need only refer to the sad case of Shahr-i-Bahlol quoted towards the end of my paper (p. 27).

The patching up of stone sculptures by means of plaster, to which Mr. Krishna very rightly objects, was for a time practised in the Indian Museum, but, as far as I know, has now been abandoned.

Let me conclude by giving expression to my sincere thanks to the chairman who took Lord Curzon's place, and to you, sir, for kindly reading my paper.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

J. PH. VOGEL.

THE RUPEE AGAIN LINKED WITH SILVER

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

A RUPEE, which weighs 180 grains (one tola), contains 165 grains of silver, and a sovereign, which weighs 123 grains, contains 113 grains of gold; so that, were it not for legislative interference, the rate of exchange between the rupee and the sovereign would naturally be determined by the relation between the value in exchange for other commodities of 165 grains of silver as compared with 113 grains of gold. For nearly a century up to the outbreak of war in 1914, gold was freely coined into sovereigns at the London Mint, and, as an ounce of gold makes with the alloy 4.25 sovereigns, and there were before the war no restrictions on movements of gold or of sovereigns, the price of gold almost everywhere in the world could not vary from 4.25 sovereigns to the ounce by much more than the cost of transporting gold or sovereigns from one country to the other; and a price quoted in British pence really meant so many 240th parts of the value of the gold in a sovereign. Up to the year 1893 silver was freely coined into rupees at the Indian mints, and there were no restrictions on movements of silver; so that almost everywhere a rupee was then worth in exchange almost exactly the value of the 165 grains of silver it contained, with small variations limited by the cost of transporting silver or rupees from one country to another. Till 1893, therefore, the value of the rupee in terms of the sovereign depended upon the world ratio between gold and silver—that is to say, on the number of ounces of fine silver that would exchange for an ounce of fine gold. This ratio varied from time to time according to

the relation between the demand and supply of silver and the demand and supply of gold. For many years previous to 1873 the world ratio between gold and silver remained in the neighbourhood of 15·5 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold, and the quoted price of standard silver in London remained in the neighbourhood of the corresponding rate of 60·8d. per ounce. British standard silver is 925 fine—that is to say, 1,000-ounces of standard silver contain 925 ounces of fine silver—so that this London price of standard silver meant a price of 65·7d. per fine ounce. At that rate the value in gold of the 165 grains of silver contained in a rupee coin was in London 22·6d., and the exchange value of the rupee, though it fluctuated slightly from year to year, remained in the neighbourhood of that figure, not far short of 2s. to the rupee; so that it became a general idea that the rupee was worth about one-tenth of a £, which would make it worth 11·3 grains of gold.

About 1873 Germany's demonetization of silver, and the action taken in America and other countries, led to a sudden increase in the world's demand for gold and diminution in the world's demand for silver. This caused a rapid fall in the gold value of silver, until in 1902 an ounce of gold would buy 39 ounces of silver (instead of 15·5), and the price of standard silver in London fell to 24·1d. per ounce, at which rate the value in London of 165 grains of silver was only 9d. instead of 22·6d. During the first part of this period, while the Indian mints remained open and the rupee was thus still linked with silver, the exchange value of the rupee necessarily fell with the fall in value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, until in 1892 the rupee was worth only 15d. instead of the traditional rate of 24d. In 1893, however, the Indian mints were closed to the free coinage of silver, and for some years practically no addition was made to the number of rupee coins in existence, while the demand for them increased with the growth of India's prosperity and trade; so that the value in exchange of the rupee coin was no

longer determined by the value of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, but, after falling to 13d. in 1894, steadily increased until it was stabilized at 1s. 4d. per rupee, or 15 rupees to the sovereign, at which rate it remained until after the outbreak of war, although the value of the silver contained in it went down to less than 9d. in 1909. The closing of the mints had thus resulted in unlinking the rupee from silver; and the success of the action taken to stabilize the rate of exchange at 1s. 4d. meant that the rupee was now a token coin, linked with gold at the rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign, or 7.53 grains of gold to the rupee.

When war broke out, many Governments took steps to collect as much gold as possible, prohibited the export of gold, and issued paper money in large quantities, with the result that the value of their paper units of currency fell much below the value of the gold coins which they nominally represented. (For instance, in the United Kingdom on November 17, 1920, the price of gold in London was, in British paper currency, 118.8s., that is, £5.94 per ounce, and, as an ounce of fine gold makes with the alloy 4.25 sovereigns, this means that the British paper pound was on that day worth only .715 of the gold in a sovereign.) India has from time immemorial been an absorber of the precious metals, and during the four years ending with March 31, 1914, absorbed 88 million sovereigns' worth of gold—nearly one-fourth of the world's production for those four years. The war and the action taken by various Governments, including her own, greatly restricted the import of gold into India, and, during the five years of war conditions, her absorption of gold was only 30 million sovereigns' worth, whereas, had war not broken out, she would probably have absorbed during those five years something like 100 million sovereigns' worth of gold. Being thus starved of gold, the people of India demanded a great increase in the import of silver, and ultimately forced the Government to import immense quantities of silver and coin it into rupees. The Govern-

ment found itself compelled to take steps to meet this demand, because it had greatly increased its issue of paper currency and locked up its currency and gold standard reserves to a large extent in securities, which, owing to the war, could not be realized except at a serious loss; so that in order to maintain the convertibility of its paper currency, it had to issue rupees to meet the demand. In the year ending March 31, 1919, the Government of India imported 236 million ounces of silver, while the world's new production in that year was less than 200 million ounces. This excessive demand of India for silver, together with the demand from other countries, led to a very rapid rise in the world price of silver measured in gold, and on January 31, 1920, the price of silver in New York was 133 cents per ounce, as compared with the average price in 1913 of 60 cents—that is to say, on that date an ounce of gold would only command in New York 15·5 ounces of silver, whereas in 1913 it commanded 34 ounces. On the same date, the quoted price of standard silver in London was 83d. per ounce, while in 1913 the average price was 27·6d.; but a penny in 1913 meant the $\frac{1}{240}$ part of the gold in a sovereign, whereas a penny in 1920 means only the $\frac{1}{240}$ part of a British paper pound. On the same day gold sold in London at 117s. per ounce; so that in London on that day the ratio between gold and silver was 15·7 to 1—or practically the same as in New York.

During the war and for some time after the armistice, while the import of gold into India was severely restricted, and silver was imported in immense quantities, the value of gold measured in silver or in rupees naturally rose very rapidly, with little regard to the ratio between them in the world outside; and in the beginning of September, 1919, gold was selling in Bombay at 32·3 rupees per tola of 180 grains (5·6 grains to the rupee), which would give the price of the 113 grains of fine gold contained in a sovereign as 20·2 rupees, while before the war the price of gold remained practically constant at about 23·9 rupees to the tola (7·5

grains to the rupee), and the price of the sovereign was 15 rupees. In September, 1919, the Government of India began to sell considerable quantities of gold in the open market, with the effect of bringing down the price of gold by January 19, 1920, to about 27 rupees per tola (6·7 grains to the rupee), which would make the price of the 113 grains contained in a sovereign 17 rupees.

On February 2, 1920, the Secretary of State made the momentous announcement that he would aim at giving the rupee (which would remain unlimited legal tender) a fixed value in exchange of one rupee for 113 grains of fine gold—that is, one-tenth of the gold content of the sovereign—that the sovereign would be made a legal tender in India at the ratio of 10 rupees (instead of 15 rupees) to one sovereign—that the import and export of gold would soon be freed from Government control—that Government would no longer be liable to give rupees for sovereigns—that the prohibition on the private import and export of silver would be removed in due course—and that the import duty on silver would be repealed unless the fiscal position demanded its retention. This announcement had an immediate effect in greatly reducing the price of gold in India expressed in rupees, and at the Government sale of gold on March 3 the price obtained fell to 18·8 rupees per tola (equivalent to 11·8 rupees per 113 grains), but it soon rose again, and on April 7 the average price obtained was 22·6 rupees per tola (equivalent to 14·2 rupees per 113 grains). Although the price in rupees of gold bullion fell for a time much below the rate of 15 rupees for 113 grains, the value of the sovereign coin could not fall much below that level because the sovereign was then still legal tender for 15 rupees, to which rate it fell by February 19.

After the announcement of the Secretary of State's new currency policy on February 2, the price of standard silver in London rose from 83d. per ounce on January 31 to the record price of 89·5d. on February 11; but at the same time the price of gold in London rose from 117s. to 123s.

per ounce, and the ratio between gold and silver in London changed only from 15·7 to 15·2 between those dates ; and the price of silver in New York measured in cents per ounce remained practically steady at about 133 cents (a ratio of 15·5 to 1), so that it seems clear that the rise in the London quoted price of standard silver was not due to the Secretary of State's announcement, but to the fall in the value of British paper currency which took place between those dates, the rate of exchange on New York having fallen from 350·5 cents per £ on January 31 to 337 cents per £ on February 11. The London rate of exchange on Calcutta (which is now expressed in paper pence per rupee) rose in accordance with the rise in the quoted price of silver (which is also expressed in paper pence per standard ounce), and became closely knit with the value of 165 grains of silver as quoted in London. On February 2 the value in paper pence of 165 grains of silver, according to the London quotation, was 31·5, and the London rate of exchange on Calcutta was 31·8. By February 11 the corresponding price in London of 165 grains of fine silver was 33·3d., and the rate of exchange on Calcutta had also risen to 33·1d.

On June 20, 1920, the Government of India announced that as from June 21 the restrictions over imports of gold bullion would be removed ; that sovereigns would cease for the time to be legal tender ; that after July 12, the restrictions over imports of British gold coins would also be withdrawn ; and that they would submit a bill prescribing the new ratio of 1 sovereign to 10 rupees, at which the sovereign would again become legal tender. Accordingly since July 12, 1920, there has been no restriction on the import into India of either gold or silver bullion or sovereigns. (On September 15, the Legislative Council passed the Indian Coinage Act, fixing the legal tender value of the sovereign in India as 10 rupees.) On July 21, 1920, at the Government sale of gold, the average price obtained was 22·1 rupees per tola (equivalent to 8·1

grains to the rupee, or 13·9 rupees per 113 grains), and on the same day the bazaar price of Calcutta Mint gold was also quoted at 22·1 rupees per tola. Since then the bazaar price of gold has gone steadily up, until on October 27 it was quoted at 27 rupees per tola (equivalent to 6·7 grains per rupee, or 17 rupees per 113 grains). As before the war the rupee was worth 7·5 grains of gold, and 15 rupees bought a sovereign containing 113 grains, it follows that on October 27 the rupee in India was worth less in gold and worth a smaller fraction of the gold in a sovereign than it was before the war. Although the Secretary of State has announced his policy to be that of fixing the rupee at 11·3 grains of gold, its value in India has gone down from 8·1 grains on July 21 to 6·7; and although the Legislative Council have fixed the legal tender value of the sovereign at 10 rupees, anyone in India can now melt a sovereign and get about 17 rupees for the gold in the bazaar.

If a comparison be made between the quotations given on any day in New York, London, and Calcutta, and they be reduced to terms of fine gold and fine silver, it will be found that, within small variations limited by the cost of transporting gold or silver from one country to the other, the following conditions now prevail—viz.:

1. The rates of exchange are only to a small extent affected by the balance of trade.
2. The ratio between gold and silver is practically the same in each of the three countries.
3. The price of free gold bullion in London quoted in paper shillings rises or falls in exact accordance with the fall or rise in the value of the British paper pound quoted in United States dollars.
4. The price of gold and silver bullion in Calcutta closely corresponds with the price of gold and silver bullion quoted in New York and London.
5. The value of a rupee in gold in Calcutta is now practically the same as it is in London.

6. The value of a rupee, whether measured in gold or in British paper currency, is nearly the same as the value of 165 grains of fine silver.

In other words, the rupee is now as closely linked with silver as it was before the closing of the Indian mints, and shows no indication of becoming linked with gold.

For instance, on October 27 silver bullion was quoted in Bombay at 115 rupees per 100 tolas, which means that a rupee would only buy 157 grains of fine silver; whereas so late as June 16 it bought in Calcutta 199 grains of silver. The London prices of gold and of the rupee on October 27 mean that on that day a rupee would buy in London 6.6 grains of fine gold, and in Bombay on the same day a rupee would buy 6.7 grains of gold, and 165 grains of silver would buy 7 grains of gold; so that, measured in gold, the rupee was actually worth less in India than the 165 grains of silver contained in it. (On October 23 it was reported from Calcutta that nearly four million rupee coins had been exported to China to be melted down into ingots.) On November 17, 1920, when gold was quoted in London at 118.8s. per ounce, this meant that the British paper pound was on that day worth only .715 of the gold in a sovereign. On the same day the rate of exchange on New York was 345 cents to the £. This gives the value of the British paper pound in New York as .711 of a sovereign. Again on that day silver was quoted in London at 51.4d. per standard ounce, and if from these quotations the ratio of gold to silver in London be calculated, it will be found that it was 25.6 to 1. On the same day in New York foreign silver bullion was quoted at 78.8 cents per fine ounce, which gives the ratio in New York as 26.2. In London the rate of exchange on Calcutta was 19.5d. per rupee, and if this be compared with the quoted price of silver, it means that a rupee was valued in London as the equivalent of 168 grains of fine silver. On November 20 the London quotations were: Gold, 5.92 paper pounds per fine ounce; silver, 49 paper pence per standard ounce, 925 fine;

exchange on Calcutta, 18·8 paper pence per rupee. These quotations mean that on that day in London the paper pound was valued at 718 of the gold in a sovereign ; that a rupee would buy in London 6·35 grains of fine gold ; that 165 grains of fine silver would exchange for 6·16 grains of fine gold ; and that the rupee valued at 18·8 paper pence was, measured in gold, worth only 13·5d., as compared with the 16d. it was worth before the war, and the 24d. measured in gold aimed at by the Secretary of State ; while 165 grains of fine silver were worth 13·1d. measured in gold.

The accompanying statement gives the value of the rupee measured in gold, (1) according to the average of the quotations for the year 1913, (2) on January 31, 1920, immediately before the announcement of the Secretary of State's new currency policy, (3) on October 27, 1920, and (4) according to the policy aimed at by the Secretary of State.

No one can foretell what will be the future ratio ~~between~~ gold and silver ; but on the whole it seems probable that the gold price of silver will continue to fall for some time to come, partly because India, being now able to obtain all the gold she wants, and having imported an immense quantity of silver during the last five years, is unlikely to want much more silver, and may possibly become an exporter of that metal, and partly because the famine from which China is now suffering is likely to lessen the demand of that country for silver, and may possibly lead to it also becoming an exporter. In any case the facts remain that an ounce of gold now buys about 25 ounces of silver, as compared with 34 ounces in 1913 ; that 165 grains of fine silver are now worth less than 7 grains of gold ; that the value of the rupee coin measured in gold now follows closely that of the 165 grains of silver contained in it, and is therefore at present worth less than 7 grains of gold and likely to fall in gold value. It seems that the Secretary of State has set the Government of India an impossible task when he has

required them to aim at stabilizing the value of the rupee at 113 grains of gold. India will be fortunate if her Government succeed in stabilizing the rupee at the pre-war rate of 75 grains of gold, which would again keep the rupee stabilized at 15 to the sovereign, or 16d. to the rupee measured in gold (equivalent to 1s. 10d. in present paper currency). Even that will be difficult to secure, because there are now in existence something like 4,000 million rupee coins, each of which is at present worth as bullion less than 7 grains of gold.

VALUE OF THE RUPEE MEASURED IN GOLD AND SILVER.

	In 1913.	On 31st January, 1920.	On 27th October, 1920.	Aimed at by the Secretary of State.
Value of the pound sterling in grains of gold	113	82	82	—
Value of the pound sterling as a percentage of the sovereign	100	72	72	—
Value of the sovereign (113 grains of gold) in rupees :				
In London	15	11.9	17	10
In India	15	17	17	10
Value of the rupee in grains of gold :				
In London	7.5	9.6	6.6	11.3
In India	7.5	6.7	6.7	11.3
Value of the rupee in pence sterling : In London	16	28	19.4	—
Value of the rupee in pence measured in gold : In London	16	20	14	24
Value of the rupee in grains of silver :				
In London	258	149	165	—
In India	258	157	157	—
Value of 165 grains of fine silver :				
In grains of gold in London	4.8	10.6	6.6	—
In grains of gold in India	4.8	7.0	7.0	—
In rupees in London	0.64	1.1	1.0	—
In rupees in India	0.64	1.05	1.05	—
Ratio of gold to silver :				
In New York	34	15.5	25.7	—
In London	34	15.7	25.1	—
In India	34	23.5	23.5	—

November 23, 1920.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

BY SIR ROBERT A. HADFIELD, BART., F.R.S.

THE world in general, and this country not least amongst nations, urgently needs increased production of commodities—not for the enrichment of the few, but to save from privation the many, to pay off the debts of the community, and refill the exhausted store cupboards of the nation. That surely cannot be accomplished by any “levy on capital,” which simply means a reduction in our capacity to produce. We must meet the interest and pay off our debts out of revenue, or lower the standard of life for everyone. That is the point that we need to make clear always when advocating increased production: that it is vital to the life of the people, and without it the standard of living cannot be raised, but must, indeed, inevitably fall.

We want real plenty—not mere money; we want goods, not paper; bread, not Bradburys.

The nation needs increased capacity for output per head of population and per square foot of factory space. She needs decreased cost per unit of production; decreased coal consumption per unit of production; increased production of wealth per ton of coal used; decreased expenditure on transport; reduced cost of building. She needs all this, but with a decrease of strain on the workers rather than an increase, especially as judged by the fierce standard of work in war-time—or even by the standard of a pre-war people unaffected by the nervous fatigue that is war's almost

universal aftermath—and consequently able to produce, with less expenditure of energy, more than can reasonably be expected to-day. But all these things can be ensured if mutual trust and co-operation can be established between all ranks engaged in industry.

If only all workers could be brought to realize, as many of their leaders already realize, that “you cannot distribute what is not produced”; that, this being so, the great concern of organized labour should be, first, to co-operate in and encourage by every means the increased production at decreased cost of necessities and of commodities for export to pay for the necessities we cannot economically produce at home—commodities for export of a quality and at a price that can compete in the world’s markets; then to secure that production with a minimum of physical effort, under the most hygienic conditions of working; and, finally, to see to the equitable distribution of the fruits of those efforts. If they could but grasp firmly, once and for all, the fact that limitation of output below demand is a crime against the community, against their fellows and their own wives and families, as well as themselves; and if they could be brought to recognize the fact that increased output (and consequently increased real earnings) in all industries means increased demand for every class of goods in exchange for all other classes of goods, and consequently an improved standard of living all round—why, then the financial burden under which the whole community is now staggering and groaning would be borne more easily and diminished more speedily than many could believe possible.

This happy consummation would be hastened if it were known and recognized generally that increased production of wealth, increased output per head of population, and decreased cost per unit of production, are all obtainable, not by the sweating of labour, not by undue hours of toil, but concurrently with reasonable hours of labour properly and honestly employed, paid for by wages of higher real value than ever before enjoyed in this country. That this is so,

facts will help to reveal, and by so doing help to hasten the happy consummation we all desire of industry, peace, and prosperity.

The desirable condition of high real wages earned in short hours of working can only be provided by high production per head employed. Anyone who believes the contrary has yet to learn the A B C of economics, and there are employers as well as employees who do so.

The most serious obstacle to the full acceptance by the workers in this country of these fundamental economic truths, which have been accepted and acted upon by the workers in the United States, is undoubtedly the fear that all-round increased production per employee will lead to all-round unemployment. The very opposite is the truth, in spite of isolated cases that appear to show the fear to be well grounded. Restricted production per employee means either increased cost per unit produced or reduced wages per employee. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* (Out of nothing, nothing)—that is an inexorable law. Therefore, the combination of high nominal wages with low individual output—which is what so many misguided men honestly regard as an ideal state of affairs—means, must mean, unduly high cost of production, with consequent reduced sales in both home and foreign markets, and so directly makes for unemployment. We see this plainly at this moment in the motor industry, the boot trade, and elsewhere. The trouble in those trades is not production in excess of normal demand, but cost above capacity to purchase, because short production in other trades has brought about inflation of prices, and so actual demand is far below normal.

There is plenty of latent demand everywhere now for boots and motor cars, but there is not a sufficient supply of other goods wherewith to barter for them. That is the crux of the whole situation. You cannot buy goods with paper that does not represent other goods.

There is a world-hunger for manufactured goods and raw materials, a world-hunger for houses, that can only be

satisfied by the production of those necessities. There is work enough in sight to be done in the next generation to give full employment to every man capable of work and willing to work diligently and with his heart in it, and there need be no long hours or overtime rush. All that is wanted is a recognition of the need for steady, earnest, competent work all round. But if "low production for high wages" is to be the policy adopted, then unemployment and destitution will march through the land, and the truth, the inexorable truth, of the economic laws of nature will be taught to us by suffering and strife that are as unnecessary as they are undesirable.

We still live by the consumption or exchange of the work of our hands and brains. Money, whether coin or paper, is only the token, and is of value only in so far as it represents goods or services obtainable. To have, man must produce or have produced.

The first essential to increased productivity with decreased physical effort per employee, at decreased cost per unit, is the organization and training of labour—that is, the employment of brains (without which neither capital nor labour can effectually operate) to direct, economize, and render more fruitful the brawn of the manual worker. This implies the adoption of scientific instead of haphazard management, the careful planning and direction of all details of all operations, the elimination of all unnecessary exertion, and the education of the worker so that he may the more intelligently carry out the plans of his director, and ultimately, perhaps, himself become a director of others. The manual worker needs training and coaching to enable him to produce the maximum result with the minimum of fatigue and risk of accident, just as much as the golfer, the oarsman, the boxer—in short, every athlete—needs his trainer and coach. The "obvious way" of doing almost everything involving muscular exertion is, with nearly everybody, the most fatiguing and least successful. This is a strange truth that needs to be acted upon as thoroughly

in industry as it is in sport. The inexperienced and thoughtless many need to be trained by the experienced, observant, and thoughtful few.

The second essential to increased and cheapened production is the conservation and development of human energy. This can be secured through the elimination of undue fatigue by its better direction and training, as already suggested; through the improvement of health resulting from purer air within and without the workshop, from increased sunlight, and from better food due to canteens in the works and modern kitchens in the home; and through the existence of more attractive homes leading to the better use of leisure. "Sewing machines and gas stoves," we are told, "have done more to emancipate women than all the preachers"—and such emancipation of the woman means increased comfort and pleasure for her man.

Production can further be increased and reduced in cost per unit by the increased employment of mechanical energy for augmenting human energy. How much longer is it to be the fact, which the census of production revealed, that the United States of America employ three times the brake-horse-power *per capita*, and get an output *per capita* three times greater than we do here in Britain, the birth-place of steam power?

But if we are to increase, and increase enormously, our use of mechanical power, it behoves us the more carefully to study how to make the best use of our wasting stock of stored-up energy, our coal-supply. And that renders all the more imperative the consideration of the fourth means for increasing and cheapening our productivity—namely, the universal adoption of modern methods of obtaining heat and power, which would result in cheaper factory construction, economy of space in factory utilization, increased speed and reliability of output, and decreased consumption of fuel per unit of production.

It may be interesting to add a few words about the present situation.

We must all try to realize that not Europe alone, not America only, but the whole world, has during the last few years passed through a crisis unexampled and unprecedented in its history. After such a cataclysm—and it has been nothing less—the marvel is that matters are not much worse; but bad they are: we must recognize this and act accordingly.

The destruction of material and financial wealth and property has been simply on an enormous scale, one which some of us do not appear to realize. The old proverb says "Waste not, want not," but we have not only wasted, but done this on a gigantic scale—consequently the want period has been reached.

I well remember how we all considered the cost of the South African War, probably some three hundred millions all told, to be enormous, and long articles were written at the time to show how many years must elapse before we recovered. The world-wide war has, however, cost the world, even at a low estimate, from no less than 120 to 150 times the amount of the capital lost in the South African trouble, and with attendant disorganization on a terribly large scale of the social life and environment of the individual.

During the war we denied ourselves many things to ensure victory. Whilst it is admitted that the subject of economy is not altogether a pleasant one, nevertheless, sooner or later, we must face the inevitable and economize or go entirely to pieces, so why not now and at once? The world has been spending more than it had accumulated. Certainly not one of the "isms," whether Socialism, Bolshevism, and the many other nostrums offered to us, will meet the difficulty of the situation. They are all of the "thimble-rigging" order, of trying to make water flow uphill, of extracting gold from sea-water, and the like.

The world is full of riches beyond the dream of avarice, but at present there are, alas! too many forming the body corporate amongst us who, as Prior says, "neither know to spin nor care to toil." They are like those who pass by a

gold-mine in which the rich quartz is apparent by the millions of tons. They know if they put their backs into it, if they will but toil, those millions of tons of ore containing the precious metal which is so useful in the world's system of economy can be extracted. They know, too, that the ore must be extracted, must be crushed, and must be treated by many laborious processes, all involving work, before it is of any value. Without the work, without the toil, without the science, the ore remains useless, but with these carried out the precious metal is won. But, alas! many amongst us prefer to pass almost entirely by, or, under some of the new, foolish, present theories, say that it is only necessary to extract sufficient of the ore to enable a mere existence to be eked out, with serious harm to the body politic. If they—and I refer to all classes—would produce and work on the same lines as those prevailing before the war, comfort and prosperity would rapidly follow. In saying this it is not for one moment urged that better conditions should not come into operation or that reasonable rights of work or wages should not be granted—quite the contrary; but it is obvious that the proposal to produce less, and still less—which will only leave us poor—is certainly not the way to remedy our present troubles. Such a line of thought simply shows crass stupidity.

There is plenty and ample work for us all to go round for years and years to come. There need be no talk of bad trade, of want of work, if the worker of all classes, whether in the highest or lowest ranks, would but each do his share. I am convinced that until this is realized not only will there be no general improvement, but matters will go from bad to worse, and that unless changed views come about civilization may be threatened. Revolutionary ideas flourish when misery and want prevail. It rests with ourselves whether we will have these conditions prevail or not. They need not, but they cannot be improved or prevented unless we follow the sacred dictum, "Neither shall a man eat unless he will work," and this applies from the lowest to the highest amongst us.

COFFEE

BY E. H. WATSON

IN writing an article on coffee for the ASIATIC REVIEW one ought, perhaps, to write particularly of Asiatic coffee, but as the product is grown in almost every tropical country, it is nearly impossible not to trespass on other continents.

The recognized birthplace of coffee is generally agreed to have been the province of Coffa, in Abyssinia, where it grows indigenous, and from which it takes its name.

Botanists have bestowed much care and study on the coffee-tree and have discovered about sixty different species distributed through the various countries, most differentiations of which are probably due to variations of soil, climate, elevation, and system followed in the cultivation. It is estimated that 75 per cent. of the coffee produced in the world is grown in Brazil, and even there, although it is most likely that all the coffee-trees sprang from the same source, the botanists have discovered no less than seventeen different varieties. The climate best adapted for producing large crops should be hot and damp. It thrives best in tropical regions, and cannot be advantageously cultivated where the thermometer ever falls below 55°. Naturally, the soil and climate are determining factors in both quality and quantity. Coffee which is high grown is not so prolific, but is generally of better grade and flavour.

From Abyssinia coffee was transplanted to Arabia, and thus we get Mocha. Dutch merchants are credited with introducing coffee into Java as early as 1650; some years later it was carried into India and Ceylon.

The tree itself presents a bushy appearance, and is well foliated with a somewhat long, pointed leaf of a rich green colour. It grows sometimes to the height of fifteen feet, is symmetrically planted and carefully attended. The blossoming-time of the plant shows it at its most attractive stage, and when the trees are in full bloom they exhibit a

most beautiful spectacle. The white aromatic flowers of a small jasmin shape grow in circular clusters round the base of rich green leaves, calling to mind myriads of diminutive wreaths. The blooms last but a day, and the fruit quickly appears, which from its size and colour resembles a cherry, and is known to the grower by that name. It develops through various shades of green, orange, and red to a rich deep crimson. The "cherry" is in reality a pod, which when opened contains two berries; these are actually the commercial coffee-beans. Each berry is covered with a thin brittle skin called a parchment, inside which and next the berry is another thin silvery skin (the silver skin), that in Mysore being particularly noticeable. Occasionally the "cherry" may contain only one bean, which on account of the available space becomes almost globular, being then known as "peaberry." This peaberry was for many years regarded as the male bean, a theory which has now been disproved.

Mocha coffee, although called after the port from which it is shipped, is grown many miles inland, and is harvested in a very careful manner. When the fruit is ripe a cloth is spread under the bush, which is shaken with caution so that only the ripe "cherries" fall. The preparation (husking, drying, etc.) is primitive, being entirely done by hand, a very slow and tedious process when compared with the pulping and sizing machinery used on large estates in South and Central America. It is generally understood that the choice berries (semi-transparent) are carefully selected and intended for the use of the important personages of the Mohammedan faith.

Coffee was first noticed in Ceylon in a wild state, but was not thought to be indigenous. In 1834 it was cultivated on plantation lines and proved so successful that it became a large and valuable export business until 1870. Unfortunately in that year a fungoid growth attacked the trees, and continued to devastate them to such an extent that the quantity shipped gradually decreased until some ten or twelve years ago it ceased entirely. As soon as cultivators realized this disease to be incurable, they devoted the estates to the planting of tea, rubber, and cocoa. So

complete consequently has been the turnover of coffee-producing land to these other commodities that the identical marks that distinguished the former are now as firmly established as descriptive of the latter.

The Indian coffee berry is distinguished by its shortened, rounded appearance; it might almost be described as a plump berry. Of all the Indian growths Mysore is in greatest demand in England. The berry is distinguished by a silvery, diaphanous coating, which when roasted falls from it, and forms no integral part of the liquor. Naidabatoom, Neilgherry, and Travancore are all well-known coffee-producing districts, although tea is encroaching on the two last-named regions.

Java coffee, unlike other varieties, is not generally put on the market in New Crop condition. It is almost unique from the fact of being stored for several years before use. When gathered, this coffee is retained in specially prepared and ventilated warehouses for generally five or six years or even longer. During this time it is subjected to the ravages of an insect of the weevil species, which bores into the bean and gives it quite a worm-eaten appearance; time also affects its colour, transforming it from a bluish-grey to a dull sienna-brown. After retention for this period the coffee is roasted and ground, the weevil, of course, included. This animal matter infuses into the liquor a peculiar fleshy flavour highly appreciated by the Dutch, but not at all favoured in this country. Another type of tree cultivated in Java and Sumatra, known as "Robusta," has of recent years been heavily planted; it produces a more prolific crop than ordinary coffee, and generally on account of its low price finds a ready market in Europe and America. This is not subjected to the conditions mentioned above, but is shipped and sold as soon as possible. The term "Java" includes the produce of all the East Indian Islands.

There are two ways of preparing coffee for the market. The old-fashioned method was the dry method, in which the "cherries" were spread on a hard surface (generally cement) in thin layers, fully exposed to the sun, and frequently raked over. It was then pounded by hand and

the berries sifted from the husks. In the modern up-to-date plantations, the wet system with tank and machinery is usual. The "cherries" are picked and immersed in a tank of water in which the blighted and unripe pods float and are taken off; the sound fruit sinks, and the water is then drawn off, the wet mass being put in the pulping machine. This machine is so called on account of reducing the pod or cherry to pulp, allowing the beans to pass through holes arranged for that purpose. They are then placed in another bath and thoroughly cleansed from any covering matter still adhering to them. The process of drying then takes place. There are many methods, elaborate and simple. In some cases trays of berries are spread out by hand and laid in the sun until dry. On large estates a system of mechanical transport has been instituted, moving floors are run on rails in and out of shelters as the weather dictates. The final stage of freeing the bean from parchment and silver skin is now arrived at. This "peeling" is achieved when the bean is bone dry, by "rolling" it in order to crack the crisp parchment, which is then dispersed by winnowing.

The berry is now ready to be packed in bags for export, and when it arrives in England is bonded and sampled ready for public auction. It is always put on the market in a raw state, but during sale negotiations samples are drawn and roasted, and the liquor tasted by experts. It is then distributed to the trade, still in a raw condition. The operation of roasting becomes quite an individual matter calling for great skill and intelligence; it is almost entirely on this "final touch" that the success of the liquor depends. Acquaintance with the character of the water of the locality determines the necessity for high or low roasting, and here the individual tradesman's knowledge or ignorance is put to the test. Possibly a better acquaintance with this branch would popularize coffee more in England.

The consumption of coffee in the United Kingdom being so small in comparison with that of Continental nations, it will be seen that the quantity exported from London will in a general way greatly exceed the home consumption. Of course, during the war the export trade was dislocated,

as all exports had to be licensed and the permission of Government officials was not always easily obtained. Whether their refusal was in every case a misfortune is difficult to say. Some cautious exporters might perhaps think it wiser to keep their coffee than sell it and have to wait a long time before receiving payment.

The writer, having spent most of his business life as a coffee expert in the market in Mincing Lane, is at times filled with amazement that the consumption of this very stimulating as well as refreshing beverage should not be much larger. Recent returns established the fact that three times as many pounds weight of coffee are annually produced in the coffee-growing countries of the world as there are pounds weight of tea in India, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and elsewhere; and yet, whilst the British public annually consume 8 or 9 lbs. of tea per head, their consumption of coffee is under $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per head, whilst our next-door neighbours in Holland are said to take 18 lbs. per head, and our American cousins 11 lbs. per head. There must be some reason why the consumption in the United Kingdom is so far behind that of these two other countries. Some say that it is because the cup of tea is more quickly prepared than a cup of coffee, but that must be because the good housewife does not practice the art sufficiently. To attend any social function will amply prove that if a choice of either tea or coffee is offered, at least one-half of the company will take coffee.

Coffee-houses in their historical aspect and flourishing as they did in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in this country could form an ample subject by themselves. The first mentioned is in 1632 at St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill. It was kept by a servant of a Turkey merchant, to whom his master deputed the task of satisfying awaking curiosity on the subject of the new beverage. The scorn aroused by the "sooty drink" was at first withering: "Were it the mode," says one writer in 1663, "men would eat spiders."

But so universal and popular became the consumption of coffee among men that the houses developed into the greatest literary and political meeting-places of the age. Thus, says the *Tatler*, "foreign and domestic news you

will have from the St. James Coffee House." Devereux Court, Strand, rose especially to fame, from the fact of containing "Tom's" and "The Grecian," two mighty rivals in the time of Pope, Addison, Steel, Akenside, Goldsmith, Swift—all the erudite and lampooning lights scintillated daily and gaily in an atmosphere of coffee. Other human varieties also evinced a liking for these resorts, since—

"Some of all conditions,
Vintners, surgeons, and physicians,
The blind, the deaf, the aged cripple,
Do here resort and coffee tipple."

As early as Cromwell's time an interesting little entry records a man in St. Toolie Street (Tooley Street) "who is the only known man for making mills for grinding coffee powder, which are sold by him for forty to forty-five shillings the mill."

Even before the Restoration coffee must have achieved great popularity, for we find a satirist bemoaning :

"And now, alas, the drink has credit got,
And he's no gentleman that drinks it not."

Samuel Pepys evidently on occasions visited coffee-houses, as a record exists of a meeting with Mr. Moore at the King's Head, where the drink was sold. He does not appear to have said anything noteworthy on the subject; possibly his innate conservative snobbery would not allow him to openly countenance what was not thoroughly established in favour.

Gradually the coffee-houses declined from their social eminence and became merged into the ordinary refreshment-house, losing, we fear, all the wit that once illuminated them.

The consumption per head of population in the United Kingdom of the various non-alcoholic drinks, tea, coffee, cocoa, may be found fully set out in tabular form in a book published recently by Messrs. Bunting and Co., Ltd., produce brokers, of 23, Rood Lane, E.C. 3, entitled "Breakfast Beverages," which gives the annual consumption of each for the last seventy-nine years.

THE MOTOR EXHIBITION: CARS FOR EASTERN BUYERS

BY C. H. OLIVER

THIS year's Motor Exhibition, the fourteenth International Exhibition organized by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, has far excelled in importance and size all previous ones, which points favourably to the increased activity and prosperity in the motor industry since the war. Incidentally it also proves the increase in the numbers of motor users, since, owing to modern competition, there is a car to meet the requirements of everyone. Altogether there were exhibited 236 different types at Olympia and the White City (which was utilized for the first time this year).

Nearly all the exhibits this year were exhaustively tested models, and there were far fewer newly designed and, one might almost say, experimental models. Production also is much more settled and secured, which encourages the purchaser to order at the Exhibition with every confidence of early, or at any rate punctual, delivery.

The enormous competition has had a tendency to slightly ease the price of cars, and one hopes that the price quoted will remain firm, and not, as last year, be increased almost immediately after the Exhibition is over and orders are booked.

The general trend of car design is still in favour of a four-cylinder engine with a monobloc casting and valves at the side, and to meet the requirements of the owner, and especially the lady driver, every car is fitted with an electric starter and dynamo equipment. Plate clutches, especially those of the single-plate type, seem to be superseding the

old type cone clutch, faced with leather or some other fabric, which used to require constant attention. The use of the four-speed gear box is now practically universal, except in the case of quite small cars. The larger types, however, of 40 horse-power and thereabouts are using engines of the six-cylinder type with overhead valves, and chassis with cantilever springs.

It is not possible in a short article of this nature to go into the details of all the vehicles shown, but one can mention a few representative of the different nations exhibiting, which comprised Great Britain, France, America, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, and that newest of nations, but by no means backward, Czechoslovakia.

Among the British exhibits, the Lanchester, one of the pioneers of car manufacturers, whose six-cylinder model stands almost unrivalled, deserves special attention.

Daimler cars, which stand out as characteristic specimens of the highest class of British engineering, show very few changes for 1921. I saw a very fine six-cylinder 45 horse-power Silent Knight, with cantilever springs and Lanchester worm-drive back-axle, fitted with a special saloon body beautifully finished inside with panelling and inlay work, built by the Graham White Company, to the order of an Indian Prince.

Another firm of the highest repute is Napier, who have been engaged on engineering for over a century. They have concentrated their whole efforts on a single model—namely, the 40 to 50 horse-power six-cylinder for home use, and a replica with special improvements to make it suitable for work abroad. This model is of an entirely new design, and the main principle is the reduction of weight by a lavish use of aluminium. The engine body is made of aluminium with steel liners and aluminium pistons, and develops a brake horse-power of ninety; but notwithstanding this considerable increase in power, the chassis only weighs 25 cwt. There will undoubtedly be a big demand for these

super-de-luxe cars in India, where the firm has already obtained a great reputation for reliability, and has a very large clientèle.

The Armstrong-Siddeley 29.5 horse-power six-cylinder, with a chassis price of £875, is a very fine piece of workmanship, and represents about the best value for money in the Exhibition. One of its leading features is, that there are only seven grease cups, oil-less bearings being used elsewhere.

The Wolseley Company produce a very fine Colonial model, 20 horse-power, six-cylinder, at a chassis price of £1,050. This car represents many years of experience, and has a minimum ground clearance of 10½ inches, and a specially large radiator for the tropics. This firm's association with Vickers gives them special facilities with regard to steel and other metals.

France's leading representative is undoubtedly the Renault firm with its normal type 22.4 horse-power four-cylinder engine. Its chief feature is its extreme simplicity of design and great accessibility. They also place on the market a six-cylinder model of 45 horse-power. I understand that this firm booked a private order for New Zealand for seventy-four cars, which speaks well for its reliability on rough roads.

The De Dion eight-cylinder 25 horse-power is a very fine piece of workmanship from that pioneer firm of motor manufacturers, and, in accordance with their long-standing reputation for mechanical trustworthiness, is of an orthodox and conservative design.

The Packard exhibit claims to be the acme of modern American automobile design. Their car, the Twin-Six, has a twelve-cylinder engine, made up of two blocks of six cylinders each, which gives a clean and well-finished unit, accessible, simple, and with a big reserve of power. With regard to its popularity I may say that there are 40,000 users in practically every part of the civilized world; and as to its reliability, it has performed the wonderful feat of

running from Tientsin a distance of 4,000 miles across the great Gobi Desert, to 'Umrichi, in Upper Turkestan. This company has recently opened up an agency in Delhi, and another at Bandoeng, Java, in the Dutch East Indies.

Among other American exhibits the Hudson Super-Six is worth noticing, as well as its smaller sister, the Essex, which has a four-cylinder engine. The Hudson has established a large number of speed records, and the fact that that connoisseur of cars, H.M. King Alfonso XIII., owns three, speaks very highly for it.

The Fiat chassis, which originates from Italy, has for a long time been recognized as one of the world's finest productions. Their factory at Turin during the war grew to the enviable position of the largest automobile factory in Europe, and turned out over 35,000 chassis for the Allies. Their six-cylinder 20 to 30 horse-power is eminently suitable for the hard road conditions experienced in the East, and has a minimum ground clearance of 10 inches.

Holland is very well represented by the Spiker Company, of Amsterdam, and their new 25 horse-power six-cylinder model, designed by Mr. Koolhoven, has several interesting features, chief of which is the gear operating device, which enables the veriest novice to change gear at any road or engine speed. This engine was tested in the hilly Black Forest on a run of some 5,000 miles in a chassis without a clutch, and a gear box giving only top gear and reverse,

Belgium, in spite of the havoc caused by the war, has made a wonderful industrial recovery, and the new six-cylinder 30 horse-power Minerva has many marked improvements over their old and already well-proved design of 1914.

The Metallurgique, 40 horse-power, one of her famed products, is a luxurious car built with a high degree of sturdiness for bad road conditions. It has very ample cooling arrangements, and a noticeable feature is the adjustable steering column to suit any driver, and the tyre pump incorporated in the gear box.

For those who desire a sporting car with a high turn of

speed and do not mind spending money, the Hispano Suiza offers very great attractions. The chassis price is £2,350. This car has a great supporter in its own country in H.M. King Alfonso XIII. of Spain. It is fitted with a 37 horse-power engine.

Switzerland's chief exhibit was the 16 horse-power Piccard Pictet, which, needless to say, is an excellent hill climber, and is fitted with extra large radiating surface. The brakes are remarkably efficient, and there is a switch whereby the petrol and ignition are cut off when descending a long hill.

Czecho-Slovakia, our newest country on the map, was not unrepresented, and the Laurin Klement 25 to 50 horse-power represents a very efficient high-powered car, and follows the usual modern European design. It is very sturdily built to withstand all types of road conditions.

With regard to the coachbuilders' art, on which ultimately rests our personal comfort, everyone will, I think, agree that the present high standard has never previously been exceeded. There is a general tendency to try and reduce the weight of enclosed types of bodies, and to give them a more graceful streamline effect.

I am quite unable to go into the matter of accessories, whose name was legion.

UNITY AND DISMEMBERMENT

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

I HOPE I may be allowed to refer to some facts, known naturally to me only through newspaper reports, letters, and conversations. Nevertheless, one sees thereby how history repeats itself. There is really nothing new even in politics, though this is not always what our politicians and reformers would like us to believe. Thus when we read that India is on the threshold of a vast political experiment, we know that such innovations have already been tried, though elsewhere. It is also of particular interest to us Russians, because we have shared in the past with England the great problem of administering Asia. The experience of the Russian Government in the past has been that autocracy eliminated separatist agitation, and, as unity forms the backbone of a nation, dissension is thereby avoided. On the other hand, the results of democracy seem to have been in the direction of splitting up nationalities.

In Russia separatist agitation was at its weakest, naturally, when the autocracy was firm. The present revolution there has turned a great and glorious empire into a mosaic of small states which have proved a veritable nightmare. India, in some respects, resembles Russia (in the varieties of languages, religions, and customs), and, as a lover of England, I hope earnestly that the introduction of Western democratic methods will not lead to unforeseen results, as in Russia. Can it not happen that the introduction of Western politics amongst the Indians may lead them, as others, to hold divergent

opinions, thus paralyzing concentrated power? All these questions ought not to be treated *à la légère*.

Let me introduce my meaning by a small anecdote. If I ask a man of the world in Western Europe his opinion, for instance, about some boots, he will reply with astonishment that he is not a specialist in that subject. But if at a tea-party I put a political question, it turns out that everybody present not only pretends to have opinions, but recommends himself as a specialist. But the most disquieting feature is that everyone of these experts has a different opinion. In that case I prefer my humble bootmaker, who undoubtedly is a genuine specialist. Is it not possible that the same kind of thing might happen in politics? That love for solving difficult questions without proper knowledge and training may indeed prove dangerous.

But in connection with the much vaunted principle of self-determination I venture to write the following :

A very wise and clever principle has been adopted by the League of Nations: the respect for self-government according to national ideals. Yes, indeed; let every country be governed as she likes and as she naturally craves for in spite of all difficulties. But what is the first step to be taken when you want to carry out that grand principle? That step is undoubtedly the acquisition of real knowledge.

As a Russian, I am therefore trying to do now what I have been trying to do all my working life, to spread knowledge about real Russia, and her ideals and cravings as we understand them.

In order to bring my arguments in their best form, I refer to my brother Alexander Kiréeff's works. He belonged to the National Party, and he was a remarkably well-informed man, tremendously patriotic, as was also my other brother Nicholas Kiréeff. He died in Serbia as the first Russian volunteer, and his death was the match which, according to M. John Aksakoff's definition, fired the trail in the Russo-Turkish War of 1876. His

splendid death was described by Kinglake in his preface to "The Crimean War" and by Froude in the "M.P. for Russia," edited by Stead. Real facts contradict in many respects views spread abroad chiefly by the enemies of Russia. Both my brothers Kiréeff were deep patriots and monarchists. Alexander worked almost all his life for the cause of the Old Catholics, but it was only after his death that the Czechs seem to have embraced these views. We all three were born at Moscow, that splendid capital with its beautiful Kremlin and numberless churches, whilst St. Petersburg was always the home of cosmopolitan and foreign intrigue.

Now, it is frequently said that Russia received from Byzantium not only her religion, but also her political ideas, and that we had not yet advanced beyond the ideals of Byzantine Russia in the days before Peter the Great. "These ideals," it is asserted, "are false, fruitless, and without any future. It is time, therefore, that we reconciled them with the more modern ideals of the West."

Let us examine these statements, so obviously false in all points, except in the question of Greek Orthodox religion. That Byzantium had an influence over our State organization before the days of Peter the Great is, particularly as regards superficial formalities, undoubted. But in weighing the good and bad results of this influence, we Slavophiles never forget one very important circumstance: our State could boast at least one great factor unknown to Byzantium, the Zemski Sobor (District Councils). The Byzantine Emperors consulted their Senates and Councils, but neither of these had any resemblance to our "Sobor," which was evolved gradually and entirely by the wisdom of our Tsars. The autocracy before Peter the Great was kept in touch with the people by these Sobors, or Assemblies, which were frequently convened, and which varied as regards members, and procedure according to the questions with which they had to deal. Their advice was required by the head of the State, between whom and the people they

constituted a strong link. Doubt or misunderstandings are hardly to be found in those pages of Russian history which deal with the Sobor epoch. There was no room for any outside influence or party strifes. Mistakes were, of course, sometimes made, but generally in the means employed for the attaining of some purpose, not in the purpose itself. There could be no vacillating from one side to another, simply because the Government and the people constituted a complete and indivisible entity. The ship of State, though perhaps clumsy and cumbersome and slow, sailed safely through untroubled waters, and never lost its way.

In questions connected with autocracy, the opinions of Slavophiles are even more greatly at variance with Western views than in religious matters.

The formula of autocracy, according to Slavophil ideas, may be summed up in the words "One will and many minds"—whereas the Western Parliamentary motto seems to be "Many wills and not always one mind to guide them."

Here we have two types of State organization. Let us compare them and see what results are achieved by each in turn. What is it the Western mind finds so reprehensible in our autocracy? Is it the supposition that our people are not guaranteed against the blindness of evil intent on the part of the monarch? "The Tsar," say our critics, "may be completely separated from his people, may have no knowledge of conditions in the country, may be surrounded by an impenetrable wall, built up by bureaucrats and temporary favourites."

It would seem at first sight as if all these were indeed possible. On looking into the question more closely, however, it becomes obvious that under the constantly changing and improving conditions of an enlightened age, the chances of mental blindness on the part of the head of the State can only grow constantly smaller. As to evil intent, surely no one could seriously assert that such a factor as this is to any considerable extent probable. No sane person of even

average intelligence desires evil intentionally. Surely evil is brought about either by mistake or by carelessness or through an imperfect knowledge of facts. At this period we come back to the question of mental blindness. As to party strife, the desire to ruin an opponent, the lust for revenge, the wish to attain dishonest or personal ends, etc., all these temptations, though they certainly beset the private persons involved in the Parliamentary system, must not touch an autocrat, since he stands alone, above parties or private interests. However, it is difficult to argue on this question theoretically. Let us rather turn to facts, and glance into the pages of Russian history during the last 300 years. What do we see? The autocracy of the late Emperor Nicholas II. was, in its form, identical with that of Ivan the Terrible. The personal power of the head of the State was just as unlimited, the supremacy of the Emperor just as unquestioned.

And yet, who would assert that, *de facto*, the conditions were the same as in the past? The dreariest pessimist would hardly imagine that the frightful abuses of the days of Ivan the Terrible, of Peter the Great, and even of the Emperor Paul, would be possible or thinkable to-day. And yet our late Emperor was bound by no constitutions or agreements. The changed conditions were due only to the fact that the moral atmosphere and cultured surroundings in which he lived precluded all possibility of anything in the nature of the abuses of the past. It is impossible not to see and acknowledge the enormous change for the better that has come about through the natural progress of events, quite independently of any written guarantees or formulas, to which such miraculous results are usually ascribed. There can be no doubt that we shall continue to work out our own salvation very successfully in the same way, without resorting to agreements and Acts of Parliament. When society is at a low moral level, no constitutions of new-fangled laws can make any difference or act as a safeguard for peoples. When, however, a nation is

strong morally and physically, when the responsibilities of citizenship are ingrained in the people, together with a profound sense of duty and honour, constitutions and agreements are needless. Our constitution, our religious solidarity, our strength, must dwell within ourselves, where no one can take them from us.

Let us remember that on ascending their ancestral throne, our Emperors accept no obligations towards any kind of elective chamber and sign no documents or constitutions. But on their coronation they take upon themselves many very serious, important, and sacred responsibilities. Before placing the crown on the Emperor's head, the Metropolitan of Moscow asks the question, "What dost thou believe?" The Emperor then pronounces the Orthodox Creed, and it is only after this that he is crowned. This custom has a very deep meaning. It symbolizes the indestructible link between Church and State—a link which makes Russia "*Holy Russia*," and which gives our country an ethical foundation that distinguished it from the Parliamentary States of the West, founded as they are entirely on legal lines.

As to the much discussed reforms introduced by Peter the Great, our opponents are right when they assert that our Slavophiles regret the disappearance of many old traditions swept away by the great reformer under the influence of Western bureaucratic ideas. But they are wrong when they point to Peter the Great as the introducer into Russia of *Liberal* principles. There could be no greater error. Peter the Great certainly brought new Western customs into Russia, but it would be difficult to discover any *Liberal* tendencies among his innovations.

He was indeed one of the most typical examples in history of the well-intentioned, gifted, passionate despot. In the new State which he founded, countless technical improvements were introduced, as also many frivolous changes, but there was far less liberty than in the old Muscovite system which he had inherited and destroyed.

The Church, for instance, had, in the old days, far more freedom and influence, while the voice of the people could certainly reach the ears of their Emperors much more easily in old Muscovite Russia than under Peter the Great and his followers. He, no doubt, introduced too many foreign officials. I must add that, although Peter the Great was undoubtedly the founder of our administrative State, he cannot be held responsible for all its subsequent developments. History has shown very clearly the shortcomings of the administrative bureaucratic State, which may occasionally achieve good results, but whose success is always merely temporary. It is surrounded by every kind of danger, the chief of which is the tendency on the part of the servants of the State to identify themselves with the State which they serve. The proud words of Louis XIV., "L'état c'est moi," may be in a sense justifiable when uttered by the great "Roi-Soleil"—though Louis XIV. had never the peremptory religious obligations which our Tsars always assumed. But when the same words are uttered by other functionaries, such as chiefs of police, that undoubtedly is one of their blunders and mistakes.

History has shown that all Parliamentary States are subject to change and are unreliable. We Slavophiles have no trust in the electoral systems, and would rather deal with the disinterested tyrant than with the type of modern politician often produced after centuries of Parliamentary government.

We in Russia were convinced that two years of a Committee's work would never suffice to liberate, and to a very great extent even endow with land, forty-eight millions of serfs, as was done in Russia in 1860, to our national pride. But I do not want in this article to write a detailed history of Russia, and to explain how she became a great influential power, sometimes deserving admiration, as in the year 1812, and how she came to be called by us even Holy Russia.

Can our experience be useful to India? That is a question

which I do not venture to answer. No doubt in foreign, as in home, policy, Russia has made mistakes. Where is the country which has never made them? Even Paradise has had its Adam and its Eve. "*Errare humanum est.*" But as long as a country has not deserted her religious categorical principles, there ought to be no ground for despair or apathy. How can we ever forget that during the recent diabolical revolution in Russia there were some four or five hundred priests of the Greek Orthodox Church who met their murderers with the cross in the hand? These remained, even in spite of tortures, faithful to their sacred duty to their creed and their country.

A proverb is sometimes quoted, which strikes me as immoral and demoralizing: "One man cannot replace an army." Undoubtedly. Yet a good example is never lost, and the feeling that you have to depend only on yourself, not counting on outside support, but have to forget yourself entirely, always acts beneficially on yourself and on others. A country which is guided by feelings of that kind, as was often done by my country, is deservedly described as "Holy Russia." But the present usurpers are not even consistent in their madness. At this moment anyone possessing property in Russia is, for that reason, persecuted and often killed. These same Bolsheviks when they try to establish commercial relations with civilized countries are not hampered by their professed hatred for capital and every other kind of property.

GREAT BRITAIN AND JEWISH PALESTINE

BY PAUL GOODMAN

(*Editor of the "Zionist Review"*)

BY the fortune of war, Palestine has come under the sway of Great Britain, and a new problem has thus presented itself to British statecraft. The aim which Richard Cœur de Lion set to himself on his expedition to the Holy Land has, in a military sense, been attained by Lord Allenby's great exploit, but they who now govern the realm of England have shown even a wider vision than that which moved those who embarked on the third Crusade. For in the onslaught of Prussian militarism which threatened the very existence of Britain as an independent Great Power, men of diverse races and all creeds were enlisted in its defence, and in the far-flung battle-lines the honour of England was largely upheld by those to whom it was no more than a symbol of liberty and righteousness. Most strikingly was this the case in the victory which placed Palestine, a land so rich in noble associations and yet so full of bitter sectarian memories, in the hands of Imperial Britain.

Among the war aims of the Allied and Associated Powers there was none more remarkable than the idea of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. It was Napoleonic in inception, and, whatever its immediate motive in enlisting the sympathies of the Jews in the lands of their Dispersion, was undoubtedly inspired by an idealism that raised the purpose of the Grand Alliance to a very high ethical plane. Mr. Balfour's Declaration to Lord Rothschild of November 2, 1917, pledging the British Government to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, had an electrifying effect in world-wide Jewry. It was not only in the Entente and neutral countries that Jewish enthusiasm rose to a white heat, but in the very heart of the enemy, in Germany itself, the Zionist

Jews had the moral courage to applaud the action of Great Britain in a formal resolution at a public conference. From Vladivostok to Buenos Ayres the Jews received the Balfour Declaration with the exaltation that moved the second Isaiah at the edict of Cyrus.

It is necessary to recall this movement in Jewry in order to realize that the adoption of Zionism as one of the war aims by the Allies in general and Great Britain in particular brought a new political factor into the field of international relations. The Jews had hitherto been content to claim the rights of individual citizenship in the lands of their allegiance; they now appeared as a people with immemorial national rights in Palestine recognized by the Great Powers. The conquest of Jerusalem by British troops was hailed by the Jews as a great deliverance, and the national redemption foretold by Jewish prophets and seers was proclaimed as near at hand.

It was in the tense situation created by the Easter disturbances in Jerusalem, the more intolerable because of the very restraint which the Zionists in the Diaspora imposed upon themselves, that the fateful decision of the Supreme Council at San Remo in April last was announced to the world. After many hesitations to carry their repeated promises into effect, the Great Powers of the Entente agreed to adopt the Balfour Declaration in favour of the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine under the Mandate of Great Britain. This decision, which was ultimately incorporated into the Treaty of Sèvres, gave international sanction to a policy that not only satisfied the age-long yearnings of the Jewish people but met the ideal of the new world-order that the Entente had endeavoured to create on the break-up of Turkey.

The most notable action of Great Britain was thereupon the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner for Palestine. This marked not only the change from a military to a civil Administration, but the definite recognition of the status of Palestine within the British sphere of moral as well as political influence. The selection of a man of Sir Herbert Samuel's type was in itself an acknowledgment of

the importance which the British Government attached to the office ; but of even greater significance was the fact that the future Governor of Palestine was not only of the Jewish faith but with pronounced Zionist sympathies. As a former Cabinet Minister who enjoyed a high reputation for his administrative capacity, the highest British representative in Palestine was an exceptionally authoritative personality, but in taking up his office Sir Herbert Samuel was swayed by higher motives than the efficient administration of that country. It was apparent to those who were familiar with Sir Herbert Samuel's views during the last few years that he had undergone a spiritual evolution which brought him within the sphere of Zionist influence. He realized, as comparatively few co-religionists of his environment have done, that the movement for the restoration of the Jewish people to its ancestral land was neither exotic nor crudely political, but pregnant with profound spiritual import, not only to the Jews but to the world in general. If in the case of Lord Robert Cecil the Zionist idea appeals to his highest Christian instincts, it has struck a responsive chord in the Jewish memories of Sir Herbert Samuel, memories reaching back to remote antiquity, to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah and Zerubbabel. To Sir Herbert Samuel the Restoration to Zion has raised up visions of the Messianic age foretold by the Jewish prophets. Withal he has remained the sober British statesman, almost austere in the conception of his duties.

The immediate task of the new High Commissioner was to pacify the various conflicting elements in the land, and in this Sir Herbert Samuel has succeeded in a measure beyond expectations. One feature in his favour was the clear-cut issues he presented to the inhabitants of the country in the King's Message he delivered to them on assuming office after the decision of San Remo, and his engaging personality has won him the confidence of Jew, Christian, and Moslem alike. His first concern is to introduce into Palestine that just, honest, and progressive administration which is the hall-mark of British rule, and to create and develop those administrative,

economic, and educational conditions which will give to the people an opportunity to rise from the neglect into which they had sunk under Turkish misrule. In this respect all inhabitants, without distinction of race or creed, will benefit; but in view of the preponderating numbers of the Arabs and their general backwardness, they particularly will gain immeasurably thereby. This has notably shown itself in the appointments to public offices which have been made by the new Administration, whereby the overwhelming proportion of officials are to be found among Palestinian Arabs. In this respect care has been taken to give the local population opportunities to train for self-government by filling the more subordinate posts almost entirely by natives. Of the officials of the junior services 91 per cent. are Palestinians, and of the technical junior services 97 per cent. An Advisory Council, consisting of the most competent representatives of the Administration and of all sections of the population, is already serving a useful purpose in focussing local opinion on the problems of government. Subject, however, to the policy of ensuring the general welfare of the country, the King's Message and Sir Herbert Samuel's statement on his accession to office have made it plain to all concerned that the British Administration will take what measures may be necessary to create in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people according to the terms of the Mandate by which the country will be administered under the League of Nations.

In so far as the Jewish position in Palestine has been the cause of any anxiety, whether genuine or ignorant, but mainly due to anti-Jewish considerations in England and local politics in Palestine, this anxiety has shown itself in practice entirely artificial. The necessity for the development of the country economically and culturally being conceded, the only people to do it effectively are the Jews. With the exception of the effendis who hold large tracts of land uncultivated and the fellahin under economic subjection, there is no section of the Arab population that can feel its legitimate interests

endangered. The only other type that looks askance at the development of Palestine under the Zionist programme is the concession-hunter familiar to us from the old days of Turkish corruption. It is the firm purpose of the Zionists to keep this Levantine type away from the country, and to maintain the available resources for the public weal, Arab no less than Jewish. The type of Jews who are now coming to Palestine, and will obviously continue to arrive there for years to come, is not the speculator or exploiter, who can find a much better field for his talents elsewhere, but men and women who are desirous of earning their livelihood by the sweat of the brow. At present it is the Chaluzim (pioneers) who, largely from idealistic motives, are seeking their way to a country economically still so barren as Palestine. Many of these Chaluzim belong to the young Jewish *intelligentia* in Eastern Europe who are going to Palestine to find more righteous conditions than those which prevail in the blood-stained countries they have left behind them. It is intended to settle them on the wide uncultivated tracts of land which are to be found in a country so sparsely populated as Palestine; but until the necessary conditions for their reception and employment are brought into being, the Zionist Organization has set its face against the admission of a larger number than those that can profitably enter the country. The Zionist leaders have, in fact, incurred the severe criticism of those Jews who, like Mr. Israel Zangwill, desire that the country should be thrown wide open to Jewish immigration, but have not counted the costs. The responsible Zionist leaders are no less eager than their critics that the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine shall not be impeded by an unfriendly attitude either on the part of the British Administration or of the local Arabs, but there is a firm determination not to risk the success of a scheme of colonization which requires not only general goodwill but economic preparation. This is now in progress. On the one hand there is the possibility of developing the agricultural potentialities of the country infinitely beyond its present scope, and on the other hand there is the necessity of work of irriga-

tion and electric power that will give the country the chance of securing industrial development. It will be for the Zionists to find the capital, a considerable part of which will be sunk without return into the general improvement of the country. The Zionists will also bring into the land those human forces that will raise the country from its present poverty and neglect to the condition of a modern, progressive community.

As is obvious from the geographical position of Palestine, trade and commerce will occupy a prominent position in the future of the country, and in this the Jews will, as a matter of course, play the leading rôle. The occupation of Palestine by British troops and the issue of the Balfour Declaration are the main factors which have been instrumental in a new commercial orientation of the country, particularly in so far as her import policy is concerned. To illustrate this, it would be sufficient to point out that Syria and other Turkish territories, which used to be the chief sources of supply for Palestine before the war, are no longer shipping goods at all. Great Britain, which before the war occupied the second place, now comes first, and has increased its exports to Palestine about twelvefold. Egypt, which occupied a low position in the list of export countries to Palestine, now comes second, with an export trade increased about tenfold. Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany are hardly worth mentioning. If these three countries are at present out of the running, there are newcomers—India, Australia, and Japan—which export goods in considerable quantities. The total import trade in Palestine now supplied by Great Britain and British Dominions amounts altogether to over 55 per cent. of the total. In regard to exports from Palestine, the long isolation of the country and the ravages wrought by the war have done much to diminish her productive capacity. The long period of the administration of the country by the military, and the occurrences in Syria, Damascus, and the Hedjaz, have not failed to react very unfavourably on the export trade of Palestine. When referring to Palestinian trade, we should not overlook the economic relationship between Palestine and Egypt. The British public should understand that the Nationalist and

separatist movement in the latter country is a consequence of the considerable wealth acquired by the Egyptians during the war. There is much free capital now in Egypt seeking investment, and efforts have been made to obtain exclusive control of Palestine by Egyptian financiers. This is a subject which, in the interest of a healthy development of Palestinian trade and industry, should be carefully watched. One of the most urgent questions requiring consideration is the abnormally high shipping rates from Great Britain, which put a severe handicap on the British manufacturer and exporter. As against the average rate of 165 shillings per metric ton for many articles of essential necessity shipped from Liverpool to Jaffa, the rate from Havre is 205 francs, from Antwerp 275 francs, and from Hamburg 80 shillings for the same class of goods. With the probable development of Palestine under Jewish enterprise as a distributing centre, British interests stand much to gain by a reasonable attention to the trading community in that part of the world.

The cultural aspect of affairs is perhaps not the least important, at any rate to the Jews. The recognition of Hebrew as an official language in Palestine has given to that classical tongue the necessary status by the side of English and Arabic. The Jews are keenly anxious to create in Palestine an intellectual centre where Hebraism will find its unfettered expression, but, as experience has proved, it will be possible to do this in conjunction with the kindred Arabic language and literature. Just as it is the desire of Zionist Jews that Palestine shall ultimately develop into a self-governing commonwealth within the British sphere of influence, they are likewise anxious to maintain relations of intimate amity with their local Arab neighbours. It is the fixed policy of the Zionist leaders that the Jews shall share to the full with the Arab population those economic and cultural benefits which the Jews of the West will bring to the East, and, provided there be a peaceful growth of these fraternal relations between the two great races, which it is the Jewish endeavour to foster, Palestine will in time indeed become again the Holy Land in the highest spiritual sense.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

ZIONISM

To the Editor of the "Asiatic Review"

SIR,—I have just read your review of my work on "Zionism and the Future of Palestine." Captain Cannon's position is a *surface* view; mine is based on the history beneath the surface. What he says applies to Jews in countries where the Jews have not their *full* civil rights—Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Roumania. It does not apply to Great Britain, United States, France, Holland, and Italy; and the obvious conclusion, therefore, is that injustice creates Zionism—I mean in its political aspect. Now, the Jews in Russia, Poland, and Roumania constitute two-thirds of the Jews in the world. Hence—from a *surface* view—Captain Cannon concludes that they form a separate entity that cannot assimilate politically. I deny the premise, and seek for the reason for non-assimilation in the conditions under which two-thirds of all the Jews are obliged to live. Wholesale emigration of nine million Jews is out of the question—certainly not to Palestine. Hence the solution must be found *in* the countries in which the Jews live.

MORRIS JASTROW.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE SITUATION IN ARABIA

To the Editor of the "Asiatic Review"

SIR,—I have read recently the speech that Lord Curzon delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Central Asian Society.

Lord Curzon's speech was very eloquent and of great interest to the British Empire.

Nobody doubts the words of Lord Curzon or his eulogies of Sir Percy Cox regarding his administrative wisdom.

The Arabs in general are well satisfied to see that the British Empire is interesting herself in the administration of this country.

But the discourse ends :

"Arabian unity and Arabian aspirations and ambition have been largely aroused by the recent war. Arabian ambitions as against Turkish rule had been justly fomented. Great difficulties had occurred owing to the ambitions of other countries. He would bitterly regret it if out of this welter in which we were now engaged there did not emerge some form of Arabian unity worthy of the traditions of the past."

He also says that in Afghanistan there was trouble and commotion, and he knew of no country in Central Asia where the Bolsheviks had greater hopes of causing trouble to Great Britain. His own feeling was that even

in the changed circumstances the interests of that country and British interests still remained identical. It would be a great misfortune if Afghanistan suffered her connection with Great Britain to be broken.

Lord Curzon truly says that the work of Englishmen in those countries was not over, and that it might take years before this commotion subsided, and that the Central Asian Society would have as great a part to play in the future as it had in the past.

We hope, in this connection, that the promises made to the King of the Hedjaz at the time of the war, when his co-operation and prestige were necessary, will not be minimized now that the war is over, because, by assisting him quickly to create a Central Arabian power and providing him with Englishmen of technical skill, he will be able to create a strong buttress against the enemies of the British Empire and civilization, and save them much expense and trouble.

King Hussein desires that an Arabian State be formed according to the limits fixed in the Treaty of 1915 with the Allies. Baghdad is to be the political and Mecca and Jerusalem the religious capitals. The plan is to have a constitutional government with two chambers, the first consisting of Arab notables corresponding to the House of Lords in London, the second to be on an elective basis. It is hoped to find room for the aspirations of all the races in the kingdom, but on unified lines.

~~My impression in Paris, gathered from official opinion, is that the French are not disposed to evacuate Syria as long as the British remain in Mesopotamia. But our people are quite ready to accord to France and England economical and financial control in these two regions.~~

The Bolshevik manner since the collapse of Wrangel has become more and more pressing. It has now assumed a definite southern direction. Therefore the time is short. No better barrier to their onslaught can be devised than a strong Arab State powerfully supported by England and France.

Within recent memory the theatrical German Emperor hastened to visit Abdul Hamis and outstrip the other Powers in his newly devised friendship. He placed a large wreath on the tomb of Saladin, and, cunningly intermingling sentimentality with trade, constructed the Baghdad Railway, bringing in its wake German commerce. But his scheme of world-power was shattered. The Allies conquered, and found themselves once more on the battlefields of the Holy Land.

In conclusion, may I recall the traditional friendship between England and Arabia, dating from the days of Saladin and Richard I., when the other European Powers were prepared to leave Arabia to the tender mercies of destiny. The incident is well described in Walter Scott's "The Talisman." Through the centuries this friendship has endured, to be consummated by the Treaty of 1915 between King Hussein and King George V.

Yours faithfully,

H. HABIB LOTFALLAH.

[The writer of this letter has, we are informed, come on a mission to England as an Envoy Extraordinary.]

JAPANESE POEM

O-HYAKUDO MODE (SANTA SCALA)

BY MRS. NAKO OTSUKA.

At the first step I take,
 I think of my husband.
 At the second step
 I think of my country.
 But my thoughts return to him
 At the third step.
 This is the way women feel :
 Are they to blame ?

The Land of the Rising Sun
 In the whole world
 Stands peerless and alone ;
 But he too, who alone may call me Wife,
 He, the man of my vows,
 Stands peerless and alone
 In this land of morning glory.

Were you to ask me which is dearer,
 My country or my husband,
 Tears would be the only answer
 I could give.
 Ah, path of my prayers,
 Am I to blame ?

(Translation by PROF. Y. IITSUKA.)

BOOKS RECEIVED.

AMONG noteworthy books received, reviews of which will appear in the April issue, are the following : "British Beginnings in Western India," by H. G. Rawlinson (Clarendon Press) ; "The Charm of Kashmir," by V. C. O'Connor (Longmans) ; "From the Unconscious to the Conscious," by Dr. Gustave Geley (Collins) ; "The Rites of the Twice-born," by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (Milford).

Amongst new publications received are the *Baltic Review* and the *Venturer*, the latter published by the Swarthmore Press in monthly issues.

The Imperial Institute Committee for India has just issued in their series, Indian Trade Enquiry, an interesting volume entitled "Reports on Rice."

OBITUARY NOTICE

JAMES D. ANDERSON, M.A., LITT.D., I.C.S. (RETD.).

By the death of J. D. Anderson, late of the Indian Civil Service, which took place at Cambridge on November 24, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, England and India have suffered a heavy loss. At the present juncture both countries can ill afford to lose a man of this type, for he was a strong link between the two countries. He had sympathy and knowledge, and his was always a conciliating influence. From his earliest days he was "a scholar, and a ripe and good one"—and his knowledge of Bengali and the vernaculars of North-East India was unique. He studied the manners and customs and folk-lore of the people amongst whom he lived and worked, and he was well beloved by all classes.

From Cheltenham and Rugby he passed into the Indian Civil Service in 1873, and served first in Bengal and then in Assam under Sir Stuart Colvin Bayley, G.C.S.I., then Chief Commissioner, whom he served as Chief Secretary. Thence he returned to Bengal as a District-Magistrate, and retired in 1900. He possessed linguistic and literary gifts of a very high order, and was one of the few administrators who could talk fluently to the people of his districts in their own language. He was the author of Vocabularies of the Tippera-Deori-Chutra and Aka languages, and of Collections of Chittagong Proverbs and Folk Tales, and wrote descriptions of the peoples of India for the Cambridge manuals. He was an able and fluent speaker, and his influence in debate was powerful, but gentle, and soothing, and conciliatory. He was always sweetly reasonable, and generally succeeded in convincing the unreasonable, making many friends, and but few, if any, enemies. He often spoke at the Meetings of the East India Association. His last spoken address before the Association was on July 30, 1918, on "India in France," with Lord Reay in the chair. But he wrote a long letter on Mr. Darby's paper, "The Study of Indian Vernaculars," which was read on October 20, 1919; and he contributed an admirable article on "The Calcutta University Report" to the *Asiatic Review* of April, 1920. He had been Cambridge University Professor in Bengali since 1907, and he continued to work for India to the end. His loss will be deeply deplored not only at Cambridge and in London, but throughout the East and West, and especially in Bengal, where his memory is still warmly cherished, and where old and true friends are not soon forgotten, whatever their race or creed may be, or whether they are "sun-dried bureaucrats" or not. India needs a few more faithful servants of the type of Anderson, of whom it may well be asked why was he not "honoured" by "the Powers that be."

J. POLLEN.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

THROUGH DESERTS AND OASES OF CENTRAL ASIA. By Miss Ella Sykes and Sir Percy Sykes. (*Macmillan.*) 21s.

(*Reviewed by* SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY, K.C.I.E.)

We welcome this book as a valuable contribution to literature on Russian and Chinese Turkistan—the more so as for some time past, apart from Bolshevik activities at Tashkent and Bukhara, we have heard but little about those countries, owing, no doubt, to the embargo imposed by the late war on travellers and scientific expeditions. The authors were nine months in 1915 in Turkistan—just at that time when Russia was fighting valiantly by the side of the Allies, whilst China, a phoenix, bedraggled and unfledged, struggling to rise out of the ashes of Manchu imperialism, was wavering between neutrality and partisanship in the world-wide conflict. It was at that juncture that Sir Percy Sykes was appointed to officiate at our most easterly situated Consulate in Chinese territory—namely, at Kashgar, a town of no small political and ethnological interest, by reason of its proximity to “where three empires meet,” which makes it a point of convergence of various frontier problems, some of present-day importance, as well as a centre of diverse cultures, ancient and modern. In “Through Deserts and Oases” Sir Percy Sykes and his sister, who was with him, bring vividly before us the sceneries, life, industries and customs of the country in which they dwelt and travelled.

Kashgar is on about the same latitude as the Mediterranean; yet such were the war conditions that, as a preliminary to their real journey, the travellers had to go northwards to Norway and Sweden, and even penetrate into the Arctic circle at a place called Karungi before they could make their way into Russia, through which the road to Kashgar lay. The Russia they saw was full of hopes as to ultimate success in the war. In Turkistan there were some 16,000 German and Austrian prisoners; and Tashkent, when the travellers arrived there, was gaily decked with flags, in honour of the taking of Przemyśl. Whenever they met Russian officers there was the usual exchange of good wishes, accompanied by the clinking of glasses to the health of the Tzar and of King George. It is pathetic to think of the coming change, then undreamt of—to think that the authors of “Through Deserts and Oases” were about the last Britishers to catch a glimpse of Russian Central Asia before that country became

engulfed in the gloom of Bolshevism; and, what a contrast between the reception accorded to them and that which was meted out to Major F. M. Bailey, an officer in the same service as Sir P. Sykes, when, a short time after, he visited Turkistan under the Leninist régime!

Proceeding eastwards from Tashkent to Osh, the travellers reached the lofty Tianshan range which divides Russian, from Chinese, Turkistan; and this range, which had been visited only by two or three English ladies before Miss Sykes, they had to cross. Miss Sykes depicts with vividness of colour and truth of detail the grandiose panorama presented by those boldly serrated mountains, rising peak above peak, under their load of eternal snow; the encampments of the nomadic Kirghiz living in their "bee-hive-like homes, domes of lath overspread with pieces of felt"; the crossing of the Terek Dawan, a precipitous pass, some 13,000 feet high, on the watershed separating the basin of the Aral Sea from that of Lob-nor; the pack-horses staggering under their loads of bales of cotton; the toll paid by them with their lives, evidenced by their skeletons bleaching in the mountain snow.

The Tianshan range between Osh and Kashgar is usually crossed in twelve marches. On their arrival at their destination the travellers had an excellent reception from all classes—Chinese officials, members of the Russian Consulate, British subjects, etc.

During Sir Percy Sykes's tenure of the British Consulate at Kashgar he and his sister made two tours—one to the Pamirs, and another to the towns of Yarkand and Khotan; and their book gives an excellent account of those places. Only a few Englishmen have had the luck to shoot an *Ovis Poli*. Chapter XVIII., which deals with Sir P. Sykes's experiences in stalking his quarry, cannot fail to interest sportsmen contemplating a visit to the "Roof of the World."

Whilst they were at their Kashgar headquarters the writers collected a good deal of information on the country in which they lived. Sir Percy Sykes's account of the government, the trade and agriculture of Eastern Turkistan, which is contained in Chapters XII. and XVI., may be perused with advantage alike by officials and general readers. Chapters III. to V. are replete with details on Kashgarian customs and institutions; these are from the pen of Miss Sykes and are written with keenness of insight as well as a woman's sensibility of touch. In her humorous treatment of the domestic economy of the British Consulate, Miss Sykes points out much that will interest future *memsahibs* whose lot may take them to Kashgar and oblige them to set up housekeeping there. But there is just a point—a legal one—in her portion of the book on which the reviewer is rather afraid lest the Kazis of Kashgar should join issue with her. Justly indignant at the inferior position of her sex in Islamic countries, Miss Sykes rejoices at an institution which "for once gives them the advantage," and she goes on to mention a law that "if the husband divorces his wife, the latter may take all the movables in the house, and, as in the case of a merchant, much of his wealth consists of carpets and brass utensils, he often finds it cheaper to take a second wife than divorce the first, who would make a clean sweep of the household

plenishing." The wish may be the father to the thought; but the thought has not yet assumed the more active form of practice in Kashgar, and if the law exists there at all, it is, alas! more honoured in the breach than the observance.

There is an historical sketch of Eastern Turkistan in Chapters XIII., XIV., and XV. This is rather too condensed to permit of its being easily followed—not surprising considering that it begins with the early Hans and takes us right up to the present time. Still, some points of contemporary politics are touched upon, such as the special rights enjoyed by Russian subjects under the Treaty of St. Petersburg, the "revolution" in Chinese Turkistan in 1912-13, and the consequent despatch of Russian troops to Kashgar. One could wish that these matters had been treated at greater length by Sir Percy Sykes. Though China herself was in the throes of a revolution in 1912, one may still wonder what objects Chinamen "in this old-world backwater of Asia," like the pork-butchers Pien and Wei, had in joining in, by massacring the Ambans and organizing their army of "Gamblers." Was their aim to bring in a new order of things which, rightly or wrongly, they were under a conviction would be for the benefit of the community as a whole?

Such data as we have point to the opposite conclusion. Indeed, there seems to have been much in common between the late Chinese "Gamblers" of Kashgar and the Bolsheviks now in Russia, the so-called followers of Karl Marx. Both had their grandiloquent catchwords, and both preached a new era; but they differed only in that the former's object was to turn the contents of the Yamen coffers into their own pockets, whilst the latter, more greedy, aimed at the transfer of the State treasury, plus the earnings of the bourgeois, to the same destination. But tacitly they were agreed that, once their pockets had been lined, the proletariat might be scrapped.

Such were the "Gamblers" mentioned by Sir Percy Sykes. They did not rule, but dominated, or rather had the run of, the Yamens (official residences) for the space of two years. Living on the proceeds of past taxations, supplemented by extortions from whilom Ambans who had grown fat in office and whose lives were held at ransom, they were in the ascendant for a time—doing, in justice it should be admitted, little or no harm to those outside the pale of the bureaucracy. The native Mahammadans, who took no side in this struggle and looked upon it as of purely Chinese concern, suffered no molestation, and foreign subjects incurred no losses. This condition of things lasted for a while. Then the men of the late bureaucracy, only a few of whom had been massacred, regained the upper hand, thanks to a coalition with some Chinese Mahammadans (Tungans) from Yunnan, who, contrary to all expectations, instead of joining in the general disturbance, ranged themselves on the side of law and order. Now the old bureaucracy have not only regained their power, but have also ruthlessly exterminated the "Gamblers," sharing the sweets of office with their new friends, the Tungans.

Whilst it lasted, however, the "revolution" caused no small uneasiness to the Russians. Russia enjoys special rights in this part of Chinese territory, which is on her own border. Here her subjects may carry on

trade, free of all Chinese dues, and acquire land and houses by purchase—all rights denied to foreigners in China proper. It need hardly be pointed out that the first concession is one with far-reaching consequences—it virtually places the Russian in Chinese territory in a better position as regards trade than the native in his own home. The result has been an ever-increasing tide of immigration from Tashkent and Bukhara, and this to such an extent that, before the rise of Bolshevism, no small percentage of the population of Eastern Turkistan submitted to no jurisdiction, other than that of the several Russian Consuls stationed in the province. It was, as pointed out by Sir P. Sykes, to give protection to their subjects that the Kashgar Consular Guard of two sotnias of Cossacks was reinforced by 800 men of the Turkistan Rifles. The latter duly arrived, thinking that they would have to cut their way into Kashgar. The "Gamblers" were on the road to meet them; but, most disconcertingly, it was to bring them into the city as honoured guests! Certainly, during the two years this detachment of the Turkistan Rifles remained at Kashgar no stone was left by them unturned to discover the need that would have justified their arrival; but all in vain: not even did the dynamiting of the Kashgar city gate move the stolidity of the "Gamblers." If complications which might have led up to a permanent occupation did not occur, it was less through the wish to avoid them on the part of the Russian officers than through the wise statesmanship of M. Sazonoff, then Minister for Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg.

INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE STUDIES. Edited by R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S. (London, Bombay, and Madras: *Oxford University Press*, 1920.) 14s. net.

(Reviewed by W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.)

This book appears in the Economic Series issued by the University of Bombay, but it is very different from the ordinary academic study. It is propaganda rather than research, looking to the future more than to the past, and as the preface says, its chief aim is to bring the larger problems of the co-operative movement in India before the general public, and to indicate the lines on which solutions are being sought. It forms a handy and readable volume, marred only by the absence of an index (surely a discreditable feature in a University series at the present day); and it is duly "introduced" by the veteran Mr. Wolff, though his remarks would probably have been even more stimulating than they are if he had had an opportunity of reading the essays before he wrote. The method of the book is that of the symposium. Each aspect of the subject is treated by an expert who accepts sole responsibility for the opinions he expresses, and the reader will find that the treatment is characterized by the advantages and drawbacks incidental to the method. There are occasional lapses in regard to co-ordination, occasional differences of standpoint, and while some of the essayists are content to tread the solid earth, others soar into the empyrean regions of pure apocalypse. Making every allowance for these features, the fact remains that the book fulfils the promise of the preface, and it is well worthy of serious study by everyone who is interested

in the social and economic regeneration of India: Taking the essays as a whole, the central problem of the movement is undoubtedly that of its future relations with the State—not the old “efficient” bureaucracy, but the new and human governments which are just coming into existence throughout the provinces. The movement will be an assured success only when it is controlled by the co-operators themselves, but that stage is still far distant, and while so much has to be done for the people, there remains the risk of what a recent writer has described as bureaucratization. Is it possible for an Indian government to engage in a steady policy directed to its own ultimate elimination? And, if the elimination succeeds, will it be possible to prevent other unclean spirits from occupying the void? A formal answer to such questions as these will not be found in the volume under review, for in fact they cannot be disposed of *a priori*, but it is permissible to hope that solutions will be worked out in time by a continuance of the experimental method, which has already yielded such important results. That method requires continuous and searching self-criticism, and it is precisely the presence of this element which makes the essays of Mr. Ewbank and his collaborators so stimulating.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. By Ethel R. Sykes. Parts 1 and 2. (London: C.S.C.I.) 2s. net each.

Reviewed by the DEAN OF WINCHESTER.

These are very pleasantly written sketches of the history of India for children. The story is well and brightly (if not always accurately) told, and should be attractive and useful in arousing the interest of the young in the romantic past of the great peninsula. The illustrations of Part 1 are especially well chosen and well reproduced. Here and there a few paragraphs of contemporary writers are added. The books will not in anyway conflict with the two volumes of “New Readings from Indian History,” published by Messrs. Cooper, of Bombay, the aim of which was to direct the attention of the older students of schools and colleges to the original authorities for the early and British percepts. If Miss Sykes’s books are intended for use in England—and they might well be used here, for a child’s history of India is much needed—it would be well to make the picture of Muhammad more true to fact by not leaving out the shadows from the portrait. And the ignorant (of whom this reviewer is one) might be told what the mysterious initials C. L. S. I. mean.

W. H. H.

THE RITCHIES IN INDIA. Extracts from the Correspondence of William Ritchie, 1817-1862, and Personal Reminiscences of Gerald Ritchie, with Portraits and Illustrations. (London: John Murray.) 1920. 21s. net.

(Reviewed by A. L. COTTON)

Mr. Gerald Ritchie, the compiler of this book, is the great-grandson of William Makepeace Thackeray, the “elephant hunter of Sylhet,” who was the grandfather of the creator of “Colonel Newcome”; and “The

Ritchies in India accordingly carries two generations further the family history begun by Sir William Hunter in his "Thackerays in India," and continued by Lady Ritchie, the daughter of the novelist, in her introduction to the volume of "Ballads and Miscellanies," in the Biographical Edition of Thackeray's works. Mr. Ritchie's own contribution covers the period of his service as a Bengal civilian, from 1875 to 1901. The letters of his father, William Ritchie, whose mother, Charlotte, was the daughter of "Sylhet Thackeray," were written between 1828 and 1862.

It was in 1842, after a career at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, that William Ritchie was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and from 1855 to 1861 he filled the office of Advocate-General of Bengal. In September of the latter year he was appointed a provisional member of the Governor-General's Council, and was confirmed as legal member a month later. He died in Calcutta, on March 22, 1862, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Maine.

His correspondence, as now published, is of a social and domestic rather than a political or literary character, the letters, with few exceptions, being written to immediate relatives, and touching lightly on the occurrences of everyday existence. He was a genial and attractive correspondent, and his letters reveal him as a man of conspicuous kindness and charm of character. His cousin Thackeray, the novelist, who was six years his senior, was, it is evident, devotedly attached to him. "Well, Charlotte," he exclaimed, on hearing of his death, "William is now a member of the Council of Heaven."

In the earlier letters there are some caustic comments on John Company and its servants and on Lord Ellenborough, and it is agreeable to note the mainly independence of character and judgment which distinguished the young barrister. But it is rather in the half-humorous pen portraits of his own contemporaries, such as Bishop Wilson, the Deputy Governor Wilberforce Bird, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Dampier, that his neatness of touch is shown to advantage. He occupied a unique position in Calcutta society, and was that rarest of combinations—a good man, a man of humour, and a man who was popular with every class of the community.

His son, whose reminiscences occupy a hundred and thirty pages, has inherited (besides the stature) many of the qualities which won for his father the esteem of all who knew him. His sketches are slight, but they are pleasant. A chapter on the Winchester of 1866-1872 will appeal to many Wykehamists; the lively thumbnail impressions of Anglo-Indian notabilities will interest a wider circle. If neither the father's letters nor the son's recollections pierce deep below the surface, they at least afford the reader a welcome and unassuming glimpse of the private life of Englishmen as it was lived in India in the nineteenth century. The student of new India will not derive instruction; but if the history of a time is best to be learned from private memoirs, this book, wholly apart from the "Thackeray interest" which it possesses incidentally, should have no difficulty in finding an appreciative public.

RECONSTRUCTING INDIA. By SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K.C.I.E.
(*P. S. King.*)

[*Reviewed by* STANLEY RICE (I.C.S. RETD.)]

Sir M. Visvesvaraya preaches the millennium. He has reconstructed India—at any rate on paper—so thoroughly that if all his ideas could be realized we should be once more in sight of the Golden Age, and the Kaliyuga, the evil time in which we live, would have departed like a nightmare. So comprehensive is his programme and so wide his survey, extending over Great Britain, Canada, the United States, and Japan, with occasional references to Russia and Germany, that we are left wondering if this man, who handles practical affairs in the spirit of the City, can belong to the idealist Indian race who love to theorize without much thought of detail. And yet when we look again, past the imposing array of figures with which we are greeted, to the policy which he outlines we wonder now whether the author has ever been in India at all, and now whether, after all, we are not reading the Oriental mind in European dress. There is on the one hand a pathetic assumption that government, if wisely conducted, can accomplish almost anything; on the other an equally pathetic belief in the response of the people to all such counsels of perfection. The chapter on agriculture is peculiarly illuminating. “The policy of agricultural development,” we are told, “is controlled, not by experts, but by members of the bureaucracy. . . . Knowledge is therefore lacking, and the technique of modern cultivation is undeveloped.” True the Director of Agriculture is usually an Indian civilian, and quite possibly that is wrong; but the Deputy-Directors upon whom he relies for scientific advice, and whose business is the science rather than the policy of agriculture, are in fact experts, and cannot but have a great influence upon the policy itself. Or again, we are told that “the existing breeds of cattle need improvement,” and that we must “attend to questions relating to stock-breeding and fodder-supply.” As if this very question were not the despair of local governments! As if orders innumerable were not issued, pamphlets written, advice given, without any visible effect on the ryots’ conservatism! We are to provide temporary loans, facilities for procuring draught cattle, good seed, etc; we are to establish agricultural societies; but we are not told that temporary loans for the reclamation of land, for the sinking of wells, for the purchase of seed grain and cattle, have been offered by the Government for at least thirty years past, or that the establishment of agricultural societies, eagerly welcomed at the time, proved a dismal failure in Madras for want of any real interest in them—not by the bureaucracy, but by the representatives of the people.

The book is interesting as a psychologic study of mentality. Sir M. Visvesvaraya is a product of the times. Earnestly seeking for a policy which will lead to the speedy progress of India in the world, and patiently developing his ideas of reconstruction, he turns to the West throughout for his inspiration, and betrays his habit of thought even in the rather official and dogmatic style of his writing. He has evidently no liking for the government by a foreign bureaucracy, and again and again insists that

attention divided between the interests of England and the welfare of India is hampering the development of the latter. He is not an extremist in the sense of demanding complete independence, but he thinks that progress is only possible when all real power is in the hands of the people. "The people," he says, "have long been convinced that without political power and Government support adequate progress is impossible," and therefore he demands the control over economic policy. Or again, he complains that the Government "has actively discouraged all forms of autonomous organization or societies for mutual aid." This is his creed, but scattered throughout the book we find dogmatic assertion of the kind without any attempt to prove it by illustration or argument. That the Government has actively discouraged all forms of autonomous organization may be true if the writer is referring to political movements of a subversive tendency; if, again, he has in mind the village system, it is undoubtedly the case that the development of State departments has atrophied the ancient constitution, but it is not easy to recall any active discouragement of societies for mutual aid.

And amidst these schemes for developing India on Western lines one looks in vain for any generous recognition of the foundations which alone have made such development possible. The bureaucracy may have failed to bring India up to the standard of Japan, through inherent defects in the system and through its very nature as a foreign Government. Yet not merely the material advantages of irrigation, of a systematized education, of banking or of railways, but even the ideas of organization and social reform, can be traced back to this delinquent bureaucracy. Little, if any, emphasis is placed on the attitude and mentality of the people. "Caste," it is admitted, "is responsible for most of the social disorders from which India suffers," and "a special attempt should be made to render the system more elastic." What is the remedy? A vigorous propaganda by the leaders of the people and good legislation. We should have a law sanctioning intercaste marriages. The writer cannot but be aware that Government is ready to pass such a law to-morrow if public opinion would permit it; he must know that social reformers have been working for years to remove some of the most glaring anomalies of the caste system, with very little result. Again, we are told that "the Press is in chains, anti-sedition laws flourish," and that the Press is a poorly equipped and persecuted agency. But there is no hint that the Press as a whole has not yet learned the difference between freedom and licence. It is true that certain publications in the United Kingdom transgress the bounds of sober journalism, but that, it is submitted, is an argument for restricting the licence of the Press in England, not for extending it in India.

Nevertheless, the book is an honest attempt at constructive criticism, and as such it is welcome. The author's reply to his critics might well be that his purpose was not to go back to the beginning of things, but, seeing things as they are to-day, to point out the possibilities which lie before the representatives of the people. And when all is said and done, the main obstacle is stated in the concluding words: "A consciousness should be roused in the Indian mind that a better state of things exists outside, and

a vastly better state of things could be brought into existence in India itself if the people only willed and worked for the same." That is the problem.

FAR EAST

SINO-IRANICA: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products. By Berthold Laufer, Curator of Anthropology. (Chicago: *Field Museum of Natural History*, Publication 201, Anthropological Series, vol. xv., No. 3, 1919.)

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR S. H. VINES, F.R.S.)

This somewhat bulky volume (pp. 630) is a contribution to the study of the mutual relations of China and ancient Iran; it is limited to the history of certain objects of material culture, cultivated plants, drugs, and other vegetable products, textiles, metals, and precious stones, in their migration from Persia to China (Sino-Iranica) and from China to Persia (Irano-Sinica). The account necessarily involves linguistic considerations, more particularly the Chinese laws of transcription from foreign tongues, which are dealt with, briefly but clearly, only so far as is necessary for the main purpose of the book.

The interest centres in the migrations of the cultivated plants, of which about one hundred are discussed in chronological order. Among the plants which, according to the author, reached China from Iran, are the following: Alfalfa (lucerne), grape-vine, pistachio, walnut, pomegranate, garden pea, assafetida, date-palm, almond, fig; and among those which reached Persia from China are the square bamboo, peach, apricot. Closely connected with this is the question of the introduction of paper from China into Persia, and of paper-money made from the bast of the white mulberry. Each case, whether it be of a plant, a drug, Persian rugs, or a precious stone, is discussed with a wealth of detail replete with references to authorities and with fresh information gathered from a number of Chinese texts. So important is this new material that it would appear that the further elucidation of the ancient history of objects of material culture must be pursued in this direction.

The author is to be congratulated on the success of his "attempt to determine the Iranian stratum in the structure of Chinese civilization." As he points out, "it is not easy to combine botanical, Oriental, philological, and historical knowledge" necessary for so great an undertaking, but he has proved himself not unequal to the difficult task. His work is a mine of information, not only to the student of Asiatic civilization, but also, and more particularly, to the historical botanist.

NEAR EAST

THE VICTORY OF VENIZELOS. By Vincent J. Seligman. (*George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.*) 5s. net.

Mr. Vincent J. Seligman, under the above alliterative title, has given the student of the Great War a useful handbook as to the part played by the

contending factions of the Greek Government in the world-struggle for freedom.

The author tells us he has ventured on this study of Greek politics from 1910-1920 because of the insidious propaganda carried on from headquarters in Switzerland with the express purpose of convincing London and New York that the only hope for the salvation of Greece lies in the restoration of ex-King Constantine. From the same sources we are assured that, to a man, the Greeks are weary of Venizelos.

The author admits that the "slight reaction in Greece itself" which has set in during the last few months gives a "remote semblance of truth" to the above statements, but this reaction is not due to unrequited longings for the return of the deposed sovereign, rather is it but the normal vexatious aftermath of the war. Greece, like England, has its Bolsheviks, profiteers, and other undesirables, but unlike England, being then (January, 1920) still at war with Turkey, she had been unable to set her house in order, and this internal disorganization was the main cause of the unrest. Mr. Seligman is right in his contention that the return of the ex-King would be fraught with disaster to Greece, but he and a host of similar writers fail to serve the cause of Greece when they minimize so blindly the extent of the existing bitterness and internal strife, perhaps inevitable in the past, but to be neglected now at the gravest national peril.

The "secret correspondence" between Athens and Berlin should prove of interest to those Royalist Greeks who proclaim themselves friends of the Entente characterized by their ex-Queen as "those infamous pigs." However, this may be a playful pleasantry on her part, seeing that she expressed a desire for their company after the war, but she can never again pose as a model of domesticity ignoring and detesting political intrigues. F. R. S.

RUSSIA

FROM LIBERTY TO BREST-LITOVSK: The first year of the Russian Revolution. By Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams (Mrs. Harold Williams). (*Macmillan and Co., Ltd.*) 16s. net.

Mrs. Williams, in adding to the already voluminous literature of the Russian Revolution, has written a book that deserves the careful attention of all who are interested in the most outstanding phenomenon of our times. And she has particular qualifications for her task. As a member of the Cadet party, she welcomed the Revolution of March, believing that her country had at last been freed from the fetters of the old régime. Little did she or other enlightened Russians realize in March, 1917, what November of that same year would bring. And yet, in spite of the non-fulfilment of her aspirations, she pursues her story as impartially as is possible for one who was not only a contemporary, but actually a witness of most of the events she describes. And this is valuable, for Bolshevism has come to excite either hysterical eulogies or dreadful imprecations, and it has become not only the touchstone of our political creed but even of our respectability. Meantime, whatever it contains of value is lost sight of. For some it is simply the materialized principle of evil, for others an immense stage towards the millennium. There is no middle way.

Mrs. Williams's book takes us as far as the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. As a record of facts it bears the impress of accuracy, in so far as accuracy is possible at this early stage. At any rate she refrains from manipulating facts that are still obscure. And yet her story, even if we choose still further to discount much that she says, leaves one amazed at the turpitude, greed, and hypocrisy of the small band of international socialists who, with a view to internationalizing the world, attacked Russia as a prelude. Their German connection militated against a patriotism the virtue of which they denied by vigorously apostrophizing the Red Flag. The proletariat had no country, *vide* Marx.

The transition from the "bloodless" Revolution of March, 1917, to the violent *coup d'état* of November is well told by Mrs. Williams. In spite of the confused welter of events and of parties, she presents a coherent picture of what occurred as the balance shifted from the Right to the Left. The disruption of the country proceeded at an ever-increasing speed. Bolshevism—and later events have amply proved this—represents among other things the triumph of propaganda. It undermined the Army, which was the barrier against disorder, and its catchwords hypnotized a people already demoralized by war, hunger, and disease. However, it must also be remembered that Russia lacked the right men to lead her through her crisis. Kerensky seems to have been an anæmic mediocrity with a glib tongue. He paved the way for Lenin, who with brilliant fanaticism and unscrupulous concentration on his end was able to foist on an illiterate proletariat the whole Marxian programme, that he gracefully introduced by a seductive interpretation of robbery, murder, and the more violent anti-social activities. Whatever is the outcome of Lenin's vast experiment, he will probably live in history not so much as an incarnation of the anti-Christ, but as an intrepid experimenter, a Mohammed in economics, a pervert, and the supreme example of a man dominated by an *idée fixe*. His moral blindness in a world that, however cynical, certainly aspires to moral values, will be adduced as one reason of his failure, if he fails, as we believe he must. His neglect of everything external to his material conception is significant of the extreme narrowness of his views. Moral values are as vital, if not more so, than mere material progress. This fact seems to be generally overlooked. Without them, all Marxian economics, all mechanical readjustments within the community, are mere temporary palliatives. The ultimate "withering away of the State," to use a Marxian expression, can only be a logical concept.

Bolshevism, as it emerges from the pages of Mrs. Williams's book, seems to be in the nature of a fantasy. It is a pathological condition of the body politic and social, in many ways similar to a neurosis in the individual. Both result from past repressions and the accumulations of undischarged energy that at a given moment is released and then flows without proper directive help into abnormal channels. Mrs. Williams describes that moment of release. Brest-Litovsk represents the big historic landmark, almost a culmination, as it were, of the extraordinary psychological happenings that upset Russia, and threatened, and is still threatening, to sow dissension throughout the world.

But, in spite of the infinity of suffering she saw, the author ends on a note of hope. We believe her hope will be justified. It is the fate of mankind to progress on a zigzag course, but the course is sure.

SOCIOLOGY

RACE AND NATIONALITY. By John Oakesmith. (*Heinemann.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by JEAN FINOT, Editor *La Revue*, Paris)

Scientific errors are often the unfailing sources of human misery. Thus the old conception of races as being intangible entities has at all times engendered distrust, hatred, and consequently fratricidal wars between peoples and races. The moment it is admitted that there are races which are essentially and eternally superior to others, then the subjugation, and even the extermination, of those which are considered inferior becomes almost an international necessity. Fortunately, this scientific heresy, which cannot be justified on any grounds, is being more and more abandoned. And the author of the present work is to be heartily congratulated for contributing to this question his literary talent and his sure grip of scientific knowledge.

But if race as an invariable factor and constant element is to disappear, what becomes of the principle of nationality? Some have falsely imagined that as soon as races can become modified and subject to change through environment, then the principle of nationality also disappears into thin air. The author shows that these two questions are not dependent one on the other. No, nationality remains as a salutary doctrine in the stages of evolution, while the possibility of races existing which never change is becoming more and more called in question in the domain of true science. He establishes the fact that the principle of nationality obtains its driving force from continuity and common interest, and he proves it, with the aid of innumerable examples. For it is the combination of moral, material, and intellectual interests, as well as their continuity, which forms the binding cement and rallies the inhabitants of a country under the national banner. Thus nationality, according to the excellent definition of the author, is the organic continuity of common interests.

This thesis is supported in the most convincing manner. Mr. Oakesmith analyzes in a series of chapters the arguments of the clearest thinkers in the army of apostles of "race," who are recruited not only amongst the Germans, but also in French sociological circles, by Gustave Le Bon and others. He exposes the fallacy of the collective psychology of peoples, and refers to the old metaphysical conception that race has no foundation in practice. Numerous instances are quoted from the life of the Jewish people, particularly in the political and intellectual evolution of England, which serve to contribute to the final triumph of his thesis: that the principle of nationality is beneficial as a basis for peace among the peoples, whilst permanent wars are due to the racial doctrine. In drawing his conclusions from the lessons of the Great War the author shows the possibility, and, indeed, the necessity, of doing away with the national principle of Divine egoism and relying rather on international solidarity.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

A RECORD OF IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY, AT HOME,
BEARING ON ASIATIC QUESTIONS

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 47 to 115. The next meetings will be as follows : January 24 (3.30 p.m.), at the rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street; Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson on "Medicine in India"; February 21, Professor D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., on "Some Non-Political Aspects of the Caliphate Question."

At a meeting of the League of Nations Union on November 30, Mr. Whelen delivered a lecture on "The Covenant and Labour." Mr. N. C. Sen (Member of Council, East India Association) in an interesting speech declared that he had been attracted to the League of Nations from the very beginning. "It is also very pleasing to me to say, and it may interest you to know, that Sir William Meyer, the recently-appointed High Commissioner for India, and who is my new Chief, is now representing India at the Congress in Geneva. He has for his colleagues, H.H. the Maharaja of Nawanganar and Sir Ali Imam, both of whom I may claim as old and personal friends. In their hands, I say with confidence that India's interests are perfectly safe. Prince Ranji will play the game: of that you may rest assured!"

LONDON BRAHMO SOMAJ

CELEBRATION OF THE BIRTHDAY OF BRAHMANANDA
KESHUB CHANDRA SEN

A LARGE and distinguished assembly met at 21, Cromwell Road, on the evening of September 19, to celebrate the birthday of the great religious leader of Bengal. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Lytton, recently appointed Under-Secretary of State for India, occupied the chair.

Mr. N. C. SEN said : Your Highnesses, my lord, ladies and gentlemen, to-day we members of the Brahmo Somaj, both here and in India, celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of our Minister, Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen. It has been customary in the past years for our President, Sir Krishna Gupta, and then Lord Sinha, to welcome you to our gatherings. To-night we greatly miss their presence, but I can assure you that the welcome which we accord you is not by any means lacking in the smallest degree in warmth and cordiality. We thank you most heartily for coming here this evening and joining in our festivities. To your lordship we are very grateful for kindly presiding at our meeting at such very short notice, and at, I fear, considerable personal inconvenience. We regard your presence at this gathering, where you have an opportunity of meeting face to face so many of our young friends and countrymen, as

of the happiest augury, coming as it does so soon after your assuming the exalted office of Under-Secretary of State for India, an office which Lord Sinha held with such consummate success. May I also welcome Lady Lytton on behalf of our Somaj for gracing the meeting with her presence?

It will interest you to know that Her Highness Maharani Sunity Devi, of Cooch Behar, whose absence we greatly deplore on account of a very sad and recent bereavement and ill-health, has asked that her father's bust, which you see here to-night, might be kept in the home of the National Indian Association, a fitting shrine where to repose, for he, as you know, founded this Association with Miss Mary Carpenter in 1870. The bust is the work of Miss Catherine Allison Fellows, who was a well-known artist of that time.

Now, with your permission, I should like to give you a brief sketch of my father's life. [It is hoped to publish this in a subsequent issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.]

LORD LYTTON said : Though my family connections with India are many and long standing, my own official connection with India is somewhat too recent for me to speak with authority on Indian matters. No occasion on which to make my first appearance at an Indian gathering would be more welcome than this—the birthday of a man who united all creeds, who worked for community, goodwill, and fraternity. Among idealists there are some who can only see evils to be attacked, abuses to be destroyed, whose zeal burns best in an atmosphere of strife. Not so Keshub Chandra Sen. He always saw the best in men, the divine attributes in human beings ; he always sought unity, not dissension ; he was a builder, not a demolisher. As a religious teacher he was in the main a seeker after the divine essence in all creeds and denominations, and the divine purpose common to all. To read his life-story is like a living experience. There could be no finer example for English and Indians to take in this important crisis of their relations.

H.H. MAHARAJ RANA OF JHALAWAR said : It gives me much pleasure in joining the party assembled here to honour the memory of the great Reformer Keshub Chandra Sen. He was one of those illustrious sons of India who have been inspired with the idea of doing service to their Mother Country by breaking the shackles of prejudices that prevent social and national progress. With the instinct of a great seer, he felt that the various social evils that were associated with the orthodox forms of religion in India were antagonistic to social and national growth, and at the same time he realized that the higher form of religion preached by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Adi Brahma Samaj, was beyond the comprehension of the ordinary run of people. So he struck a middle course and preached a simpler form of theistic religion acceptable to all and fraught with unifying forces, being free from sectarian doctrines.

H.H. the MAHARAJA OF COOCH BEHAR said : Keshub Chandra Sen had great courage in his mission ; he never faltered or lost faith. He left a very good impression in England : here he was perhaps better understood than in India. He was merely endeavouring to establish the purest form of theism, and to sweep away the false representation of old customs. He

wished to correct the mistaken idea about images, to point out that they are only symbols. He tried to differentiate between the spiritual and materialistic sides of religious belief.

His Highness then offered the thanks of the Society to Lord Lytton for presiding, and said he was confident that Lord Lytton would do well in his work for India—the land of his birth.

The meeting opened with a Vedic hymn sung by Mrs. Mukerji and ended with a Bengali song by Miss Mallik.

The Central Asian Society met on November 18, at 74, Grosvenor Street, when a paper was read by Major F. M. Bailey on "Turkestan under the Bolsheviks." Major-General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., was in the chair. In the course of the discussion Sir Michael O'Dwyer stated that whereas the lecturer had experienced difficulty in leaving the country, his own difficulty many years ago, when it was under the Imperial Government, had been to gain admission to it. Miss Houston related her adventures in the same region.

The Japan Society held a meeting in their old quarters at Hanover Square on November 18. The chair was taken by Mr. Marcus B. Huish, and a paper was read by Mr. J. H. Gubbins, C.M.G., on "The Hundred Articles and the Tokugawa Government." It was illustrated by lantern slides, and proved very learned—so much so that no discussion followed. Amongst those present were Captain S. Kobayashi (Naval Attaché to the Japanese Embassy), Mr. Arthur Diósy (Vice-President of the Japan Society), Lady de Rutzen, and Lady Newnes.

There was a meeting of the *China Society* on Thursday, November 25th, at the school of Oriental Studies, when Mr. MacGowan delivered a highly interesting lecture on "Life in a Buddhist Monastery." Sir E. Denison Ross (Chairman), in an introductory address stated that the lecturer was a fluent Japanese scholar, and that his experiences in the East had been quite unprecedented.

The lecturer distinguished between (1) Hinayāna, or Primitive Buddhism, as found in Burma, Siam and Ceylon; (2) undeveloped Mahayana, as found in India; and (3) the various stages of developed Mahayana prevalent in Japan and China. The Buddhism of Thibet and Mongolia he was inclined to place in a separate category. The major portion of his remarks concerned his experiences in Japan and China. In China Buddhism was largely a popular movement, and the monks were drawn chiefly from the ranks of the middle classes, with a sprinkling of the very high. The monks were often content to wait many years, as each additional year automatically increased the chances of high office in the priesthood. In fact, if a monk was ready to wait long enough, he could by a single promotion become an abbot of the first rank. In Japan, where the reformed form of worship was prevalent, promotion was more regular, the monasteries offered great educational facilities (e.g., Buddhist University of Kyoto),

and it was the practice for young men to enter for a few years, and then take commissions in the Army or Navy. Much had also been done by the monks for female education. The temples were often well endowed. In China the monks depended on charity; in Ceylon and Siam they received presents in food. The lecturer added that he had found the régime very strict indeed in China.

In the course of the discussion Mr. Arthur Diósy enquired about the punishments meted out to delinquents, and the lecturer stated in reply that a monk who did not know his prayers by heart was chastised with a box on the ears!

At the meeting of the *Anglo-Russian Literary Society* on Tuesday, 5th October, a paper on "The Republics of Old Russia" was read by Mr. W. Barnes Steveni. The lecturer traced the rise of the famous Hanseatic town, proudly called "Lord Novorod the Great," from the days of the Varangians from Scandinavia. Memorials are still to be seen of the ancient city. Its suppression, and that of the republic of Pskov, was due to Ivan IV. ("the Terrible").

On 2nd November Sir Clive Phillipps-Wolley's translations from Pushkin's "Eugène Onégin" and articles on Bolshevism by Mr. George Kennan and Rev. George Simons of U.S. were read by the President and Mr. Preston.

On 7th December the Rev. Dr. John Brownlie lectured on the hymns of the Russian (Greek) Church.

On Tuesday, November 23rd, the *Sociological Society* met at Leplay House. Mr. C. R. Enock, F.R.G.S., read a paper entitled "Some Suggestions towards a Science of Corporate Life."

The lecturer explained that the true principles of corporate life have not to be invented but applied. They already exist in nature. In the structural organization of matter—i.e., the linking up of units into federation, and the obedience of these units to the structural laws of place, function, and behaviour—we have the basic principles for Society, the equivalent social units being the individual, the local group and the nation.

Our failure to grasp the importance of the second of these has led to the over-centralization of our great cities, with stagnation, social and industrial, in our country towns and villages as a corollary. This over-centralization is partly caused by a semi-predatory commercialism. The Golden Rule of "Esteem thy neighbour as thyself" is no mere pious aspiration, but a scientific law, and is essential for the well-being of society. If regional life and industry could be adequately fostered, the regions, becoming largely self-supporting, would take their rightful place in the social structure, and our present social and economic difficulties would tend to disappear.

Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, who was in the Chair, said he was glad the lecturer was not in favour of cosmopolitanism, but saw the value of nationhood. We can regard England as a personality. The

lecturer and he had both been much abroad, and both had realized that fact. Then there were the smaller groupings. Good examples of these, when the larger divisions have broken down, are the village communities in India, which have persisted throughout political changes. It was a pity that the new Reform Scheme had not taken sufficient account of these village communities.

In conclusion Mr. Victor Branford expressed the appreciation of the Society to the lecturer for his suggestive paper.

A very enjoyable Farewell Dinner was given on November 22 by the *Oriental Circle of the Lyceum Club* to the Chinese Minister and Madame Sze, who are shortly leaving this country for Washington. Mrs. Theodore Stephenson presided in the absence of Lady Aberdeen: The menu card was specially designed for the occasion by the well-known artist, Mr. William Giles, of Chelsea, whose wife was one of the hostesses of the evening. Among the speakers were Sir John Jordan, Sir James Cantlie, Lord Shaw, Lord Chalmers, and Sir Charles Addis. The Chinese Minister delivered a very important address, which forms the basis of a contribution from his pen to the present issue.

The Anglo-Hellenic League held their Annual Meeting on December 6 at King's College, with the Hon. Pember Reeves in the chair. H.E. Mr. J. Gennadius, Sir Arthur Crosfield, and Mr. Cassavetti were among the speakers.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

SECOND ANNIVERSARY THANKSGIVING SERVICE

ON Sunday afternoon, October 24, an Anglo-Czech service was conducted at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, by the Rev. F. B. Meyer, D.D. Among those who attended were Dr. Mastny, the newly-appointed Minister to this country, Mr. J. Benes, attaché to the Legation, and Madame Olga Novakoff ("O.K."), the venerable Russian patriot. After the hymn, "All people that on earth do dwell," the Rev. T. B. Kaspar, Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, read in Czech and English the lesson (2 Thess. ii. 13-17). Dr. Meyer gave a cordial welcome to the Czech visitors, and said that four hundred years ago a Bohemian lady, Queen Anne, became consort of our King Richard II., and, through her, Wyclif's writings were sent to Prague, to exert considerable influence in the nation, culminating in the noble ministry and martyrdom of John Hus. Luther derived much inspiration from the life and works of the martyr of Constance. After the persecutions the Czech Brethren became the Moravian Church, to which Wesley owed so much. We are thankful that the Czecho-Slovaks have their liberty, and are making such good use of it, and that so great and good a man as Professor T. G. Masaryk is the President. That country is almost the only one that has maintained perfect order, unassailed by any outburst of revolutionary spirit. Her people are equally true in peace and

war, and we wish them many happy years of unbroken prosperity and peace. After prayer by the Bishop of the Moravian Church, the Brotherhood choir sang "Comrades in Arms." Greetings from the Evangelical Church of Slovakia and the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren were read by the Rev. T. B. Kaspar. An address was delivered by the Rev. T. Hunter Boyd, Presbyterian Church in Canada, who said that Hus was accustomed to address his flock as "faithful in God." The congregation represented almost every country in Europe, and included those of the Hebrew, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox faiths. Three eminent friends of Bohemia had passed away: Mr. James Baker, the novelist and historian, Principal Dr. R. M. Burrows, of King's College, and Sir Vesey Strong, formerly Lord Mayor of London. The Slav peoples have an undying hope of which we can have no conception. It would be desirable if the word "Protestantism" could be changed for something better, as too often it stands for narrow-mindedness. Disraeli once said that though the vineyard of Israel had ceased to exist, the eternal law enjoined the children of Israel still to celebrate the vintage, and the Czechs-Slovaks acted in the same spirit, and now enjoy their vintage again. Hus was a University man, St. Paul was another, and University men like Masaryk, Benes, and Stephanik, instead of standing on pedestals, helped those who had not their advantages. "O.K.," in her life of Skobelev, quoted the Czech statesman, Francis Palacky, to the effect that the Slavs repudiate all domination, demand equality before the law for all, and that no nation is to be the servile instrument of its neighbours. The Czech declaration of independence began with universal suffrage, the eight hours' day, and other reforms for which other countries had striven for centuries. Principles of magnanimity and toleration were proclaimed, and may God grant a continuance of this strength so that you may prosper in every good word and work. A collection was taken for the Czech Relief Fund, and the service closed with "God save the King," and the Czech National Anthem, "Kde domov muj" (Where is my home?). F. P. M.

A meeting of the Indian Section of the *Royal Colonial Institute* was held on December 14th at the Victoria Hotel, when Sir Francis Young-husband delivered a lecture on "India and England: The True Tie between Them." The Rt. Hon. Lord Carmichael was in the chair. The lecturer laid special stress on the importance of getting the right kind of Englishmen to go out to India. He criticized particularly the system of examinations for the Civil Service. The discussion that followed was shared by the Chairman, Lord Meston, Sir Charles Monro, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES

A RESCUE FROM OBLIVION

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

A GOOD instance of what modern archæology can do, and has done, to save for posterity the relics of former ages is afforded by the case of the great necropolis of ancient Thebes. On the west bank of the Nile, forming a background to the Theban plain with its majestic ruins, is a series of low hills pierced in all directions by small rectangular openings. These openings, on closer examination, prove to be the doorways of tombs, the "eternal houses" of the departed nobles and grandees of the ancient city, built by each in turn as a place wherein his funerary cult might be perpetuated when the time should come for him to pass "yonder" into the mysterious life in the nether-world.

The word "tomb" ill expresses these rock-cut chambers, which are gaily decorated with coloured scenes depicting the active life of the living mainly, and only in a minor degree is the idea of death suggested by the frescoes devoted to the scenes of the funeral procession and the last rites performed on behalf of the mummy. The actual burying-place is inconspicuous, being usually a small cell at the bottom of a deep shaft sunk in the floor of the innermost chamber; indeed, in not a few instances there is no burial place at all, the mummy having been laid to rest elsewhere. For want of a better term, these tombs, as we must continue to call them, are generally known as the "private tombs" in contradistinction to the "royal tombs," which are close together in the desolate valley of Bibân el-Mulûk, some little distance away. These private tombs are the chapels of the nobles and officers of state, and

persons of rank and wealth who served for the most part under the great Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and they possess for us a strong human appeal. Vividly depicted on their walls, we see the courtiers at the palace, the magistrates on the bench, the military leaders directing the troops, the viziers receiving the tribute from foreigners from distant lands. It is pre-eminently from these scenes that our knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancient world is derived, for the great temples, sculptured as they are all over with scenes, portray for the most part only the ceremonial side of Egyptian life ; but in the tombs we may see, apart from the indications of the special callings of their owners, as mentioned above, all sorts and conditions of men playing their rôles in everyday work and play. We see the smith at his forge, the vintner and the cellarer at work, the makers of sandals and harness and nets, the carpenter with his tools, and the sculptor aloft on the scaffolding chiselling the hard features of a colossal statue. Potters, glass-makers, weavers, tailors, and a host of other craftsmen, crowd the pictures, while in the country the herdsman and the farmer are busy, and the fowler and the huntsman pursue their sport. The Nile is crowded with boats : state barges and cargo vessels, skiffs and canoes, sailing or paddling to and fro. From the artistic point of view, many of the tombs are veritable masterpieces, and there is scarcely one but has its own particular merit in store for our admiration. Again, many of the chapels, cut as they are into the heart of the living rock, are often marvels of engineering skill, and many are the artifices employed to achieve a given result when an adverse seam in the rock interferes with the architect's purpose.

We must now enquire in what state of preservation these relics have come down to us, and it is a gloomy tale to unfold. Plundered in antiquity, usurped and used as cells by solitary ascetics and as churches by the Copts in the early centuries of our era, and seized upon later as dwellings for man and beast by Arab families in more recent times,

many of the tombs bear only too plainly the marks of the spoiler's hand. In some tombs the paintings on the walls and ceilings are effaced by smoke and dirt or washed out by pious fanatics. The drifted sand and rubbish has choked many others, and last, but not least, the modern tourist and the antiquity dealer have broken and defiled the walls in their attempts to cut out pictures or scenes, and have scattered the wreckage under foot. Much, indeed, has perished, but much remains to be saved, and archaeologists must ask themselves whether they are justified in seeking and excavating new tombs whilst so much is already unprotected. Fortunately, however, some very definite steps have been taken to safeguard the tombs of Thebes, and the general condition of the necropolis is to-day in a more satisfactory state. Thanks to the enlightened liberality of private persons, notably Mr. Robert Mond, to the efforts of the local guardians, and of the *Service des Antiquités*, many of the tombs have been cleared, repaired, and provided with iron doors to protect them from further ravages.

A definite and final numbering has been devised and an admirable catalogue produced.* This latter has a series of photographic plates in which the position of each tomb is indicated, and the catalogue proper enumerates the owners' names and titles, the date, state of conservation, and finally the geographical position with references to the key-plates. Two hundred and fifty-two tombs are thus accounted for, and an admirable introduction and series of indexes completes the equipment of what is a useful and thoroughly well-done piece of work.

With regard to the publication of the scenes and inscriptions which the tombs contain, it is strange to find that in spite of the great mine of information they yield—artistic, architectural, historical and mythological—until quite recently scarcely one can be said to have been exhaustively

* "A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes." By ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT., and ARTHUR E. P. WEIGALL. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1913. Price 10s. net.

and adequately published and made accessible to students. Writers on Egyptology of all periods have drawn freely on the material, and many selected scenes and inscriptions have been printed in a thousand-and-one books, but this method of publication is unsystematic and haphazard to a degree.* A step forward was made almost simultaneously by England and by America. Under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Metropolitan Museum of New York respectively, two series of memoirs are in course of publication. Of the first American memoir, the sumptuous publication of the tomb of Nakht, we cannot speak now, but of the British series two volumes have appeared, and a third, we learn, is in an advanced stage of preparation. The first of these, the Introductory Memoir, appeared in the troublous times of the war, when our thoughts were diverted elsewhere, but its importance is such as to claim the reviewer's attention as a new book, although it actually left the press nearly five years ago.†

Dr. Alan H. Gardiner and Mr. Norman de G. Davies are jointly editing the series, and this first volume, which deals with a typical tomb of the eighteenth dynasty, that of one Amenemhêt, is written by the first-named scholar. Dr. Gardiner's great attainments in Egyptology are too well-known to need any comment in this place, but it would take something more than his pleasant and readable style of writing to conceal the long and patient and thorough research of which this book is the outcome.

* An exception to this statement must be made in the case of the Tombs published by the French Mission Archéologique, but the standard of epigraphic accuracy there maintained is a poor one. Another notable exception is the admirable memoir, "Five Theban Tombs," by N. de G. Davies, and published by the Egypt Exploration Society.

† The Theban Tombs Series: Edited by Norman de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner. First and Introductory Memoir—"The Tomb of Amenemhêt" (No. 82), copied in line and colour by Nina de Garis Davies, and with explanatory text by Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT. London: Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. 1915. Price 35s. net.

BALKAN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I

THE tragic death of the young King Alexander of Greece, after a brief and troubled reign, has had effects of international import threatening the dissolution of those none too stable elements of the peace on which it was hoped to base the reconstruction of a war-distracted world.

II

The achievements of M. Venizelos in the field of international statesmanship stand out matchless and unassailable. But it may well be that as one gazing at the noonday sun becomes blinded to the objects nearest to him, so Venizelos, absorbed in his herculean labours, failed to perceive, *to its fullest extent*, the incoming tide of domestic discontent.

The *Observer* tells us that :

"For most people the overthrow of M. Venizelos was as unexpected as thunder from a clear sky. Even those who profess to have foreseen it are soothsayers after the event rather than prophets beforehand."

This is not true of the readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. They have been warned again and again of the coming catastrophe, and that on the authority of the two men best fitted to judge,—the one striving day and night at Versailles for the realization of the age-long national aspirations of Greece, the hope of which had been the guiding star of Hellenism through the darkest days of captivity; the other just returned from Athens, where he had been endeavouring to steer public opinion between the Scylla of reaction and the Charybdis of anarchy.

That Venizelos was beginning to see the dangers ahead is proved by the conversation between himself and Dr. Drakoulis at Paris on November 22, 1919, when Dr. Drakoulis warned the Premier that a "great storm of discontent was brewing in Greece,* which may break out before the Constituent Assembly can be summoned." M. Venizelos admitted the impending storm, but relied on the love of the Greek people to avert it—and who can doubt that love was still glowing, despite the adverse vote, just as many months before those whose lips had voiced the anathema burned tapers for the salvation of the leader they were cursing?

"With profiteering rampant, the high cost of living, and widespread privation, Greece," said Dr. Drakoulis, "is the most harassed country in Europe. Freedom of speech does not exist, and all allusions to the pre-

vailing conditions of misery, terrorism, and waste of public money are tabooed."*

III

Here may be given a few points from an article which appeared in *Justice* on December 2, 1920. Dr. Drakoulis writes:

"Greece ten years ago made a revolution, and entrusted to M. Venizelos the direction of her destinies. . . . These last three years he became intolerably autocratic and, moreover, was not constitutionally elected in 1917, but was imposed by England and France. . . . Greece voted against his domestic, not against his foreign, policy.

"Both Constantine as King and Venizelos as Prime Minister have, in their time, made freedom of speech impossible, and that alone, in Greece, would have been enough to discredit them. Restrictions were inevitable during the great national work he was carrying on in the capitals of Europe. . . . Had M. Venizelos removed those restrictions the day after the signature of the Bulgarian Treaty, as I advised him to do when I saw him on the eve of the Neuilly Conference, his popularity would not have suffered so much.

"M. Venizelos is a personal friend of mine, and, if I know anything of his character, I am sure that in his heart he is glad that the Greek people showed spirit enough to reject him rather than abjectly to surrender themselves to his will. I am sure that at this moment he is more optimistic as to the future of Greece than when I saw him last a year ago.

"England and France cannot punish Greece because she voted against a Prime Minister who served her for ten years. . . . They must take this vote as the expression of the sovereign will of the Greek people. . . .

"Balkan unity ought to be the policy of the Entente. For this, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece could co-operate. There is no reason why Constantine should not be made an efficient agent for the promotion of this policy. . . .

"If Kings must be maintained for the present, Constantine is no more undesirable than any other.

"The Greek people have given an excellent lesson to the democracies of Europe by their vote of the 14th November. They have proved that a revolution can be effected in twenty-four hours by a determined use of the vote. . . . When voters know what they want, what need is there of violent methods?

"May the democracies of Western Europe take this Greek lesson to heart."

[N.B.—When Dr. Drakoulis warned King Constantine (four weeks before he lost his throne) as to the consequences of his obduracy, the King replied that he had only the interests of Greece at heart. This noble sentiment Dr. Drakoulis recalled in his letter to *The Times* published on December 7, 1920.—A. R.]

* Greek Notes, ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1920.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1921

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

BY SIR THOMAS BENNETT, C.I.E., M.P.

THE attention of the House of Commons was directed on no fewer than five occasions, soon after the opening of the present session, to a matter intimately connected with its right of interpellation in regard to Indian administration. Honourable members who have shown an interest in the operation of the Indian reforms scheme that may not unfairly be described as alert rather than sympathetic have been stirred to inquiry as to the recent appointment of Mr. Harkishen Lal as one of the Ministers in the Punjab Government. There is no need here to discuss the fitness of that gentleman for the high and responsible office for which he has been chosen by the Governor of the Punjab. It was his fate—deservedly or not need not now be asked—to be tried by the Courts and sentenced to transportation and loss of property for the part he took in the Punjab troubles in 1919. He was pardoned after a short period of detention, and Sir Edward Maclagan, with Mr. Harkishen Lal's record fully within his knowledge, nevertheless chose him as one of his Ministers. There are those who say that if the new Minister's case were reinvestigated it would present an appearance less forbidding than that which it bears in the House of Commons interrogatories. But I do not propose to enter into that part of the subject. The really interesting and

relevant point is the extent to which, under the new state of things that has been brought into existence by the Government of India Act of 1919, such a question as that put by Sir William Davison is permissible.

Before that measure came into operation no such problem would have pressed for solution. There was formerly nothing about India that could not have been put into a question, and only reasons of State could have been pleaded in justification of a refusal to answer it. And this mainly because every act of the administration in India was subject to the control of the Secretary of State. The great consolidating Act of 1915 enacted that "the Secretary of State may, subject to the provisions of this Act, superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which relate to the government or revenues of India." The Act of 1919 has profoundly changed the relation of the Secretary of State to a wide area in the field of Indian administration. It not only introduced for the first time the Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislative Councils, but it gave the Governors unconditioned power to appoint these Ministers for the administration of transferred subjects. The power, as exercised in the case of this ministerial appointment in the Punjab, was so unconditioned that Mr. Montagu, challenged to say whether the nomination of Mr. Harkishen Lal was made without any suggestion from home or from the Government of India, replied: "Of course it was. I never knew of the appointment until after it was made." It appears, therefore, that the intention of the Act to place the responsibility for the appointment of Ministers upon the Governors of provinces has in this instance been fully realized. But the pages of Hansard bear testimony to the fact that more than this was required to satisfy the anxieties of members who were perturbed by the fact that, as one of them phrased it, a recently convicted rebel had been appointed to a position of

trust under the Crown. To more than one of them it seemed as though all the rights of the House of Commons in relation to India were suddenly being obliterated by a revolutionary Secretary of State. A little determination to concentrate upon the matters really at issue might have saved the time of the House, and settled the whole question at a sitting. But it was not until the fifth day on which the subject appeared on the question-paper that the essential point was brought to the notice of the House. On that day Sir William Davison asked Mr. Montagu "whether Members of Parliament will be able to ascertain from the Secretary of State from time to time as to the manner in which the various provincial councils are dealing with matters entrusted to them, so that Parliament may be guided as to its future action regarding the conferment of further responsibilities on such provincial councils." Here the honourable member was as certainly proceeding on right lines as he was proceeding on wrong ones when in his first question he asked the Secretary of State if he had personally approved of Mr. Harkishen Lal's appointment, and what steps he proposed to take regarding it. For this was an invitation to Mr. Montagu to pass judgment and take action on a matter that was outside his competence. Questions on a matter of fact belong to a very different category, whether they fall within the functions of the Executive Councils, or whether they relate to transferred subjects. It is by them, and the answers to them, that the House can build up the body of knowledge as to the progress of India in self-government which will enable it later on to judge whether the powers of its Legislatures and Ministers shall be enlarged. A member interested, to take one example, in female education in India would be free to ask as many questions as he chose on that subject. But they must not be questions of the fussily inquisitorial order, nor must they be put with the obvious purpose of passing censure on the

administration of this, a transferred subject, for which a Minister is responsible to the Legislative Council. There cannot, as Mr. Ormsby-Gore pointed out, be two responsibilities in regard to a subject. The Minister, as the custodian of subjects which are handed over to the Legislative Councils for decision, cannot be responsible both to his own Legislature and to a Legislature six thousand miles away. In this respect Parliament has to divest itself of a right of intervention corresponding with that which the Secretary of State has given up under the Act of 1919. As the Joint Committee say in their report, the Secretary of State relaxes his power of direction and control, and to that extent also will the Government of India withdraw from intervention.

I do not see how anyone who desires that the constitutional reforms scheme shall have a fair trial, and recognizes that it is an essential principle of that scheme that the Indian Legislatures shall, within the limits of their competence, deal freely and responsibly with the matters entrusted to them, can either question or reject the Speaker's ruling. The Indian Legislative Councils have had a definite and carefully measured trust reposed in them. The area to which that trust applies is sharply marked off from another area, in which the executive councillors exercise their authority in unquestioned responsibility to Parliament. It would be an unwise, and might be a harmful, thing to obliterate even at a single point a line of demarcation which Parliament has drawn advisedly and with a firm hand. The recent interpellations and the Speaker's ruling upon them will, I imagine, be studied with the keenest interest in India, where the ruling will be interpreted as an assurance that the Diarchy will be allowed by Parliament to work under conditions favourable to the free development of the self-governing side of the new Constitution.

THE INDIAN MEMORIAL AT BRIGHTON

BY SIR JOHN OTTER

At the beginning of the war it was the intention of the War Office to carry the wounded Indian soldiers from the front to hospitals at Marseilles and in Egypt, but it became necessary to relinquish that intention.

Sir Walter Lawrence was then appointed chief commissioner of Indian hospitals, and instructed to find suitable buildings in this country. In pursuit of his quest he came to Brighton. There was no need to go farther. The Oriental character of the Royal Pavilion and Dome, the creatures of Nash's fertile, if fantastic, imagination; the beautiful surrounding gardens; the cheerfulness of the town; and the active patriotism of its inhabitants, came in their sum near to satisfying an ideal standard of fitness. Sir Walter spoke, and Brighton cheerfully offered the use of her historic buildings, the chief scene of her social and political activities.

Soon afterwards the municipal secondary schools and the Poor Law institution ("Kitchener Hospital") were added.

Indians of all races and creeds were admitted, and the hospitals were administered with minute solicitude for the observation of the rules of custom and caste. There were nine kitchens at the Pavilion. The medical staff were amazed at the excellent recoveries made. Whether their efficiency was the cause, or the air of Brighton, or some psychological condition of the patients at the time, let others determine.

For the Hindus and Sikhs who died at Brighton a burning ghât was prepared at a lonely spot on the Downs five miles away. The traditional funeral rites were strictly observed so far as means would allow. There was the

symbolic use of metals, flowers, fruit, grain, and spices; the low chanting of Vedic hymns; the simple and primitive mode of burning on a great pile of wood in the open air. A strange and moving sight indeed to the few Englishmen who were admitted as spectators. The Muhammedans were buried with military honours at Woking in a section of the cemetery there, set apart for their dead.

When the Indian wounded soldiers had departed, Brighton felt that she had passed through an experience of extraordinary interest. East and West had kissed within her borders. It seemed right that some visible monument should be raised in honour of India's faithful dead, and from the position which I happened to hold at the time I had the opportunity of making practical proposals. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, then Secretary of State for India, and the Council of the Borough were most favourably disposed, and it was decided that the form of the monument should be that of a Chhatra to be erected on the site of the burning ghât.

By the co-operation of the Corporation and the India Office the necessary funds were provided.

Sir Swinton Jacob, the architect of many notable and beautiful buildings in India, was consulted, and under his supervision Mr. E. C. Henriques, a brilliant young Indian architect (though bearing a European name) then completing his professional studies in London, prepared the design and plans. Mr. Henriques is now assistant architect in the Public Works Department of Bombay.

The Chhatra itself is of pure white Italian marble, and in its form of a dome resting on eight pillars, with an octagonal base, conforms in general features to the customary type. It is placed on a platform reached by three flights of steps, which are built of English stone from quarries at Shepley and in the vicinity of York. On the level space immediately above the first flight of steps remain *in situ* the three concrete blocks on which the piles for the fires were raised, but these are now covered with slabs of granite, as the very rough state of the blocks would agree but ill with

the fine stone work contiguous. There are borders of delicate ornamental carving round the dome, and along the walls and balustrades, but kept subdued to give effect to the purpose of materializing the idea of dignified simplicity and strength. The height to the top of the dome is about 25 feet. In construction and feeling the memorial is purely Indian.

The inscription in English is :

“ To the memory of all the Indian soldiers who gave their lives for their King-Emperor in the Great War, this monument, erected on the site of the funeral pyre where the Hindus and Sikhs who died in hospital at Brighton passed through the fire, is in grateful admiration and brotherly affection dedicated.”

There will be equivalent inscriptions in Hindi and Urdu. The memorial is under the care and guardianship of the Corporation of Brighton, who are the legal owners. The importance of possessing a sufficient quantity of land round the Chhatri to preserve the amenities of the position was not at first justly estimated. An endeavour is now being made to supply this omission, but for this purpose the grace of private benefactions must be sought. Already sufficient money has been received to buy forty-four acres. Of this area it is proposed to enclose two acres in the immediate vicinity of the Chhatri for a garden, to be laid out in an appropriate Indian manner, and planted with trees emblematic of life and death, time and eternity, the universal themes of Indian art.

The memorial being of a national character, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was pleased to consent to unveil and dedicate it on February 1 of this year. It was a notable event. Brighton has never seen such crowds in her streets as when the Prince drove from the railway-station to Patcham Down. Certainly, whatever the function, he would have received a great demonstration of loyalty, but on this occasion there was something more in the cheers and other signs of welcome. There was an expression of a

sense of fitness in the part taken on that day by the heir to the Imperial Throne.

As the Prince drove over the grass of the down (there is no made road up to the Chhatri) a salute to the dead of twenty-one guns was fired from the hillside across the valley. Many thousands were assembled round the Chhatri, a spot where a deep stillness generally reigns, and whence no habitation, save a humble cottage, is visible. The ceremony was short, simple, and impressive.

The Prince stood, facing south, behind the middle block of the three on which the funeral pyres had been lit ; on the east was the guard of honour ; on the north the firing-party and the buglers. At each of the four corners of the upper level on which the Chhatri rests stood a soldier with bowed head, leaning on the butt end of his rifle.

It fell to my lot to make an introductory speech, in which the purpose of those concerned in the promotion of the memorial was explained. Reference was made to the funeral rites, significant to most Englishmen of a religion difficult to understand. "But there is a religion underlying all religions. It is the consecration of the principles of justice, righteousness, mercy, goodwill towards men. It is the orientation towards the unseen Giver of life of our thoughts on those principles of conduct divinely implanted in mankind. Notwithstanding deep differences of faith and temperament between ourselves and our brethren in India, we can meet them here on ample common ground. Justice and goodwill to men! That is the cause which His Majesty the King-Emperor maintains, as did King Edward VII. and Queen Victoria before him ; and in that strength and in its beneficent harmonizing influence will rest secure the Imperial Throne at Delhi. To-day, from this bleak spot in this chilly island, Brighton sends its message to the millions on the burning plains and beautiful mountains of India, and Brighton aspires to speak in the name of the nation. Our message is that we honour their dead, slain in the bloody, cruel war which has scarred

the world, but which has freed it from the perils of an audacious ambition ; that we bear towards them the feelings of a lively and sincere goodwill ; that we sympathize with the desolate and bereaved in their sorrows. In token thereof is this monument set. We hope that it has some intrinsic beauty. We know it is not a work of magnificence. The sign is less than the thing signified. Your Royal Highness, by your presence here to-day, gives a value to the offering which it would be hard to over estimate. You lend wings to the message which we send to-day to India from the Sussex Downs."

This quotation may be permitted because it represents an endeavour to express the common feeling of the donors.

The Mayor then invited the Prince to unveil the Chhatri, which was swathed in Union Jacks, and decorated with the Star of India. That done, the Prince returned to his former place and delivered a speech. He said :

" We are here met to dedicate a memorial to brave men, our fellow-subjects, who, after the fire and stress of Flanders, received the last sacred rites of their religion on this high eminence. It is befitting that we should remember, and that future generations should not forget, that our Indian comrades came when our need was highest, free men—voluntary soldiers—who were true to their salt—and gave their lives in a quarrel of which it was enough for them to know that the enemy were the foes of their Sahibs, their Empire, and their King. It was a great adventure to them to leave home and a congenial climate, to pass over the Black Water, and to give all in a conflict of which the issues were to most of them strange and impersonal.

" This monument marks, too, another fact. When the wounded Indian soldiers were brought to England, there was no place ready for their reception. Your generous town came to the rescue, and, with a hospitality which will ever be remembered in India, gave not only her finest buildings, but gave also her friendship and respect to those

gallant men. Brighton has erected this memorial to the Hindus and Sikhs who died in her beautiful hospitals, and has testified to the affection and admiration she felt for men who fought so gallantly and bore themselves so patiently and so nobly during the long months they lay by the sea, thinking of their village homes so far away.

"I can assure you, Mr. Mayor, that India never forgets kindness and sympathy; and from this Chhatra a wave of goodwill will pass to India."

He then referred to the gift by Indians to Brighton of a gateway to the Pavilion, on the southern side, as further evidence of a strengthening of the union between India and our country.

Volleyes were then fired and drums rolled. "The Last Post" was sounded, followed by the "Réveill  ," and there the ceremony ended.

THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT'S VISIT TO INDIA

BY "DEWAN"

THERE were few among those who listened to H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught's speech on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Council of State and of the Imperial Legislative Assembly at Delhi, on February 9, 1921, who were not greatly moved by it. The occasion was momentous—the speech was no less so—and it has had a softening influence almost impossible of conception before the event. It was no secret that one of the first acts contemplated by the newly formed Legislature was the reopening of the whole of the question of the Panjab troubles of 1919, with special reference to General Dyer and Jalianwala Bagh. To reopen the issue, and to begin again the bitter controversy between two contrary opinions, would have resulted in the creation of an atmosphere of enmity, vindictiveness, and mistrust which would have proved most difficult to eliminate afterwards. It would have meant the birth of an epoch amid almost the worst possible conditions. And it is in great measure due to His Royal Highness's tact, choice of words, and obvious deep feeling that we owe the non-realization of a regrettable beginning. The appeal went home, and found its echo a few days afterwards at the first meeting of the Assembly, when moderation and consideration ruled instead of acerbity, and the Assembly agreed unanimously "to bury the hatchet." The whole affair formed the crisis of the visit, and that it has passed so happily ensures the success of His Royal Highness's tour, and augurs well for the India of the future.

There are, of course, in India as elsewhere, a number of irreconcilables who see no good in anything but their own particular point of view. The non-co-operation movement was

hard at work in Delhi between February 7 and February 15 ; the various functions which took place were to be "boy-cotted" by the Delhi "crowd"—a mixed crowd at best, but still having a picturesque value at public and important functions. The extremist press, fearful of finding their teachings undermined, have increased their efforts to mar the success of the tour ; for with the return of schoolboys gradually to their schools and colleges they find that the success of the non-co-operation programme is in danger of early disillusion. Of the transitory sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's policy by the commercial population of many of the cities and towns there are some indications. That the sympathy is only transitory is equally sure. A negative policy of inaction is bound to fail in its object, and the only danger is that non-violence may change to violence, a spirit which the promoters of modern Indian unrest would be powerless to check.

Contrasted with His Royal Highness's popular reception in Delhi is the arrival of Mr. Gandhi there towards the end of the visit. The whole city, apparently, turned out to meet him at the station and to do him honour, and he was the recipient of acclamations.

The Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi marked, again, the beginning of an epoch. For the first time the Princes of India sit formally together in one common council. Their deliberations do not extend to interference in the affairs of British India, but present-day advances have not left the States unaffected, and it is necessary to ensure their progress equally with that of the British districts which surround them. The Inauguration was a brilliant function, performed before the Dewan-i-Am in the Fort at Delhi. The members of the Chamber of Princes, in full State robes, sat in front of His Royal Highness, arranged territorially ; while behind, tier above tier, arranged semicircularly, sat thousands who had received invitations to witness the ceremony. When the Inauguration was completed His Royal Highness met the Princes at tea in the gardens of the Fort, which are admirably suited to such a function.

The Victory March through London had its Indian counterpart at New Delhi on February 10, when the Duke of Connaught laid the foundation-stone of the All-India War Memorial. Colours of many regiments of the Indian Army formed three sides of a square around the site of the memorial, and when the speeches were over, each colour-party marched past His Royal Highness. The Imperial Service Troops were well represented by contingents, and the march past was closed by parties from the Leicestershire Regiment, Seaforth Highlanders, and Royal Irish Regiment. The inclusion of these three representative units in the ceremony was most appropriate to the occasion, and the whole scene will not soon be forgotten by those who were privileged to behold it. Two days later the Garden Party given by the Indian officers of the Indian Army was made an occasion for some happy speeches, and there is no doubt that the influence of His Royal Highness's presence amongst these representatives of the Army will have a beneficent effect upon the troops. Their stanchness during the unrest of the past three years has been deserving of high praise, and the honour done to the Indian officers by His Royal Highness, by his unceremonious chat with them in the gardens of the Fort, will be an earnest of Royal approval of their demeanour during times of peculiar difficulty.

The Delhi functions over, there was a brief interlude from public receptions and addresses, when His Royal Highness visited Rawal Pindi to hold there a review of troops in the Northern Command—the most responsible of the four new Commands into which military India is divided. His reception there amongst the troops was one of cordial welcome, and should result in a strengthening of the bonds between the Throne and the fighting men of the Panjab. The Rawal Pindi district held the recruiting record for the Panjab during the war, and it was from that Province that the great majority of our Indian fighters were raised.

With the visit to Bombay, the Royal tour closed. There have been performed functions similar to those performed at Madras and Calcutta earlier in the tour, and the inauguration

of the Bombay Legislative Council completes the opening of all the Provincial, as well as the Imperial, Councils brought into being by the new Government of India Act.

His Royal Highness's visit was assured in its success by his speech at the Inauguration of the Council of State at Delhi. With an atmosphere of maturity and vast experience, he brought with him to India a spirit of friendliness which is bound to have great influence for good. He has proved a successful foil against the rantings of extremism and discontent ; and by his self-sacrifice and calmness he has proved a living example to the movers of non-co-operation of what they affirm that they strive to be. As a friend of India he came ; as a friend of India he served ; and now, as a friend of India, he finally leaves its shores. How valuable that friendship is only the future can show.

BOMBAY,

February 26.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA

(Specially contributed)

1. THE chequered history of the Indian peoples has seen few changes so momentous in character or so pregnant with future possibilities as those inaugurated by the Government of India Act of 1919. By that Act, and the Royal Proclamation of December 23, 1919, which supplies the keynote of the spirit in which its provisions are expected to be worked, there came into operation from January, 1921, the transitional period of probation, preparation, and training which has for its ultimate goal the "progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire."

2. The large administrative units of government in India are the Provinces, each with its own Legislature and Executive Council, primarily responsible for the administration of its own territories. Above these administrations, and exercising over them a control, now considerably modified in character, is the Governor-General, who is directly responsible to the Secretary of State for India for the government of India. Associated with this supreme Government is the Central Legislature, which, like most of the other bodies exercising legislative or executive authority, has undergone profound alteration in its constitution and its powers.

3. In the Governors' Provinces, which now cover the bulk of the Indian continent, the old system of executive government by officials nominated by the Crown, and responsible, in the ultimate resort, only to the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament, and of Legislatures in which the members elected by popular vote were in the minority, has been vitally modified. The controlling executive authority which conducts the work of the higher administration, is now dual in character. There is still the official section, appointed

by official nomination, responsible for the administration of certain "reserved" subjects, and answerable through the official hierarchy to the final and supreme authority—viz., the Parliament at Westminster. The other section of the executive body, however, consists of Ministers nominated by the provincial Governor from among the elected members of the Legislature. To these Ministers has been entrusted the control over certain important Departments classed as "transferred," as, for instance, Local Self-government, Medical Administration, Public Health, Education with certain reservations, Public Works, Agriculture, and Development of Industries. It is to the Legislature that the Minister must render an account of his stewardship, and the loss of its confidence means normally the loss of office. So far, therefore, as these "transferred" subjects are concerned, the Indian electorate has, for all practical purposes, now displaced the British as the final authority to which account must be rendered, though the Governor, whose duty it is to harmonize the working of the official and non-official sections of his Executive governing body, is armed with certain overriding powers. The Local Legislatures have now a preponderating elected majority and greatly enhanced powers of initiating legislation. It is, however, the possession of the powerful weapon of voting, and hence also withholding, supplies, subject though it is to the exercise of the Governor's extraordinary powers of veto in exceptional cases, that emphasizes the principle of responsible government which is the keynote of the new reforms.

4. The Central Legislature consists of two Chambers, each having an elected majority and with considerable powers over Finance, but the principle of ministerial responsibility is as yet absent in the relations of these bodies with the Governor-General's Executive Council. This Council has, however, been somewhat enlarged, and of the present eight members three are now nominated Indians.

5. Responsible government has thus been definitely initiated for the first time in the history of the British administration in India, commencing in the Provinces, and with capacity for

extension there and application to the Central Government also. If the beginnings are subject to restrictions, there is the assured prospect that the proper exercise of the powers already conferred will lead India, at no very distant date, to a status analogous to that of the great self-governing Dominions. Already her growing importance has been recognized, not merely by her representation at War Conferences and in the Peace negotiations in Paris, but by her admission as a separate "State" to the League of Nations. India has thus become, as was observed by *The Times* in reviewing the events of 1920 and the part taken by the Indian Delegation at the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva, an influential participant in the Councils of the World.

6. In recognition of her new position, which required that the Government of India should have a special representative of high status in London, and in preparation for the time when she will approximate to the status of the self-governing members of the Empire, a High Commissioner has been appointed for India from October 1, 1920. The first holder of this office is Sir William Meyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., whose work for India has not merely been confined to the limits of India itself (where he has held some of the highest positions to which a Civil Servant of the Crown may attain, culminating with the Finance Membership of the Viceroy's Council), but has been of an international character—*e.g.*, he represented the British and Indian Governments at the International Opium Conference at The Hague, and, more recently, India at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

7. When India arrives at a stage of self-government comparable with that of the Dominions, her High Commissioner will no doubt discharge, under the instructions of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, all functions which those Governments, then fully representative of the peoples of India, require to be carried out for them in London. For the present, however, and while the control of the Secretary of State for India over the Indian Governments still continues in large measure, the High Commissioner has been entrusted only

with those duties of an agency, as apart from a controlling, character which have hitherto been discharged by the Secretary of State on behalf of these Governments. The complete assumption of these functions will take some time, owing to the diversity and extent of their operation. The High Commissioner has already taken charge of the large Stores section, which is entrusted with the task of purchasing, on behalf of the Governments in India, material which cannot be bought in India. The value of these purchases, which are of the most varied character, averages in normal years between four and five million pounds sterling annually (it is at present much higher), and necessitates the maintenance of a highly organized staff for the selection, passing, packing and shipping of the goods purchased. To the High Commissioner also is entrusted the supervision of the organization which has been formed for the purpose of assisting and advising Indian students who come to this country for study. The Indian Trade Commissioner, who has for some years been conducting his operations in the United Kingdom and is charged with the duty of furthering Indian trade in England, is likewise under the High Commissioner's supervisory control, and the latter will shortly become responsible for the payment of all the allowances, pensions, and annuities of the Civil Servants of the Indian Government residing temporarily or permanently in this country.

8. When the High Commissioner has relieved the Secretary of State for India of all his agency duties, the latter will then have left to him only his political, administrative, and supervisory functions, which will be subject to gradual decrease as further powers are conferred on the Indian Governments, Central and Provincial. And finally, as above stated, a time will come when the vast importance of India in the Imperial system, of which the Great War accorded varied and striking illustrations, will be crowned by her attainment of autonomy within the Empire. Meanwhile, the High Commissioner is responsible for the discharge of his duties to the Government of India and not to the Secretary of State, and has now office premises of his own at 42 and 44, Grosvenor Gardens, Victoria, S.W

THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT FAMINE IN CHINA

BY J. P. DONOVAN

(Hon. Secretary, China Famine Relief Fund)

HISTORICAL.—Notwithstanding the fact that China is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and her people extremely frugal and industrious, famine through either floods or droughts recur with remarkable regularity. Every few years in some part of the Republic the population is decimated by such calamities. It has been estimated that the famines which occurred in 1810, 1811, 1846, and 1849 resulted in the death of forty-five millions. The victims who died from starvation owing to the famine of 1878 numbered between nine and thirteen millions. In 1892 and 1894 there was a famine through drought in the north-eastern provinces and Mongolia which caused many deaths. In 1900, the year of the Boxer Rebellion, three-tenths of the population of Shensi died from starvation. There was a famine in the early part of 1911 in Anhui, Kiangsu, and Hupeh, when it was stated that 600,000 families were actually starving, and of whom death claimed many victims. The province of Chihli was visited in 1917 by one of the worst inundations caused by exceptional rainfalls that had been known for centuries. Crops were either wholly or partially destroyed over an area of 12,000 square miles, and it was reported that about a million chien (rooms) of houses collapsed. It was estimated that the direct material loss of property was \$100,000,000, and some 2,000,000 people lost everything they possessed. The actual number who either died from starvation or were drowned will never be known.

The famine now raging in the five northern provinces of

China is greater and much more serious than any of the previous ones. The provinces affected are: *Chihli*, area 115,000 square miles, population 30,172,092; *Honan*, area 68,000 square miles, population 30,831,909; *Shantung*, area 56,000 square miles, population 30,853,245; *Shansi*, area 82,000 square miles, population 11,080,827; and *Shensi*, area 75,000 square miles, population 9,465,558. It is very difficult to obtain accurate figures; but it has been estimated by those on the spot that some 40,000 square miles of the above five provinces have been affected by the prolonged drought, and that the sufferers number 40,000,000. It is feared that about half of that number are on the verge of starvation. The telegraphic message from the Peking correspondent of *The Times* on December 12, 1920, will give some faint idea of the severity of the disaster and the number in extreme need at that time:

"The population actually now totally destitute in Chihli is 8,000,000; in Shantung, 2,500,000; in Honan, 3,500,000; in Shensi, 1,000,000; in Shansi, 500,000—a total of 15,500,000. The total funds available are \$2,865,000 (£716,250), which amount is barely sufficient to save 500,000 until the spring harvest. The remaining 15,000,000 are inevitably condemned to death unless further aid is provided."

It is not easy for the human mind to grasp or the imagination to realize what it means when we speak of 15,000,000 people being on the verge of starvation. And the tragedy of the situation is that the part of China where there is such intense suffering has been called "The Garden of China," owing to its fertility and productiveness. During the late war, when there was a shortage of food in this country, a large amount of wheat flour imported from China was the produce of the districts that have been so barren for the past year. It was also from Chihli and Shantung that over 100,000 volunteers came, who, as the Chinese Labour Corps, released 150,000 of our men for active service during the late war. Over 1,000 of these Chinese coolies paid the supreme sacrifice.

CAUSES OF THE FAMINE.—The soil of the regions which have been affected is what is known as loess, a geological formation

probably tertiary in its origin. Unlike the land south of the Yellow River, where rice is mostly cultivated, the soil is so productive owing to it being charged with decaying vegetable matter that in ordinary years the farmer reaps a harvest of two and sometimes three crops of wheat, millet, and other grains a year. This, however, is when the rain supply in summer and the snow in winter furnish the moisture the ground requires. During last summer and autumn no rain fell, the result being that in certain areas no crops were gathered during 1920, and in some parts there had been a total failure since the spring of 1919. In other parts the crops yielded from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., while in others there was only reaped one-tenth of a crop. The reports state that the fields were so nude of vegetation that even the small birds and crows had deserted the famine-stricken districts. A journalist who had visited the regions, writing in *Asia* for March, says :

"I needed no farmer's eye to read the meaning of the fields. They were burnt sere and brown, with bent, shrivelled stalks that should have been millet, wheat, corn and beans. These dry stalks represented what should have been food to last a country-side until spring, but would not make even fuel. In trees near the villages were small, dark blotches—women and children stripping the branches of trees for a day's meal. In the fields were women and children painfully digging roots and weeds."

CONDITIONS.—The conditions of the victims of this awful famine are more easily imagined than described. The reports which have reached me during the last three months have been most harrowing and tragic. Let me give one or two extracts :

"The present conditions are that people are living on food more or less mixed with chaff, husks, etc., according to their means. Ordinary people will use four-tenths of chaff, etc. Others are compelled to add so much and can afford so little flour that they can with difficulty make the stuff stick together for baking or steaming. It is keeping warm, so that there is still a lot to be got off the ground, which they boil up with leaves of trees and make soup of. But when the frost really

comes to stay all this will be at an end, and as supplies and money become used up there will be nothing but starvation before hundreds of thousands, if not millions."

Another worker writing from Anping in Chihli, on December 12, 1920, said:

"The people in this area are those who have been subject to floods for several years in succession on account of the ravages of the Pu-tao ho. This year they had a different experience in the form of drought. . . . For several years they have been on the verge of starvation. They have had to do without buying clothes, for they could not get even enough to eat. Many of them are literally in rags. Such garments as they wear are of the thinnest description, and only a few can boast of wadded winter clothes. In some of the homes there is no straw on the cold brick bed. A few bits of broken matting is all they have to sleep on, and for covering no wadded quilt, but you may find a roll of straw strung together to make some substitute for blankets. . . . A number are already frost-bitten and are not able to leave their huts. Even now the death-rate from cold and starvation is very heavy."

From other reports we learnt that at least half the people in the famine districts were without either food, clothes, or shelter. They were eating sand burr, elm bark, acacia leaves, and weeds, which were all made into a kind of gruel. The cooking of the food—if it might be called such—was done over fires of dried weeds and sorghum stocks from the roofs of their huts, which was all that was left them. Their sufferings were so acute that mothers were not only selling their children so as to reduce the number of mouths to be fed, but not a few, when fleeing from famine-stricken areas, were throwing their babies into the rivers. The selling of children, which is common at such times, has increased considerably during this famine. While in the past it has been girls principally who were disposed of, boys were rarely sold. But recently, in order to save boys from dying of hunger, they have been given away and sold. This does not mean that the Chinese are more callous and indifferent to the welfare of their children than other

nations ; but it is owing to the desperate position in which they find themselves, and with the hope that their offspring will escape death from starvation by being taken where food is more plentiful. There is a consensus of opinion among those who know the Chinese best that they are as fond of their children as other peoples. Grinding poverty and the scarcity of food is the reason why children are sold in China.

RELIEF MEASURES.—This famine has created world-wide interest and aroused the public spirit of the Chinese in a way never before known. The Chinese Government appropriated \$1,000,000 and instituted a 20 per cent. reduction in official salaries for famine relief. The President of the Republic gave \$100,000 for the same purpose, and the Governor of Shansi contributed a year's salary, amounting to \$36,000, and suggested that each official in the province should give one-tenth of his salary for relief. Students in many of the colleges refrained from eating meat for three months, so that they might have more to send for the mitigation of suffering in the famine areas. International Committees were formed in Peking, Tientsin, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, Hangchow, Tsinan, and many other cities and Treaty ports, for the raising and administration of funds. The Chinese Government appointed special Famine Commissioners to co-operate with and assist these International Committees. Free railway transport for grain and other supplies as well as free passes for those engaged in famine relief were granted by the Government. After conferences and careful investigations, arrangements were made for each Committee to undertake famine relief in a certain area, so as to avoid overlapping. Chinese and foreign ladies' committees were formed in many of the large centres like Peking and Shanghai, with a view of raising funds, and have been very successful.

The American Red Cross Society contributed \$500,000 gold ; the Hong Kong and Singapore Governments \$100,000 and \$125,000 respectively ; the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at Penang 10,000 taels. Large sums have been sent from America, Australia, Canada, India, Japan, as well as

from this country. There was collected from the Chinese community here over £1,015, and our committee has remitted up to date £21,513 19s. 9d. Many of the missionary societies and the Salvation Army have forwarded large amounts themselves to their own workers for distribution.

The Chinese Government obtained the sanction of the Treaty Powers to increase the customs tariff on imports and exports from 5 per cent. to 5½ per cent. *ad valorem* for one year. A surtax was also imposed on railway, postal, and telegraphic rates for famine relief. In anticipation of the receipts from these sources the Chinese Government obtained a loan of \$4,000,000 from British, French, American, and Japanese banks, to be devoted to famine relief work. On January 31, 1921, contributions from all sources amounted to \$6,000,000, making, with the \$4,000,000 borrowed, \$10,000,000. This sum at that date had been mostly spent on the purchase of grain, and the climax of the famine would not come until the end of February. The one cheering item of news we have had from China is that the harvest prospects for May and June are very promising.

EMPLOYMENT.—In the early days of the famine Chinese and foreign engineers presented a Memorial to the President of the Chinese Republic suggesting the employment of the men who were physically fit in carrying on work for the making of new roads, deepening canals and rivers, and for improving the means of transport. These schemes were approved, so that a large number of able-bodied men have been employed on works of public utility. It was estimated that to employ 500,000 men at 20 cents a day for 200 days, in the province of Chihli alone, would cost for material and labour \$12,000,000. That would mean relieving some 2,000,000 people, as it was assumed that each man would support at least three dependents. While I am afraid there is no prospect at the present time of such a large amount being available for carrying on such works, something is being done which in the near future will be an immense advantage to the Chinese people, as the loss to the nation for want of good roads is enormous.

REFORMS NECESSARY.—The limited space at my disposal will only enable me to indicate in the briefest possible manner one or two reforms, with a view of lessening, if not preventing, such loss of life as is the result of this famine.

1. *Afforestation*.—It is generally recognized that one of the causes of these periodic famines is the neglect by the Chinese Government of afforestation. What has been done by the British in Hong Kong, the Japanese in South Manchuria, and the Germans in Tsingtau, are examples of what might be done in other parts of China. In Tsingtau afforestation produced a remarkable change in a few years by the planting of Chinese and Japanese oak-trees. In 1901 acacia-trees were planted in large numbers, which had the effect of binding the soil and the surface earth of the hill-slopes. Conifers, Chinese and Japanese cypress, and pines, were also planted. It was found there that as a result of afforestation there was less damage done by the heavy rains, as whereas formerly the water ran off in about twelve hours, the land retained the moisture for five days. Besides improving the sanitary conditions of Tsingtau and neighbourhood, it gave well-kept, shady, and woodland roads, which in summer formed a delightful shade from the sun.

The multiplication and Government support of such institutions as the College of Agriculture and Forestry connected with the University of Nanking is urgently needed. It has already justified its existence, and received some official support from the Civil and Military Governors of Kiangsu and a promise of \$2,000 a year for five years from the enlightened and progressive Governor of Shansi, Yen Shi-shan; but that is inadequate. Here are a few of the things undertaken by that College: The planting of mulberry-trees; improving the growth of cotton; seed selection for the improvement of corn, rice, and wheat; fruit-farming; production of silkworm eggs according to the Pasteur method, and sericultural investigations principally along the lines of breeding and selection for improved quality. Agricultural education is being introduced and carried on in many Christian and Government colleges, which if efficiently managed, as that of Nanking is, will in a few years effect a

tremendous transformation in China. They should, however, be liberally supported by the Government, and grants of land in all the provinces should be made for the establishment of such farms as the Nanking College of Agriculture and Forestry cultivate for the training of the students. The co-operation of the Government and the public is necessary if these institutions are to be the means of preventing such famines as the present one, which is quite possible.

The planting of trees in the northern provinces of China would not only improve the rainfall, but in time the forests would become a source of revenue to the State and the means of productive income for the people. Rigid and strict laws should be enacted for the severe punishment of those who would be caught uprooting saplings which have been planted. When it is remembered that in Japan 500,000,000 trees are planted annually to make up for depletion, and that laws are promulgated with the object of preventing the destruction of such trees, there is no reason why the Chinese Government should not adopt a similar policy.

2. *Restriction of Early Marriages.*—While it is true that girls in China, especially at the large centres, do not marry as early as they do in India, not a few are married between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Rules were laid down by the Board of Education in Peking that students in colleges should ~~not marry~~ until they were twenty in the case of girls and ~~twenty-two~~ in the case of male students, which is all for the good. ~~It has been estimated~~ that at twenty all girls in China—excepting certain classes—are wives, and that five-sixths of the young men are husbands. That being so, it will be seen how it comes about that, in spite of the tremendous loss of life through civil wars, floods, and droughts, the population is ever increasing. According to the census taken by the Chinese Postal Administration in 1919, the population is estimated at 427,670,214. This number did not include either Mongolia or Tibet, the population of those two countries being about 3,000,000, so that the population of China and her dependencies is, roughly speaking, over 430,000,000. ~~And this~~

notwithstanding the great infant mortality, which is said to be between 15,000,000 and 16,000,000 a year. As has been truly said Mr. J. O. P. Bland, the condition of things which exist in the north of China to-day "must inevitably continue to occur, so long as the religious instincts and social traditions of the people continue to inculcate early marriages and an abnormally high birth-rate." The over-population in a country where there is insufficient food not only means death by starvation to millions, but for those who survive it is a keen struggle for a bare existence, drudgery, and privation. By education, economic and social reform, and scientific development of the country's resources, much may be accomplished for the improvement of the material condition of the people; but until it is fully realized by the Government and the Chinese public that the high birth-rate is one of the main causes for the chronic poverty, especially in the northern provinces, the remedies suggested will only be partial.

Allied to this question is polygamy and concubinage in China, which are prolific causes for over-population. Without entering into the moral issues, as the system can hardly be called "immoral" with the examples in the Old Testament, on economic and social grounds there is little to recommend it. From the days of Yao, who introduced the system, when he gave his daughters as wives to his successor, the biographies of the concubines in the palace, with notable exceptions, contain very little but intrigue and murders. And while it is true that even an Emperor was supposed to have only one wife, who was the Empress, some of them had from 2,000 to 3,000 concubines, and at times they exceeded 10,000. When we are told that one of the most enlightened Emperors, Kang Hsi, had thirty-five sons, and that he took pride in his procreative capacity, we are not surprised to learn that "his sons, like the sons of Eli, dealt evilly with the people, and brought their father's grey hairs in sorrow to the grave."

And the results of polygamy and concubinage in the experience of the Emperor Kang Hsi has been that of his predecessors and successors throughout Chinese history. It has

often been admitted by intelligent and progressive Chinese that the system has been, and still is, a prolific source of domestic strife and social evils. Under the Manchu dynasty it had a good deal to do with the practice of extortion on the part of officials, as in order to keep up large establishments they had to resort to "squeezing" the people. One can only hope that under a Republic there will be an effort on the part of the leaders of the people to abolish, in spite of its antiquity, "the fundamental errors of a social system which makes famine absolutely inevitable—viz., polygamy, the marriage of minors, and an excessive birth-rate."

There are many other reforms which must be carried out before the evils of poverty in China are done away with; but when one remembers the remarkable progress that has been made commercially, industrially, and socially during the past half-century, there is great hope that even such difficult problems as those referred to will in time be solved to the benefit of the people. The philosophic patience with which the Chinese in the northern provinces are bearing their sufferings through this terrible famine is winning the admiration of all who know them. The Peking correspondent of *The Times*, telegraphing on December 17 last, said:

"The resignation and dignity of the people in face of this calamity cannot but excite the greatest respect and increase the ardour of all famine-workers."

The Hon. Treasurer of the China Famine Relief Fund is Sir Charles Addis, Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, 9, Gracechurch Street, London, E.C. 4, who will be glad to receive and acknowledge any contributions. Funds are still urgently needed, and special efforts are being made by the Chinese and foreign communities in China to render assistance until the May and June harvests have been gathered. "He gives twice who gives quickly."

JAPAN'S RECORD IN KOREA

BY H. J. MULLETT-MERRICK

(Late Adviser to the South Manchuria Railway Company)

ON my return to the Old Country last autumn, after many years' residence in the Far East, I was both amazed and amused at the general misconception which appeared to prevail concerning Far Eastern questions, particularly with regard to Japan's policy in Korea, which has been mis-named Japan's Irish Problem.

To get the slightest idea or understanding of the Korean Question, one must banish the notion that the case is at all similar to that of Ireland. One is a Western nation and the other is an Eastern nation. One has moved for centuries in the forefront of the world's civilization; the other only ten years ago did not know what the world's civilization meant. One has for centuries been capable of self-government if the factions would only agree; the other proved conclusively throughout generation after generation that its only idea of government was by party strife and unbridled corruption, tyranny, and oppression. One kept pace with the march of the world; the other sank to the very lowest depths of degradation, and her neighbour who came so generously and successfully to her rescue is now being assailed with the bitterest abuse. In judging the merits of the case, therefore, it is necessary always to bear in mind two facts: First, that ancient as is Japan's history and native civilization, she has progressed more along the lines of Western civilization during the last fifty years than we did during the preceding 500 years, and that the transition is still going on. Second, that Korea, though of older origin

than Japan, has always been a poverty-stricken country, steadily descended in the social scale while Japan was rising, was equally exclusive to the world, and has no idea of Western methods of government except what Japan has taught her.

No country in the world ever did or ever will take on such a difficult and thankless job as Japan, when in 1911 she incorporated Korea, with her full consent, into the Japanese Empire. Centuries of corruption among the governing class had produced a people mentally debased, without even elementary education, sullen, in the direst straits of poverty, and undoubtedly the most thriftless people in the inhabited world. Yet this people has been physically and morally stiffened in ten short years to desire its independence. Not a bad record for Japan! Had anyone predicted such a wonderful transformation, such a tremendous upheaval, a decade ago he would have been ridiculed with scorn. One of the first things Japan had to do was to abolish the different classes which had existed in Korea from time immemorial. These consisted of the nobility and landed aristocracy (known as the yang-pans), the middle class, the common people, and the slaves. Slavery existed in Korea throughout the whole of its history until abolished by Japan in 1911. One in less than every twenty of the population was a slave. Among many other restrictions, the common people were forbidden to live in houses more than thirty feet long, to wear spectacles, to ride in palanquins, to send their children to school, or to go about the streets at night; and the officials were ever devising schemes how they could squeeze more money out of them by illegal taxations and fines. The freedom from these restraints during the past ten years under Japanese rule must have been like Paradise to them, though it is hard to change the lines of thought and habit which have become hereditary throughout the centuries. They thought it foolish to work hard and try to lay up for a rainy day, only to be robbed of their savings sooner or later by the officials.

It seemed to them the safest way to remain poor and live in hovels, so as not to attract attention. Dr. Gale, in his "Korean Sketches" (Edinburgh, 1898), said: "The curse of Korea is that it has so few working men. It is a nation that has wasted away in idleness." And Mr. W. E. Griffis, the author of "Korea, the Hermit Nation," wrote in 1907: "To the great mass of the people in Korea there is no motive for much industry beyond danger of starvation, and but little incentive to enterprise. Under old normal conditions, now being slowly ameliorated, the official, the yang-pan, and the landed aristocracy—in a word, the predatory classes—seize upon the common man's earnings and accumulations, so that it seems to him useless, and even foolish, to work for more than enough to support life; while as for the 'civilization nonsense,' does it not mean more taxation?"

What a legacy to hand over to Japan! The crushing tyranny and oppression by the upper classes on the one hand, and the weary inertia of the common people and hopelessness of the slaves on the other hand, doomed the country to certain death. It was as if a heavy pall hung over the land. Have the Koreans, then, lost their independence? How could they lose what they never had, as we understand the meaning of the word? Are they not better off, more prosperous, more free, more virile, and more safe, to say nothing of being more healthy, more tranquil, and better educated, as part of a strong Power than under their old régime?

Above I have tried to draw a picture of what Korea was like when she became merged into Japan. It would fill several bulky volumes adequately to treat on what Japan has since done for her adopted child, therefore it can be only slightly touched upon in one or two phases in a paper of this dimension. In the first place, I consider that Japan originally made a mistake in striving for assimilation rather than union. But the mistake was made with good intentions, and there are other good excuses. Japan had

achieved such wonderful success in assimilating the Loochoo Islanders that she evidently thought she would have equal if not greater success in assimilating the Koreans, seeing that the Japanese and Koreans are akin both in race and language, and their countries divided only by a narrow strait. Personally I have no doubt that in the near future the subjects of the Japanese Empire will be as proud of the Rising Sun, whether they be of Japanese or Korean origin, as we are of the Union Jack, whether we be of English or Scottish origin.

But to come to facts. Korea owes its railways entirely to the Japanese. A generation ago there was not a single line in the country. Now there are over 1,000 miles in operation, a trunk line traversing the peninsula lengthwise, and many branch lines linking up various parts of the country. Under the old administration there were no highways worthy of the name, and many rivers had few, if any, bridges across them, so that when ferry-boats were not obtainable travellers were obliged to wade, and in times of flood were obliged to wait until the river again became fordable. All this has been altered by the Japanese. At the end of March, 1918, 5,100 miles of roads had been completed, of which 3,850 miles were undertaken at Government expense, and the rest half at Government expense and half at local expense, costing in all about £3,000,000. The post and telegraph system has also been completed, and a telephone service and electric light installed in every important place. Thus the farthest ends of the peninsula have been brought into contact by a day and night journey, all towns of note connected by the railways and the rest by good roads. As a consequence, modernizing influences of the world are finding their way into the forbidden cities of the interior, better housing is taking the place of the old low thatched mud hovels, new industries are springing up on every hand (many under joint Japanese and Korean enterprise), and commerce, a thing practically unheard of under the old regime, is making great headway

in the country. Since 1911 the Japanese have also established a commercial and credit system, spent a million pounds in harbour work to admit ocean-going steamers, effected a transformation in the agricultural industry by agricultural schools and model farms and seedling stations, fostered mining, afforestation, and marine fishery, developed native industries, introduced new industries, established a sound system of education, etc.

But facts speak louder than words. Taking education first, in 1906 there were throughout Korea only thirteen public and nine Government common schools, one law school, one higher school, and seven foreign language schools, a total of thirty-two schools. An American writer says: "At the time of the annexation there were in Korea, aside from the mission institutions, only fifty schools, most of them with only a handful of pupils. The budget for education was 162,792 dollars. Of this, 135,074 dollars was for Seoul (the capital), leaving 27,718 dollars for the rest of the country." The Rev. F. H. Smith, a missionary stationed in Seoul for the last six years, wrote in an American newspaper last May as follows: "The Japanese decided that the greatest need was common school education for the greatest possible number of people. At first it was almost necessary to bribe the children to go to school, but the desire for education grew, and the number of schools was increased until at the last report (May 31, 1919) there were 517 common schools enrolling 89,216 pupils. The statistics for the same date show that there were eighteen higher common schools with 3,841 pupils, eighty-eight industrial and commercial schools with 2,568 pupils, six special colleges with 819 students, and 749 private schools of all kinds enrolling 38,678 pupils throughout Korea. Surely this is a good record for ten years." Writing further on the same subject, the reverend gentleman said: "The fact is that there are (1919 figures) 83,065 Japanese and 3,138,140 Korean households in the country. For education the Japanese give an average of 944 sen per house-

hold, or 784,108 yen a year for primary education, while the Koreans give six and one-fifth sen a household, or a total of 195,326 yen. The schools of higher grade have so far been supported wholly with funds from the national treasury of Japan." These figures speak volumes for what Japan has done for Korean education.

Now let us turn to agricultural development. At the time of the annexation there were 2,077,294 acres of paddy fields and 3,963,200 acres of upland under cultivation, a total of 6,040,494 acres, with an agricultural population of 2,336,320 families comprising 10,427,199 people, giving an average area per family of 2.59 acres. Eight years later, in 1918, there were 3,784,780 acres of paddy fields and 6,855,948 acres of upland, a total of 10,640,728 acres, with 2,652,484 families comprising 13,942,474 people, and an average area per family of 4.01 acres. Thus, through reclamation and irrigation works, an increase of more than 76 per cent. has been made in the acreage of arable land in the peninsula, and, notwithstanding the fact that the agrarian population has also rapidly increased, the average allotment per family has expanded 55 per cent. to over four acres each. The striking increase in the agricultural wealth of the people may be further substantiated by the following table :

				1910.	1918.
Cattle	...	...	...	703,844	1,480,037
Horses	...	...	...	39,860	58,217
Asses	...	...	...	8,264	12,172
Mules	...	...	...	812	2,211
Pigs	...	...	...	565,757	923,979
Sheep	...	...	...	47	670
Goats	...	...	...	7,332	16,650
Fowls	...	...	...	2,796,259	4,913,322

In the same period the number of Korean fishing-boats increased from 12,749 to 39,000, the number of fishers from 76,900 to 272,077, and the value of catch from 3,929,260 yen to 14,670,068 yen.

There does not seem much fault to be found with a Government which is responsible for such extraordinary progress

as is found in the above figures. But I have not done with statistics yet. Education and agricultural development were certainly the chief needs for such a down-trodden and supine people as the Koreans. Now let us take a glance in the direction of trade and commerce, which I have said was practically unknown before the Japanese annexation. In 1886 the Korean Customs service was placed under Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Chinese Customs, and the trade records for that year show a total of 3,102,054 yen (566,047 in export and 2,536,007 in import). About a quarter of a century later, in 1910, the total had risen to 70,772,357 yen (29,113,481 in export and 41,658,876 in import). Under the Japanese there was then a big advance each year until it amounted to 113,605,303 yen in 1913. Then the Great War broke out, and though its effect in Korea was not so great as that felt in other quarters, the total trade figures were brought up to 506,507,832 yen in 1919 (224,084,440 in export and 282,423,392 in import), making an increase of 346 per cent. in six years and of over 700 per cent. since the annexation.

A word in conclusion about the population. In 1910, the census showed 13,128,780 Koreans, 171,543 Japanese, and 12,694 foreigners, a total of 13,313,017. In 1918, the figures were 16,697,017 Koreans, 336,872 Japanese, and 23,143 foreigners, a total of 17,057,032. During the eight years the Koreans had increased by over 3,500,000, notwithstanding the exodus of the self-exiled irreconcilables, the Japanese by 165,000, and the foreigners by 10,000. The density of the population is about 200 per square mile, or about half that of Japan, where it is 379 per square mile. These figures prove conclusively that what Japan has done has been mainly for the Koreans, and that it is the Koreans who have benefited. In my humble opinion, the Japanese have every right to be exceedingly proud of what they have accomplished in the short space of ten years, even in comparison with the most glorious feats of colonization which can be shown by this or any country. She set herself the

most stupendous task, and one day she will win an exceedingly great reward. As Dr. Brown has written: "When Japan took control there were no roads, no railways, no telegraphs, no schools worthy of the name except mission schools, no justice in the courts, no uniform currency, practically nothing of any kind that a people needs. The Japanese had to create all the external conditions of stable government and civilized life, and to create them against the opposition of a corrupt and degenerate ruling class and the inherited inertia and squalor of a people who had so long acquiesced in misgovernment and injustice that they had ceased to care." And the Rev. F. H. Smith, writing on the upheaval of March, 1919, said: "The direct cause of the uprising was the activities of those outside Korea, who knew little or nothing of present-day conditions. President Wilson must carry heavy responsibilities as one of the inciters of this movement. His enunciation of the doctrine of self-determination for small nations aroused the hopes of the self-exiled Korean agitators, who have never been reconciled to Japanese occupation. They were led to believe that he would help them at Paris if they could show that they had grievances. Withal it is safe to say that without the instigation from outside—from America, Hawaii, Shanghai, and Vladivostok—no demonstrations would have occurred."

"Why, then," it may well be asked, "do the Koreans want to regain their independence?" As far as I could gather from the Koreans themselves in various trips through the peninsula (twice since the outbreak in March, 1919), the great mass of the people were quite content until inflamed by Korean agitators from outside, encouraged by the sympathy of some of the missionaries, and led away by the self-determination pronouncement of President Wilson. I was told that millions of Koreans took no part whatever in the demonstrations, and that many who did were influenced more by the spirit of patriotism which had arisen after the passing of their kingdom than with actual resentment

against the Japanese. Of course, there must have been some smouldering discontent in the breasts of the masses, or the agitators would never have succeeded in working up the number of sporadic demonstrations that took place in that trying month of March. It was easy to find that there were two main causes for this discontent—one resting on the shoulders of the Japanese, and the other the fault of the Koreans themselves. As I have previously said, the Japanese made the mistake of trying to assimilate the Koreans into the Japanese nation. They fondly hoped that, owing to many similar characteristics between the two races, in language especially, they would be able to produce a second United Kingdom. Another England and Scotland was their professed aim and object. But to achieve this they started with a military administration, and they discriminated between Japanese and Koreans. The military administration was a mistake, seeing the annexation was made with the full consent of the Koreans. To attempt to impose upon a nation older than their own an assimilation policy was a greater mistake. But not even the best friend to Korea could say that the Koreans were in any way fitted to be placed on an equal footing with the Japanese until after a period of education, training, and general development. The Japanese failed in their purpose, and they gradually appreciated their mistake, so much so that they were devising reforms in their administration when “*Mansei*,” the cry for independence, arose. The other cause for discontent was due to the Korean nature. Centuries of corruption and oppression by their own rulers had produced the most idle and dispirited nation among the recognized peoples of the world. They had almost become a byword among the nations of the East. To arouse them from their apathy, to eradicate their sloth, to inculcate the beginnings of sanitation meant to divert their hereditary traits, to change their very nature; and a spirit of resentment was bred in the process. Did not reformers in free and enlightened England find the same spirit in the

slums? To these two main causes is attributable the trouble that arose two years ago. The Japanese dealt with the movement in no uncertain way. They demonstrated to the demonstrators the utter futility of the movement. And at the same time they promised reforms. The promise they immediately began to put into effect. Reforms previously considered were speeded up, and new reforms were introduced. It now rests with the Koreans and their so-called friends whether Korea shall be a second Scotland or a second Ireland.

THE VISIT OF THE CROWN PRINCE OF JAPAN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

BY KOSAKU TAMURA

H.I.H. HIROHITO, the Crown Prince of Japan, and his suite are now on their voyage to visit England and other European countries. We may expect him here at the beginning of May. This unprecedented event has caused a great sensation among all Japanese. Indeed, no Japanese heir to the throne has ever left the Land of the Rising Sun. Reports say that on his departure many ultra-patriots tried every possible means, such as throwing themselves before the Imperial train, for the purpose of postponing the Royal tour. So popular is he and so loved by all Japanese that they seem to feel uneasy about the long journey. They prayed at the Meiji and other shrines for the safety of the Crown Prince during his tour.

The battleship *Katori* in which he embarked at Yokohama on March 3 is being escorted by its sister ship *Kashima*. Both of these ships were built in England in 1906.

The Crown Prince is just twenty years of age on April 29 of this year, and the eldest of the present Emperor's four sons. His personal character so resembles his grand

father, the Meiji Emperor to whom all Japanese were intensely devoted during his reign, that all people who meet the Crown Prince are always struck by the same dignity that the late Great Emperor possessed. He is without doubt a born Emperor. All the hopes of the Japanese are centred upon him.

He enjoys exceedingly good health. He is a good sportsman and especially fond of golf.

As reported already, the Crown Prince is betrothed to H.I.H the Princess Nagako, the eldest daughter of Prince Kuni. The marriage will take place on returning from his tour.

The Crown Prince's visit to Europe has no political or official purpose. His object is to "seek knowledge through the world," which is one of the five fundamental policies declared by the Emperor Meiji on the occasion of his ascending the throne half a century ago. The object of his journey may be said to be attained if he can broaden his knowledge by coming in contact with European civilization. We cannot help hoping that he will really understand Occidental civilization and endeavour to bring about harmony between West and East and thus ensure the world's peace.

MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED.—I.

BY CAPTAIN H. BIRCH REYNARDSON

THE future government of Mesopotamia and its relation to the British Empire is a question which of late has aroused considerable interest. This question in its many aspects has been discussed at length both in the daily papers and in those periodicals which concern themselves with Imperial questions ; but the correspondence evoked has been limited in its scope. Much has been written as to the rights of the natives to independent government, and as to the possibility or the expediency of Great Britain continuing to occupy and administer the country. In the course of this correspondence in the Press we have had many allusions to ancient history and much prophecy as to the future possibilities of the country ; a considerable number of war books have dealt with various stages of the campaign in Mesopotamia as seen by the soldier ; but, except for some criticism of our administration and our policy aroused by the rising of last summer, we have been left without any clear information on the points most necessary to an understanding of the problems discussed.

The first questions the average man will ask (if he is interested) are—"In what state was Mesopotamia when we arrived in 1914? What have we been doing there since (beyond defeating the Turks)? What is the present state of the country after five years of our administration?"

They are rational questions ; but though he wades through a dozen books and reads carefully all that appears from day to day in the Press, his questions will remain unanswered.

Unfortunately, in the past the average reader has been somewhat prejudiced against official publications ; they have

acquired a reputation for stodginess, for dryness, and for a lamentable lack of humour which, despite the valuable information which doubtless they contain, makes their assimilation a painful process. The mirror of truth has been clouded by the breath of officialdom.

But recently there has appeared a very notable exception to this rule ; let the average man dismiss his former prejudice, and he may learn the answers to those questions which he has been asking. For in a White Paper (Cmd. 1061) the India Office has published a " Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia " which alike in the information it contains and in the manner in which the subject is treated is a very remarkable document.

In this Report we have for the first time a clear account of the state of society and of the system of administration in Mesopotamia, which Great Britain inherited from Turkey ; of the measures which we took during the war to evolve order out of chaos ; and of the result of five years of British administration in this country.

The preparation of this Report was entrusted to Miss Gertrude Bell, C.B.E., by the Acting Civil Commissioner, Sir Arnold Wilson, and he is to be congratulated on his choice. Miss Bell, in view of her remarkable journeys through the Middle East before the war, and her intimate knowledge of Arabian tribes, to which must be added her close association with administrative departments in Mesopotamia during the war, was fully qualified for the task. But to such qualifications she adds others : she has a wonderful power of explanation ; she has an imagination which she conveys to the reader, so that he can see what she so vividly describes ; she has sympathy ; and, lastly, as unexpected in a White Paper as it is welcome, a most humane sense of humour. Indeed, this is no Report in the ordinary sense of the word : Miss Bell has written a most fascinating book, as full of charm and interest as it is of valuable information.

So much for the manner : we must now turn to the matter of the book.

In the first place, a certain familiarity with the position and physical geography of Mesopotamia is naturally presumed ; for no reader is likely to have acquired an interest in the political and commercial future of a country without having been led by curiosity to do a little spade-work on his own. So Miss Bell takes it for granted that the main facts as to geography, climate, people, and communications are familiar to the reader ; there are no elementary descriptions of palm-trees and deserts, or of the rivers and the picturesque purlieus of Basra and Baghdad. Yet, on the other hand, in spite of the technical subjects often to be dealt with, so clear is the style and so direct the method of explanation that without any previous intimate knowledge of the country and its people we are able to understand the condition of affairs and appreciate the difficulties which had to be solved.

To the greatest and the most persistent of these difficulties the first paragraph of the " Review " calls our attention : it is a quotation from the Political Diary of the British Resident in Baghdad, dated 1910, in which he exclaims on the hopeless inefficiency of the Turkish Administration. " I had no idea before coming to Baghdad," he writes, " of the extent to which Turkey is a country of red tape and blind and dumb officialdom, nor of the degree in which the Turkish position in Irak is unsupported by physical force."

Throughout these pages we are impressed again and again by this supreme obstacle, the root cause of most, if not all, of the difficulties and troubles related. The British Resident's words in 1910 are spoken as a prologue.

The curtain rises on the outbreak of war, and throughout the first chapter (to employ a somewhat mixed metaphor) we are engaged in watching the leading characters " walk on " and in learning of the immediate results of the first fighting, the taking of Basra and Kurna, and of the initial measures for the administration of Mesopotamia. We are immediately convinced by the skilful manner in which the political scenery and characters are managed ; and the description of the Sheikh of Kurna is full of promise—" his restless and wary glance, his

beard dyed red with henna, and his flow of eloquent periods. . . . A bit of a scholar, he possesses a meagre library, and prides himself on a knowledge of history which covers a period extending, with lapses, to the days of Adam." After this we rest assured that in the course of the ensuing pages we shall, at least, be spared any heavy officialdom.

For the first month or so of British occupation little could be done in the way of civil administration, as the military situation—considerations of security and the consolidation of our position—still demanded the first attention. But the situation in and around Basra was soon cleared up, and even in the spring of 1915, when a Turkish army was once more at the western gates of the city, the local Arab gave no serious trouble. "'As for the guns of the English,' explained one of the combatants, 'they filled the air with noise, tore up the earth, and knocked down the palm-trees. That, sahib, is not war.' After a brief experience of these unfamiliar terrors, the speaker had returned to the cultivation of his garden, contentedly accepting our administration."

In January Mr. Henry Dobbs, I.C.S. (now Sir Henry Dobbs, and in charge of the British Mission to Kabul), arrived in Basra as Revenue Commissioner, and at once proceeded to the organization of the fiscal and revenue systems of the vilayet. It is in this second chapter that we gain a further insight into the appalling chaos of Turkish bureaucracy, and realize that we were engaged on no virgin soil, but had first to clear the ground of the overgrowth of centuries of inefficient administration. The Turkish régime had made no attempt to fit its methods to Irak. It governed, or attempted to govern, through sedentary officials working by minute regulations framed at Constantinople for Western Turkey; it conducted its business exclusively in Turkish, a foreign language, and a system of checks and counter-checks was encouraged in order to provide occupation for fresh appointments.

The complication of the Turkish financial arrangements, with the cumbrous system of watertight compartments, each in separate correspondence with a head office in Stamboul, is

lucidly explained, and the workings of the various departments—such as the Auqaf (pious bequests), the Crown lands, and the Ottoman debt—are betrayed in all their iniquity. Taxes of all kinds were collected by farming or by subordinate officials appointed annually to collect a specific tax—which amounts to very much the same thing. As the "Review" remarks, "the system invited speculation and corruption . . . the invitation was seldom refused."

As an example of this cheerful method is quoted the instance of a Mutasarrif—popular with his superiors, if not with the people he governed—who boasted that his budget showed no expenditure at all. All the officials, from the Mutasarrif himself downwards, drew no pay, but lived on questionable perquisites, while repairs, public work, etc., were simply neglected.

But, bad as the system was, any attempt at its immediate and sudden destruction was inadvisable, if not impossible, in view of the military situation and condition of the people; it was decided to keep the framework intact, but to free the method of administration from corruption and abuses. To quote but one instance, the changes made in the Auqaf department are surely enough to convince the reader not only of Sir Henry Dobbs' brilliant work, but of the sympathy and efficiency with which the British undertook the reform of this essentially Mahomedan service. Again in Chapter VIII. this department is examined, and we notice that whereas under Turkish rule it was in such a **state of insolvency** (or "leakage") that there was no money **available for the repair of mosques, payment of priests, etc.,** under the British system inaugurated by Sir Henry Dobbs a remarkable change has taken place. Although repairs to mosques have been effected and the payment of priests, staff, and religious educational establishments organized on an equitable scale, there was in 1920 a balance of five lacs of rupees.

Until the summer of 1918 the department of Education was, like that of Auqaf, merged with Revenue under British administration. Of the Turkish educational system we read little that is good. "The education of Moslems in Irak was in the main what the Turks made it, and so far as it exhibited any con-

sidered policy, it was to Ottomanize the Arabs." In the Basra vilayet the problem of its reform was rather less difficult than at Baghdad and Mosul, with their more mixed populations, and a popular change was immediately effected in making Arabic, the language of the people, the medium of instruction. English was taught as a foreign language, as there was a great demand for this among parents, and without English instruction there would have been little to attract pupils from the elementary mulla's schools, which for all practical purposes were useless.

The chief difficulty was to procure and maintain a supply of trained teachers, and it was determined to proceed slowly until suitable teachers were forthcoming; under the old régime the personal characters of the teachers had alone been enough to condemn such schools as existed.

If in the Baghdad vilayet the Turkish educational programme was more ambitious, it was, if anything, rather more ineffective than at Basra. It is epitomized as follows: "The scheme as set forth in the official Turkish Education Year-Book, full of maps and statistics, might have roused the envy and despair of the British authorities of the occupied territories but for the knowledge that, provided a school were shown correctly as a dot on a map, the Turk cared not to inquire whether the pupils enrolled even attended, or whether the system of education pursued in it was that of Arnold of Rugby or of Mr. Wopsle's great-aunt."

In the summer of 1918 a department for Education was organized, and in the sections of Chapter VIII. bearing on its work we are given a valuable insight into the complexities of the language and race problems involved. The rival claims of "higher education," which now is much in demand by the *Intelligenza* as affording a road to independent institutions, are contrasted with those of technical education, which, it is pointed out, should form the substructure of the former. Although political considerations may make it necessary to "put the cart before the horse," lest we incur the charge of desiring to hold back the people from the path of national progress, it is, apparently, unlikely to have any adverse affect; for the Iraqi appreciates good money, and will turn more readily to trade and

agriculture, where profits are to be made, than to Government posts which will afford him but a moderate living.

From Education we pass to the judicial administration, the system of land tenure and registration—Tapu (which, “ though it possessed signal merits, was, like all things Turkish, a theory rather than a fact ”), public health, and tribal levies. These departments are all dealt with in greater detail later, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters, and here we learn merely the main features of the British reforms from which the detail was developed as time went on. But each paragraph is an example of economical explanation of a difficult subject, providing a knowledge whereby the reader can form a clear idea of the why and wherefore of our administrative measures and the conditions under which they were brought into being.

After the framework of the first two chapters there follow three chapters dealing with our relations with the Arab tribes, the Shiah cities of Karbela and Nejef, and the Kurds. Not only do these pages tell of the gradual extension and consolidation of our rule, but the information they contain as to the history of the people, their customs and mode of life, is as interesting as it is unique. Miss Bell possesses an unsurpassed knowledge of the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia ; of their habits and mentality, as well as of the miserable system under which they were misgoverned by the Turk, she speaks from personal experience. Throughout these chapters one is continually struck by a happiness of phrase and expression, a power of description, and a perfect use of anecdote, which combine to give the reader an accurate and at the same time a comprehensive view of country and people.

In the course of a discussion on the relations between the Turks and the Arab tribes in Chapter III., the drift of the nomad from South Arabia into Mesopotamia is sketched in brief, but it is so described that the process of his expansion and settlement in the country is easily understood. In the story of the S’adun family, and again in that of Ibn Sa’ud, we may observe that employment of anecdote which does so much to throw light upon dark places—in this case the Turkish “ policy ” as regards the tribes.

"Instead of utilizing the power of the sheikhs, the Turks pursued their classic policy of attempting to improve their own position by the destruction of such native elements of order as were in existence. . . . To recognize local domination and yoke it to his service lay beyond the conception of the Turk, and the best that can be said for his uneasy seat upon the whirlwind was that he managed to retain it." It is in these words that the Turkish system of government is described, and when we visualize the system applied to such tribes as the Anizeh and Shammar, as they are portrayed in the next chapter, we are not surprised that it failed.

But if the Turk was not successful in dealing with the nomad tribes, his policy towards the more settled portion of the community was scarcely more happy, especially in the Middle Euphrates districts. "The Turks," we read, "in their dealings with the Shias of the Euphrates must be reckoned among those whom the gods wish to destroy." Throughout the Turkish policy, indeed, whether in matters of finance, education, land tenure, or justice, we can trace the old quarrel of Sunni and Shia: the Turk is a Sunni, and in Shia Irak he never forgot it.

Turkish ineptitude early resulted in forcing the influential Shia cities of Karbela and Nejef into opposition, and the account here given of the process introduces us to many remarkable personalities and to much interesting information as to the politics and divergent interests of the inhabitants. Before we condemn the lot as a pack of traitors, in view of their uncertain sympathies, we should first consider the position in which they (and, indeed, all the natives) found themselves. After the fall of Kut in 1916 "it was . . . abundantly clear to the dullest-witted that to desert the Turkish cause meant death if the offender fell into Ottoman hands, or, at any rate, exile under conditions which were tantamount to a death sentence; whereas to break promises given to the British implied, at the worst, internment for a period of years in India in well-found camps." But it is proved conclusively that this apparently weak policy on our part was ultimately justified.

(To be continued.)

REMINISCENCES OF A FAMOUS HISTORIAN

BY OLGA NOVIKOFF

KINGLAKE was the kindest of friends, and was always the first to be told of all joys or troubles. But once I saw him really angry with me. I had been dining with Count Beust the night before. Kinglake, or (as I and my other friends used to call him) "Eothen," came at his usual hour, and asked how I liked my party at the Embassy? "Oh, very much indeed," replied I. "Mr. Gladstone took me in to dinner, and we talked a great deal, first of the Old Catholic movement, which he sincerely admires; then of Döllinger; Mr. Gladstone exhibited a remarkable knowledge of the Eastern Church and her superiority over Romanism; then of you and your books."

No sooner had I uttered these words than Kinglake jumped from his chair. He—usually such a "downright slow-coach," as he called himself; he so very quiet and gentle in his manners—began pacing excitedly up and down the room.

"Why have you done this?" exclaimed he. "Why have you mentioned me? Had you no better subject?"

~~I was startled.~~ "Why not?" I asked in return. "I never conceal either my friends or my friendships."

"But you ought never to have mentioned me to Gladstone. He dislikes me, and it may do you harm in his opinion."

If this was not kind, I do not know what kindness means. There are two examples of this which I should like also to mention. My book on "Russia and England," from 1876 to 1880—thanks chiefly to Mr. Froude's Preface and Mr. Gladstone's very kind review of it in the *Nineteenth Century*, as well as Emile de Laveleye's article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—had created an unexpected sensation. The Jingö camp was full of bitter attacks upon me, which I accepted with

gratitude as the only possible compliment from such a source. Some of these were simply absurd, and only made me laugh. But Kinglake was vexed, and determined to counteract the attack. In order to achieve that object he interrupted his usual work—the last volume of his “Crimean War”—and actually wrote a paper on the Eastern Question in the *Quarterly Review*, the beginning of which was nothing but a glowing panegyric of my work. Nobody at that time, except the Editor, knew the authorship of that unexpected demonstration in the very heart of Toryism; and, of course, had it been written by a man less known and valued in the literary world, nothing of this kind could ever have appeared in such a quarter. The second part, referring not at all to me, but very bitterly to Russia and her political situation, was added by someone else, with the object of toning down Kinglake’s views, but I personally continued to have the benefit of his defence. That number of the *Quarterly* puzzled everybody as to the authorship of the article, and created a stir, but to Kinglake and myself it was the source of many amusing discussions.

Another and still greater proof of Kinglake’s kindness was given me, and has for ever sealed my gratitude to his memory.

A very great blow fell upon me in the year 1876. My brother Nicholas was killed at the head of a small, badly armed detachment of Serbian volunteers. He fought to the last, and even when seriously wounded, and only supported by two Montenegrins, he still advanced towards the Turkish troops. On that occasion many English friends, such as Mr. Gladstone, Carlyle, Froude, Tyndall, C. P. Villiers, and others, showed me heartfelt sympathy. Kinglake came one day quite early, about ten o’clock—a very unusual time for his visits—and said he had been thinking about my brother, and, if I cared, would be glad to mention him in the preface to his popular edition of the “Crimean War.” I thanked him, and gave him all the English, American, and French articles, as well as the official telegrams from King Milan of Serbia, which I had referring to that great misfortune to my family. Days, weeks, months passed. The end of my sojourn in England

was speedily approaching, and I thought Kinglake had given up the idea of the promised preface." As he was writing about a war belonging to another epoch, I quite understood the difficulty of mentioning events which had taken place twenty years later. I never referred to the subject again. On the eve of my departure for Russia, Kinglake came and said : " I have been long about it, but you know I am always slow. Here is my belated manuscript, however, and I shall send it off at once." I seized the preface and read it. The references to my brother were extremely kind, and actually reproduced all the details published by the correspondents, some of whom were on the spot at the time of his death. But what he said about Russia—about our Church, about our Emperor—seemed to me so unjust, so baseless, and so wrong, that I felt beside myself with indignation.

I sat before the fire, Kinglake looking at his manuscript.

I got up. " What have you done ?" I exclaimed. " How can you for one minute suppose that I will allow my brother's name to appear in a libel upon Russia ? This is nothing but a libel, a libel, I say ; and—no matter what happens as a result of my action—unless half of this awful preface is taken out at once, I throw your manuscript into the fire. How could *you* write such a thing ? how could you throw away my friendship for ever in such a way ?"

Kinglake, dear, kind Kinglake, listened, said nothing, but gave me a red pencil. " Take out what you like. Do not be angry. After all, you may be right." I took out almost three-quarters of his preface, and so, mutilated by my hand, it now adorns the popular editions of the " Crimean War." I should never have mentioned the episode had not Kinglake himself described it to Hayward ; in other words, communicated it to the world at large.

It may not be generally known, but this labour of twenty-six years, his *magnum opus*, was in reality nothing but a token of gratitude to Lord Raglan.

Being a civilian, Kinglake, when expressing a wish to accompany the expedition to the Crimea, met with great opposition

from the military authorities, in spite of which, however, Lord Raglan took him there.

In return for this friendly act, Kinglake determined to study the art of war and to write the history of Lord Raglan's campaign. When this was brought down to the time of his friend's death, Kinglake considered his work completed.

But was "great Eltchi" not right in allowing the civilian Kinglake to accompany his troops during the Turkish war of 1854?

Our great strategist, Todleben—whose name will for ever be connected with the heroic defence of Sebastopol—visited Kinglake in London, and entertained him in the Crimea a few years after the conclusion of peace. The General was very fond of him personally. Could anybody, knowing Kinglake, help being so?

Nevertheless, Todleben never looked upon the "History of the Crimean War" as a specimen of scientific and authoritative work. He spoke once in my house to that effect.

"But is it not most interesting?" interrupted I, rather impatiently. "Can you not read it with breathless interest, like a delightful novel?"

"Just so," replied Todleben, smiling at my impatience. "Like a novel, not military history!"

There was not a particle of petty vanity about our great Todleben, or he would not have minimized the historical value of a work which speaks of him in such glowing terms.

A characteristic and quite authentic anecdote corroborates my view. I had it at first hand.

A German travelling once from Berlin to St. Petersburg met a Russian, who seemed to be a man of great experience in military questions.

Being a soldier himself, the German, delighted with his companion, became very talkative and frank. "I admire the Russian army immensely," said he. "There is no better in the world. But there is one thing about you Russians which I cannot tolerate."

"What is that?" inquired the other, evidently interested.

"You have no hero-worship; you have no Carlyle to teach you that feeling. You only admire foreign heroes. Towards your own you remain perfectly indifferent. Let me give you an example. But tell me first what you think yourself of General Todleben?"

"Well," said the Russian, speaking without the slightest enthusiasm, "he certainly did his duty not worse than anybody else. There are many in Russia just as good, if not better."

"There!" exclaimed the German triumphantly, "was I not right? A man who everywhere would be considered a glory to his country, whose statue would be in every city, whose portrait in every military school, you speak of him as if he were nothing more than a simple mediocrity!"

The Russian tried to change the subject. Upon many questions they fully agreed, so much so that further meetings were agreed upon. On reaching St. Petersburg, the German presented his card; the Russian had to do the same. It was only then that his name was disclosed. He was General Todleben himself.

But to return to Kinglake. He and I often disagreed, or perhaps I should rather say, agreed to differ. I admired the absence of duelling in England—a practice where the question of honour is decided sometimes by mere chance, sometimes by mechanical skill in shooting or fencing. Besides, our three best poets, Poushkine, Lermontoff, and Griboyedoff, lost their lives in that mad fashion. Even later the slightest cause could forfeit the most precious life in Russia, as in Germany and France.

Kinglake, on the contrary, blamed the "Iron Duke" for having suppressed duels, "which," he said, "kept up a better tone in society."

I heard from one of "Eothen's" friends that soon after the Crimean War he sent a challenge and went to Boulogne, expecting his adversary to follow. A week having passed without the adversary putting in an appearance, Kinglake returned disgusted to London. I never knew the details of that incident.

Kinglake was also all for war. He used to say ~~that~~ the

facing of death had an ennobling influence on humanity ; that peace would emasculate the world.

“ Besides,” he continued, “ population, when too dense, is not at its best.”

“ But in Russia,” I rejoined, “ we are not peopled sufficiently. It is a well-known fact that, if we have no proletariat, it is because there is more work than workers. This is, perhaps, an advantage Russia has over other European countries.”

On the other hand, I, though the daughter of a man who earned his St. George’s Cross on a battlefield, sister of two soldiers, and wife of another, was always dreaming of peace ; and even now I personally believe firmly that Russia, with her remarkably kind and pacific Emperor, would willingly have consented to a general disarmament, if that grand move had simultaneously been taken by all the Great Powers, as was proved by the Hague Conference, started by our Emperor and opposed by the German Kaiser.

Sometimes, vexed with my lack of demonstrative power against the necessities of war, I brought great authorities to my aid.

“ I wish you had come earlier yesterday,” I remarked to him once ; “ you would have met John Bright. He was at first speaking in favour of Free Trade, which, I dare say, for an island like England was the best system to introduce, but he also talked of war. ‘ I believe,’ said Bright, with his strikingly melodious voice and with peculiar emphasis, ‘ that half the people who discuss that terrible subject have not the slightest idea what they are talking about. It is the essence of all the sufferings, the horrors, the crimes, of which man is capable.’ ”

Kinglake interrupted : “ Oh, Bright is nothing but a Quaker ! ”

Here I ventured to remark that, the other day, in passing the monument to the Crimean War, I said to myself : “ This is the only result for England of the Crimean War of 1854.” “ Oh ! ” interrupted Bright. “ But the ‘ a ’ at the end of the word should be put at the beginning of the phrase (A Crime). ”

"I dislike your 'but,'" interrupted I. "The Quakers deserve trust and admiration; there is no hypocrisy, no sham about them. They are true to themselves and their doctrines. Morally they stand very high and are so generous."

If I were arguing the subject now I might have quoted a great French writer and statesman, Jules Simon. He proposed that all civilized nations should pledge themselves not to enforce military service for more than one year upon any of their recruits.

Jules Simon added: "The friends of peace must never rest until this military reform is carried. It will immensely reduce the military burden of Europe, under which it is staggering towards bankruptcy.

"In diminishing the military force by one-half, or by two-thirds, it would practically reduce the standing armies of Europe to a militia, powerful for defence, weak for offence. *Defence, not Defiance*, would then become the motto for all."

Of course, the difficulty was to get a splendid measure like this carried *simultaneously by all the Great Powers*. But Russia, whose military character certainly could not be questioned, would, I feel sure, have been ready to support what Kinglake derided as "the Quaker's view." There is real power in self-control, and in keeping the peace. . . . He repeatedly spoke of his strong desire to be cremated. This was done at Woking. Kinglake was eighty-one when he died, on January 2, 1891, but his mind was powerful and bright to his last day.

I called on him frequently during the trying time of his illness, and only when all was over did I fully realize the loss of my old and exceptionally kind friend.

But his death had a far greater importance. His self-control, his wonderfully courageous calm before the final event, could be compared to the splendid examples exhibited by the heroes of our last Great War.

THE LION CITY OF MALAYA

BY EDWARD SALMON

(Joint Editor, *United Empire*)

ON February 6, two years ago, Singapore celebrated its foundation as a free British port. The commemoration resolved itself, with rare propriety, into something more than the self-laudation of a busy hive of Eurasian enterprise and achievement. Singapore is naturally proud of its hundred years, during which it has developed from a collection of fisher huts on the site of the ancient port of Tēmasēk, or Singapura as the Indians called it, into one of the finest cities and ports in the world. But Singapore does not forget that it was the deliberate creation of a great and far-sighted man. To Raffles, and to Raffles alone, belongs the glory of securing Singapore for Britain; with the exception of Lord Hastings, then Governor-General at Calcutta, he had no official support, and even after he had unfurled the Union Jack, the smaller minds who objected were with difficulty prevented from robbing posterity of his priceless gift. Raffles must rank with Clive and Warren Hastings in any worthy record of British accomplishment in the East, and his reward, like theirs, was to be misrepresented, misunderstood, and traduced. Until some twenty years ago his name had passed into comparative obscurity. Mr. Boulger's biography of him was followed by Mr. Hugh E. Egerton's in the "Builders of Greater Britain" Series—a series which helped to place more than one reputation in its proper Imperial perspective—and to-day it is the fault of the public, not of the student, if the remarkable life-story of Sir Stamford Raffles is not as familiar as that of Raleigh or Clive, of Wolfe or Cecil Rhodes.

Singapore's centenary celebrations were in effect a tribute to a man, the man who makes things possible for men. It was wisely decided to put the record of Singapore's century into book form,* with chapters by local authorities, on her growth, her commerce, her law, her municipality, her sport, and her moral and material development. One admirable article by the Rev. William Cross describes Raffles the Man, and there is hardly a section of the history which does not refer one to Raffles. Two characteristics are outstanding: First, his masterly conception of the needs of the British Empire in Far Eastern waters; second, his advanced and liberal-minded anticipation of the needs of the locality if it were to take its place and fulfil its destiny as a part of the Empire. In regard to Free Trade, to Education, and to those attributes which peculiarly distinguish the British Empire in the nineteenth century, Raffles was a pioneer in every sense of the word. On the Imperial side, as Mr. C. W. Darbishire and others show, he saved Britain from the consequences of official supineness at home. Whether he was in any way drawn to Singapore by a knowledge of its past there is nothing to indicate; what is certain is that he seized, as Mr. Darbishire says, "the enormous possibilities lying in the heart of that little Malay village. He dreamed of a great port to rival those of the Dutch, of a world-wide trade, of a gateway for the British Empire, and, with what seems like the touch of a magician's wand, his dream came true."

When a committee was appointed in 1918 to consider the best means of commemorating the centenary, it reported strongly in favour of a scheme of education, "with a view to laying securely the foundations upon which a university may in course of time be established," and again the reference is back to Raffles, whose minute on the desirability of establishing a Malay college is quoted:

"Education must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be assured and its evils avoided; and in our

* "One Hundred Years of Singapore." General Editors: Walter Makepeace, F.J.I., Dr. G. E. Brooke, M.A., and R. St. J. Braddell, B.A. London: Murray. 2 vols. 42s. net.

connection with these countries it shall be our aim that while with one hand we carry to their shores the capital of our merchants, the other shall be stretched forth to offer them the means of intellectual improvement."

Such was the spirit in which Britain went about the world in the days when she was regarded by her European rivals as little better than a swashbuckler; she challenged their tyranny and set them an example; where she planted her flag she planted liberty and enlightenment, to her own profit and to the happiness of the people who came under her sway. Malaya owes everything to the strict observance of the ideals foreshadowed by Raffles when he made Singapore British. It were a fascinating subject for speculation as to what might have been the history of the Asiatic world east of the Indian Ocean if Raffles had never lived; Singapore's position as the sentinel site of the narrow seas must surely have been discovered in time—but by whom? The Briton at home showed no anxiety to secure any such possession, and when we think of Java we can only conclude that in the fullness of time the Dutch would have realized all that Singapore stood for and made it their own accordingly. The British Empire, as we know it, can no more be imagined to-day without Singapore than it can be thought of minus Quebec or Gibraltar or the Cape.

And of the future? On what will Singapore be able to look back when she celebrates her second centenary? As she has realized much if not all that Raffles hoped for, as she has gone ahead even faster than Sir Frank Swettenham predicted eighteen years ago, so she may eclipse the horoscope read for her by Mr. A. W. Still, the Editor of the *Straits Times*, in a brilliant penultimate chapter to this interesting book. That Singapore is destined to become the great naval base of the East seems fairly certain. Mr. Still has a prevision, likely also to prove intelligent anticipation, that it will be a great base for "ships which will wing the air in swift and graceful flight." He has hopes that the errors of the past which menace the health of the population may give place to bold town planning in

the future, and that Singapore may emerge the model city of the East. Among other things, he would have "a clear and definite reservations law for the residential areas" in place of the indiscriminate alternation of human warrens and palatial hostelry, private residence and substantial warehouse. "The European quarter should be for Europeans, the Chinese quarter for Chinese, the Japanese quarter for Japanese, the Indian quarter for Indians. We are a cosmopolitan community, and our great object must be to live together in perfect harmony, respecting each other's customs and prejudices, not thrusting each upon the other, but frankly acknowledging that one man's meat may be another man's poison, and that what pleases one may distress another. But it must be remembered always that *salus populi est suprema lex.*" And then, in keeping with developments elsewhere, he foresees Malaya moving towards "representative self-government." "It would be rash, perhaps, to say that we are already ripe for the great change; but the time is not far distant when we shall be ready, and I do fervently hope that, guided by the great instinct which is surer than cold reason, the Imperial Government will offer us the rights of freemen before they are clamoured for in anger or in discontent." So Mr. Still would have Singapore become an example of how far East and West may harmonize. "We have a hundred years of splendid prosperity behind us; a future which is glowing with hope; wealth enough to realize our most ambitious dreams; brains enough to mingle prudence in just proportion with enterprise." May Mr. Still prove a true prophet of the Lion City!

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

MEDICINE IN INDIA

BY DR. CECIL WEBB-JOHNSON

It has been said that a speech or a paper should be like a lady's dress—long enough to cover the subject and short enough to be interesting. "Medicine in India" comprises in itself a subject of no inconsiderable magnitude, and I shall be able in the time at my disposal only to touch the fringes of the subject.

Hindu medicine is not only of great interest on account of its antiquity, but because many of its principles, taught centuries ago, are sound and are followed to-day to the advantage of the community at large.

According to the esoteric doctrine of Hinduism, first propounded in the "Rig Veda," the Universe was originally soul only, and the origin of creation proceeded from Brahma, the supreme Spirit, for in Hinduism Brahma is the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Shiva the destroyer.

The Aryans brought with them into India all the habits and ideas of the Northern people, including the eating of horseflesh and beef, and the drinking of fermented liquor—the soma juice, or nectar of the gods. To trace the habits and customs of the inhabitants of India to the present time is not the object of this paper, but much that has been handed down from generation to generation must be taken into consideration in discussing the subject at issue.

Whether a man can practise Hindu medicine depends upon his caste, and invariably the profession of physician is handed down from father to son, for the Hindu physician is born, not made.

Hindu medicine teaches that there are three all-pervading

forces or humours in the body, and that as long as they are in a state of equilibrium the body remains in health.

The oldest medical book of the Hindus is the "Ayur Veda," or "The Science of Life," and is founded on the "Rig Veda."

In that huge encyclopædic epic of Hinduism, the "Mahabharata," composed over fifteen hundred years before Christ, it is written: "The ducts leading from the heart go up, down, and in transverse directions; they transport the best juices of the food."

In all probability Hippocrates took his humoral theory from the Hindus, as the "Rig Veda" was written over two thousand years before Christ. Hindu physicians have made a special study of the effect of the seasons and the influence of the sun and moon on plants, as well as the time they take to grow, and the exact period at which they should be gathered. Having extracted the juices from the plants, they classify them as either hot or cold in power according to the influence of the sun and moon, and in this hot and cold theory they were followed by Galen, the Greek physician. They hold that from January to June the heat of the sun sucks up the juices, giving them heating properties, and from June to December the sun's rays produce a cooling effect on plants.

In India the rays of the moon are very powerful, and ~~play an~~ important part in the development of the active principles of various plants. Plants growing in the Himalayas and elsewhere are said to possess peculiar medicinal properties, and certain mosses gathered from a height of 16,200 feet are made use of in certain oils for the cure of cases of paralysis and insanity.

Mercury was regarded as the elixir of life, and iron, silver, gold, diamonds, turquoise, and topaz were included in the Hindu Materia Medica. Hindu physicians have been noted for their skill in the treatment of snake-bites from the time of Alexander the Great.

Although the Kaviraj, or Hindu practitioner, is really a

physician, the early Hindu medical works describe many surgical instruments for rhinoplasty, or the formation of new noses, skin grafting, trephining, litholapaxy, and the removal of cataract.

Susrūta, one of the earliest authorities on surgery, describes treatment by caustics, instruments, and the actual cautery.

The employment of hypnotism is recorded at a very remote age, and this is only natural, for the Hindu physician devoted himself to the psychic as well as the physical side of life.

In the "Mahabharata" it is written: "There are two classes of diseases, bodily and mental. Each arises from the other: of a truth mental disorders arise from physical ones, and likewise physical disorders from mental ones." If only the Western practitioner would study psychotherapy and apply it in the treatment of cases of nervous origin and so-called *malades imaginaires*, Christian Scientists would have little to do as far as healing is concerned, for to consider such cases as beneath contempt and unworthy of serious, and sometimes prolonged, treatment, displays a lamentable ignorance of human nature and the effect of the mind on the body.

There is no pain or abnormal sensation in the body without a cause to account for it, and to dismiss such symptoms as imaginary, without treating the patient to the best of one's ability, is neither honest to the patient nor a credit to the medical profession.

It is not always easy to find the cause of vague symptoms such as "feeling rotten and below par," "lack of energy," "a desire to scream the place down," "throbbings and pains in the head," but all physicians are consulted about such symptoms, and if they are honest they treat them. Such premonitory symptoms may prove to be the red flag, warning us that there is danger ahead, perhaps Graves' disease, nephritis, apoplexy, or a nervous breakdown.

Professor Murray, writing in the *British Medical*

Journal a couple of months ago, points out that in Graves' disease, before the appearance of any well-recognized symptom of the malady, there is for a period extending into weeks, or even months, a constant feeling of fatigue and a restlessness and irritability of disposition which help the clever and observant physician to make an early and brilliant diagnosis. Any motorist knows that, on occasion, his car is not getting off well, pulling well, or starting well. He cannot find the reason himself. The motor engineer who is consulted says he can find nothing wrong with the car, and sends it back again in the same unsatisfactory condition. The owner consults a more painstaking expert, who finds some small defect, or some slight adjustment necessary, and returns the car in perfect working order. It is needless to say which of these two engineers would be consulted in future, and it is very much the same in the human body. If a person is not feeling well there must be something wrong in the human machinery, and the man who takes infinite pains to find the cause and rectify the mistake is the physician who will prove successful.

The Hindus had remarkable views on the treatment of pregnant women, and those who are interested in ante-natal clinics will hardly agree with the following advice: "Before the child's birth the mother should be allowed, as far as possible, anything she desires, lest, as a result of not gratifying her wishes, the babe be malformed or deficient in any faculty."

According to Susrūta, the partaking of unsuitable diet by a pregnant woman, or the refusal to grant any of her wishes, is one of the seven causes of all the diseases of manhood.

The Hindus have also made a special study of hydropathy, by examining the waters of their lakes, rivers, wells, and springs; and they teach that too hot a bath is harmful for the eyes, and that those afflicted with any impairment of vision should refrain from bathing.

Another peculiar belief they have is that, when washing, cold water should be added to hot, not hot to cold.

Physical culture and breathing exercises, massage, anointing the whole body with oil before bathing, and the rubbing of oil into the soles of the feet, are recommended as aids to the preservation of health and longevity. One of their proverbs is: "He that is devoid of wisdom desireth much food," and they consider that no person should partake of more than two meals in the twenty-four hours. As fully half the diseases met with are caused by injudicious, unsuitable, and over feeding, it is a pity that this proverb is not taken to heart more in Europe. Cleansing the teeth and washing the mouth after meals is insisted upon, and a short walk after meals is recommended as an aid to digestion, followed by a rest on the left side.

As sleep is life's chief nourisher, the Hindus have made a special study of the subject, and they consider that sleep on an empty stomach is most conducive to tranquillity of mind, and they teach peculiar modes of breathing in cases of insomnia.

So much, then, for the purely Hindu system of medicine, which must not be confused with the Hakimi or Moslem system, which is also prevalent in India, but which time does not permit me to discuss to-day.

The introduction of Western ideas of sanitation, prophylaxis, and treatment into so vast a country as India must, of necessity, be gradual, for custom dies hard and the sacredness of all life is a principle of the Jain faith as it is with the Buddhist. We cannot afford to overlook the fly on the chariot-wheel of civilization, for flies, mosquitoes, rats, fleas, and bugs are the chief carriers of disease in the tropics.

The Hindu peasant is as confirmed an idolater as the Moslem is iconoclast, and sprinkling with Ganges water, throwing of sacrificial flowers, and oblations of rice, are still the order of the day.

Although, nowadays, the laws of Manu are not observed strictly, many Indian customs and superstitions must die before the rates of mortality and morbidity fall to a reasonable level.

Vaccination is more potent than Sitala, the Goddess of Smallpox, and the belief that she would be offended were Agni, the God of Fire, to drive her from her habitation must be eradicated.

The uneducated Indian must be taught that cleanliness is next to godliness and not next to impossible, as it is with so many of them, and that frequent bathing of the body in filthy water is not sufficient to ensure good health.

Far more important is scrupulous cleanliness in the preparation and cooking of their food and sanitation in their homes, whether they be mud huts or busties.

We must neither be downhearted nor discouraged at the slowness of our progress, but must remember that all measures for the good of the people have to run the gauntlet of abuse before reaching the goal of popularity.

From the loom of time a web has been spinning incessantly, with science and research for its warp and woof, and the knowledge we possess to-day, with all its inestimable benefits, is the result.

If we succeed in spreading this knowledge and produce a healthy and virile race we shall have at least the satisfaction of knowing that we have acted according to our lights and have not betrayed our trust as governors of India.

In tracing Western medicine in India we must go back to the days when such men as John Banester and Lewis Attmer were the surgeons on the ships *Lancaster* and *The Edward*, in the employ of the East India Company. In 1607 Lawrence Pegien was hired as surgeon for the ship *Ascension* at £1 13s. 4d. per month, with £17 to furnish his chest to sea, with Thomas Yonger as surgeon's mate at £1 per month.

In 1614 Surgeon-General Woodall was appointed to the East India Company at a salary of £20 a year, increasing to £30.

In his history of Bengal, Stewart relates that in 1636 a daughter of Shah Jehan was burnt by her clothes

setting on fire, and an express was sent to Surat for the assistance of a European surgeon.

Gabriel Broughton, surgeon to the ship *Hopwell*, was nominated by the council at Surat to proceed at once to the Emperor's camp in the Dekkan, and he was successful in effecting a cure. When asked to name his own reward he solicited, in a patriotic manner, that his nation might have the liberty of trading, free of all duties, in Bengal, and establish factories in that country. His request was acceded to, and this was the origin of the first settlement of the East India Company in Bengal. This makes a very pretty story, but unfortunately Stewart is not supported by facts, as it was Anitulla, the famous hakim of the time, who was summoned from Lahore and cured the princess.

In 1711 William Hamilton, surgeon of the frigate *Sherborne*, deserted his ship and arrived at Calcutta, where he was appointed second surgeon to the settlement. Later, he treated the King at Delhi so successfully that he was presented with an elephant, a horse, five thousand rupees in money, two diamond rings, a jewelled aigrette, a set of gold buttons, and models of all his instruments in gold. When, however, the King requested Hamilton to remain with him as his medical attendant he politely but firmly refused the offer. The Vizier made a pathetic appeal to the King for permission for Hamilton to depart, and the King's reply is of great interest, as showing what a high regard he had for the doctor. Speaking of Hamilton he said: "Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I would very fain have kept him and given him whatsoever he should have asked, but seeing he cannot be brought on any terms to be content, I agree it, and on condition that after he has gone to Europe, procured such medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his wife and children, he returns to visit the Court once more, let him go."

In 1732 John Howell arrived in Calcutta as surgeon's mate of the *Duke of Cumberland*. Twenty years later he

was appointed Zemindar of Calcutta, which position he held until the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal in 1756. When Roger Drake deserted the garrison Howell was chosen unanimously to take his place, and subsequently he was one of the prisoners in the Black Hole. Being the highest in rank of the twenty-three survivors, he was sent in chains by the Nawab to Murshidabad. He must have possessed the constitution of an ox, for after surviving the horrors of the Black Hole, the journey in chains to Murshidabad during the rains, and twenty-eight years' service in India, he lived in England for thirty-eight years after his retirement, and died at the ripe old age of eighty-seven.

In 1745 William Fullerton arrived in Calcutta, and in 1757 he was Mayor. In 1760 he was the only officer to survive when the Emperor Shah Alam made war upon the Nawab of Bengal at Patna. His life in India seems to have been full of adventures, for, in spite of Vansittart's recommendation that he should not be allowed to return to India, he was surgeon to the Patna Agency in 1763, and in the same year he was the only survivor of the force to which he belonged in the Patna massacre.

He was really the first officer of the Indian Medical Service, as he was Senior Surgeon in Bengal in 1764.

As ~~one~~ more example of the hardships which medical men in India have undergone in the past it will be recollected ~~that~~ Surgeon William Brydon was the only man who made his way through to Jalahabad in the retreat from Kabul.

The total strength of the Indian Medical Service in 1861 was 819, but in 1913 it only reached 770, showing a decrease of about 6 per cent.

The division of the I.M.S. into two separate services, military and civil, has been tried on several occasions, but such separation was found to be impracticable and the two services were reunited.

Officers of the I.M.S. are primarily military officers, and

those in civil employ are only lent temporarily for civil duty, forming a reserve for the Indian Army, and they are liable to recall to military duty when emergency demands it.

The right of I.M.S. officers to take private practice was acknowledged definitely in 1773, and there is much competition nowadays for civil appointments in the Presidency towns.

In 1901, owing to abuses, regulations were issued, including one that when any fee exceeding two thousand rupees was charged for attendance on any native noble or chief, a reference was required to the Government of India, and these rules were resented by many officers as casting a slur on the Service as a whole.

The Indian Medical Service is passing, gradually but surely, from the hands of the English into those of the Indians, and it is very doubtful if any British will be left in the Service in twenty or thirty years' time. From 1855 to 1913 only 109 Indians took commissions in the I.M.S., yet in 1913, at the entrance examination, the list was headed by 3 Indians, and during the war many temporary commissions were granted to Indians, and the London schools have ever-increasing numbers on their lists. British medical men have a brilliant record in India, and the services have produced such men as Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, Colonel Fryer, Colonel Elliot, and many others too numerous to mention.

To-day the question is, What is to become of the medical services in India? for there is great difficulty in obtaining suitable candidates for the I.M.S. in spite of increased pay, pension, and better conditions of service. It is only natural that the best men should prefer to stay at home, amongst their friends and relations and surrounded by all the amenities, comforts, and culture which Western civilization has produced. It is a great hardship for a man to be posted to some mofussil station where he is cut off completely from all art, especially if he is fond of music, the drama, the opera, etc. It is not the climate that frightens men, for,

according to Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, I.M.S. officers in India incur little more risk to life and health than they do at home, as is proved by the number of men who have put in twenty years' service in India, retired, and lived to over eighty.

Three members of the Bengal Medical Service, as a matter of fact, lived to over one hundred years.

Nor can it be the pay and pension which deter men from joining the service, for both are higher than any other in the Colonies or at home.

Although the Service should appeal to any young man without the necessary capital to start at home, and to the man who has no great ambition to shine in the medical world in England, the fact remains that in spite of greatly improved conditions of service no adequate response has been given to the recent appeal for recruits.

I have discussed the question, both in India and at home with I.M.S. officers and young medical men, and the only conclusion that I can come to is that they all fear the future. It cannot be denied that the average Englishman objects to the possibility of being a junior officer under Indians. Another great objection to the Service is the liability of being moved at a moment's notice, perhaps on the whim or personal feelings of those senior to himself, for a brilliant junior who is more popular and sought after than his senior is always in an invidious position. One can imagine the feelings of a man who has been at the Eden Hospital for two years being transferred to some station where all his obstetric and gynecological experience and skill are wasted.

To me the saddest time for the retired service man is when he returns home, to find that after being a very big man in India he is nobody at all in England. His quondam friends are dead or scattered over the country, his children hardly know him, he has no home or good London club and is very often quite out of touch with present-day England. I have met scores of such men lately, living in

rooms, boarding-houses, or small hotels in Cromwell Road, absolutely at a loss, and not knowing how to pass their time. The only way to avoid this appears to me to be to grant more frequent and longer leave.

To try and remove grievances and jealousies the Verney and Esher Committees issued Reports in 1919; but as they did not agree, nothing very definite has happened to encourage men to join the service.

The Verney-Lovett Report framed a scheme for the formation of an Indian Medical Corps, which would take the place of the I.M.S. and do the work now done by the R.A.M.C. in India; but the Esher Report rejected the scheme as impracticable, as it would exclude permanently from India the R.A.M.C., to the detriment of the British troops and the R.A.M.C. officers themselves. Also it was pointed out that such a scheme of unification would open the R.A.M.C. to Indians.

Another scheme put forward was that the R.A.M.C. should undertake all the military work and the I.M.S. confine themselves to civil; but such a course was condemned as making for inefficiency, and, further, the breaking up of a service with such fine traditions as the I.M.S. had gained in the past. Still another scheme suggested was that both the R.A.M.C. and the I.M.S. should be retained, but that the latter should be split up into two separate services, the one serving the Indian Army and the other the civil population. The main objection to this was that it entailed a loss of from three hundred to four hundred medical officers, with military training, who could be called upon in an emergency.

Like all destructive critics, they themselves could not suggest any better scheme and had no constructive policy to recommend.

That in the past there has been a considerable amount of friction and jealousy between officers of the R.A.M.C. and I.M.S. cannot be denied, and I saw a great deal of it during the war in Calcutta, Darjeeling, and other stations.

Much of this appears to be due to the fact that, although it is laid down definitely in King's Regulations that R.A.M.C. officers are at liberty to do consulting and private practice in their spare time, many I.M.S. officers in civil employ resent such intrusion into what they, quite wrongly, consider to be their private preserves.

The Lovett Report concluded that if a good class of British candidate is to be attracted to the medical service in India, that service must partake of a mixed career, including military, civil, professorial, sanitary, and research work.

During the war the domestic and financial arrangements of many I.M.S. officers were severely dislocated, and many complaints were made by them that they were compelled to live on their savings or private money for several years during the war. As, however, they were all aware of their liability to be recalled from civil to military duty, it is hard to see in what respect their case is harder than that of hundreds of medical men at home who voluntarily left lucrative practices on the first day of the war and remained on duty for five years on a miserly R.A.M.C. captain's pay. Such men returned to find that other men, less patriotic than themselves, had taken their practices during their absence on military duty, and they themselves, in addition to the financial loss they had sustained, were compelled to start again and make new practices. The I.M.S. officers, on the other hand, returned to their various posts, certain pay, and pensions. Like the profiteers, the medical men who stayed at home feathered their own nests at the expense of those who went away, and if this is any consolation to them they are welcome to it.

There is, at the present time, a wave of discontent amongst all medical men in India connected with the various services, and there is little doubt that the status and pay of the assistant surgeons and the sub-assistant surgeons should be improved.

That Indian medical men are far from satisfied is proved

by the following resolution, passed in October, 1920, at Lucknow: "That in view of the adverse attitude of the Esher and Lovett Committees and a continued disregard shown by the authorities towards the interests of the Indian medical profession, under the influence of interested parties, the Association strongly advises the Indian medical profession not to meet in consultation any member of the Indian Medical Service." Such a resolution cannot be ignored nor treated lightly, for enmity and jealousy between Indian medical practitioners and I.M.S. officers can but recoil on the medical profession as a whole.

Personally I have never been able to understand jealousy between medical practitioners, for there is plenty of room for all to make a good living, and in all paths of life some men are successful and others are failures. Unsuccessful men are always conceited, rarely giving credit for any merit or exceptional ability to those who are successful, forgetting that, unlike business, success in a profession depends upon one's own efforts. Jealousy is the one blot on the escutcheon of the medical profession, and until it is wiped out it can but do harm.

In addition to the work accomplished by medical men in India, a great deal is being done by lay workers in the way of instruction on methods of sanitation and child welfare.

Lady Chelmsford, President of the All India Maternity League, in a speech the other day, remarked: "A movement for child welfare explains itself in a few words. It is an effort to ensure that, as far as conditions and environment are concerned, every child in this great land gets its fair chance, and has nothing to reproach its fellow-countrymen with." The League aims at improving the care and treatment of the mother and the proper management of the child during infancy. The objects of the League are threefold:

- (1) To train and qualify persons to undertake the work of health visitors.

(2) To educate the public by means of lectures and health exhibitions.

(3) To assist with grants towards the part payment of the health visitors in the poorer districts.

All health visitors can speak of the abject and extreme poverty of the large majority of Indians, and they will act as the almoners of the general public who subscribe to the fund, and use discrimination in meting out charity. The day has passed when the subject can be dismissed by saying that the children are better dead. The spirit of the age demands a more humanitarian and Christianlike attitude. The children of a nation are its greatest asset, and in this connection the proper training and registration of midwives plays an important part. The *dai*, like Sarah Gamp, must go, and the properly trained midwife take her place. Medical inspection of school children, followed up by home visiting, will do a great deal to stamp out ignorance and superstition. Exhibitions are being held all over India, and include propaganda work for the enlightenment of an extremely backward community, out of touch with modern sanitation and child-welfare work. In addition, there is the teaching of physical culture, and in more advanced centres the pathological section is the most prominent feature of the exhibition.

Not only for the sake of the submerged classes, but for the protection of the Europeans and educated Indians, is it essential to inculcate into the minds of the masses modern ideas of sanitation, for the sweeper's child, dying of small-pox or cholera, in his insanitary bustie, may be the cause of the spread of the disease to the educated and wealthy classes in the immediate vicinity.

Indian medical men and scientists are beginning to awake to the fact that they themselves must try to give the lead by research, study, and writings. Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose has made his name famous by his discovery of the crescograph, an apparatus for measuring the growth of plants, by means of which the highest

powers of the microscope are magnified 100,000 times. He has established also the fundamental unity of life-reactions between plants and animals, proving that the heart-beat of animals is simulated by spontaneous pulsation in certain plants, and that the effects of anæsthetics, poisons, and stimulants in animal and vegetable tissues are identical, and, further, that the death spasm occurs in both.

Works like Rai Bahadur Upendranath Brahmachari's "Kala Azar," Rai Bahadur Jaising Modi's "Elements of Hygiene" and "Medical Jurisprudence and Toxicology," and Das's "Midwifery," prove that Indian medical men are alive to the importance of writing on subjects of medical interest, particularly in regard to India. For example, medical jurisprudence in India presents special difficulties, such as early decomposition, methods of disposal of the dead, concealment, and false testimony, and the dominance of *dastoor*, or custom, though such customs as widow burning, leper burial, infanticide, road poisoning, and human sacrifice are almost obsolete.

The raising of the age of consent and the discouragement of premature marriages have diminished the number of cases of rape of children and other sexual offences.

Gradually, as knowledge of sanitation spreads to the meanest village, cases of disease and epidemics will diminish in both number and severity. No longer will it be possible, on approaching a mud hut, to be assailed by odours more offensive than those that greeted Falstaff's nostrils when he was covered up in the basket.

India will recover from its present state of unrest, and Attila's horn will flow over with plenty. The uplifting of women will follow in due course. Indian medical men, educated in Europe, and conversant with all the latest scientific knowledge, will be the custodians of their country's health, and carry out, I feel confident, their work according to the highest traditions of the most noble of all professions.

They will recognize that prevention is better than cure,

and that patients are not like machines, all to be treated alike, and give due regard to each person's individuality, recognize idiosyncrasies, and finally remember that in treating the body the mind must never be forgotten nor neglected. Tact, cleanliness, sympathy, firmness where necessary, a good memory, and suggestion will play an important part in the treatment of the cases under them. The highest qualification will be of little avail without them, for one of the essentials for success is the gaining of the patient's confidence.

The medical man in India who wishes to do good and useful work will do well to remember that no complaint of a patient is too trivial to be ignored, and further that a patient knows better than a doctor exactly what he feels.

He must agree with Mr. E. B. Havell that Indian philosophy has always discriminated between intuitional or divinely inspired wisdom and that which is acquired by training and experience; and the former has always been held in the higher plane.

Our Indo-Aryan brothers have perhaps more than most Britons that deep veneration for true knowledge which has always been characteristic of the Aryan race.

They recognize in modern European scientific research, so far as it is disinterested and not prostituted for base purposes, the culmination of the quest which their own divinely inspired *rishis* followed for thousands of years, and they desire eagerly to have the doors of this new temple of Sarasvati opened to them.

Oriental scholars of the nineteenth century, though they failed completely to understand the predominance of Aryan inspiration in Indian art and to recognize natural art as a key to the true interpretation of history, at least firmly grasped the essential truth that before the Moslem invasions, if not afterwards, it was Aryan culture which gave India its high place amongst the civilizations of the world and inspired its greatest intellectual achievements.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, January 24, 1921, at the Rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster; S.W., at which a paper was read by Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson, entitled: "Medicine in India." Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Major-General Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Colonel W. G. King, C.I.E., I.M.S. (retired), Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Wright, D.S.O., I.M.S. (retired), and Mrs. Wright, Dr. A. Castellani, C.M.G., M.D., L.R.C.P., Lieutenant Colonel R. H. Elliott, M.B., I.M.S. (retired), Lieutenant-Colonel C. L. Swaine, M.D., I.M.S. (retired), Lady Scott-Moncrieff, Lady Ross, Mrs. Stanley Rice, Mrs. Cecil Webb-Johnson, Dr. L. Fink, Dr. Augustine, Dr. T. A. S. Narayan, M.B., Mr. M. S. Sirdar, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mrs. Tracey, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Dr. Alice Pennell, Lieutenant-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. and Mrs. John Kelsall, Mr. A. E. Todd, Mr. N. Walmisley, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Cook, Miss H. M. Howsin, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Miss Fielding, Mr. Wyman, Miss Allwork, Miss Mart, Dr. and Mrs. Frankherd, Mr. H. R. J. Hemming, the Rev. W. L. Broadbent, Mrs. Drury, Mr. J. Procter Watson, Mr. R. H. H. Cust, Dr. F. Mayadas and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will now ask Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson to read his address.

The paper was then read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: We will now go on to the discussion whilst these matters are fresh in our minds; and I should very much like to ask Colonel King, who is here, and who was a great Sanitary Commissioner in India for many years, to make some remarks.

Colonel W. G. KING: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I regret I have not anticipated the honour of being called upon to speak on the subject now before you, and, consequently, fear my remarks may prove of no aid in discussion. I can do little more than congratulate the lecturer upon the able way in which he has treated the numerous subjects he has touched upon. Within the confines of a single paper, it doubtless has not been possible for him to enter into much detail. I notice, however, he has made a statement as to sanitation in India which is open to discussion.

He apparently holds that all that is requisite to secure adequate sanitary effort in that country is that by academic education the people should be induced to accept in theory such and such principles, and thereafter

sanitation would follow. In this, he but follows opinions which have guided the policy of the Government of India for several years, and were afforded special emphasis at the Delhi Durbar. Indeed, educational optimists have during the last forty years insisted on supplying cheap education broadcast as the panacea for all real or fancied difficulties in placing India in the front rank of civilized countries.

Under this impetus, the Universities of India have of late provided about 2,000 learned graduates per annum. Theoretically, such continuous outturn of masses of educated men—for even the “failed B.A.” must be so regarded—should have caused the mineral resources of the country to be utilized, have created great organizations to secure new markets for India’s raw products, by encouraging manufactories have conducted to the prosperity of the industrial classes, and, both by example and precept, have abolished those social and ceremonial customs which, by rendering whole families the mere slaves of the sowcar, cramp any possibility of individual effort and economic advance of the country.

The educational optimist, however, did not allow for the influence of caste which has effectually checked the spread of education to the “untouchables,” nor for the peculiar social and caste disabilities of women, nor for the fact that the theories of Mill and Spencer taught in College life are of little use in practice, unless they be tempered by a knowledge gained in after years of the ever-changing political and financial conditions prevailing in a world of which India is but a unit. Such knowledge is to be gained by constant reference to current journalistic and general literature products; but of these the young graduate, ever concerned with the burden of premature family affairs, sees little or nothing. The result has been the creation, in the midst of many able and distinguished Indians, of a number of narrow-minded “extremists,” who have endeavoured to apply to a unit of an Empire principles which would be scouted by a rural council of any civilized country.

As to the influence of education *per se* on sanitation, I may say I have served over a generation in the Madras Presidency (population 41,405,404), where, preceding any similar efforts in Great Britain, since 1882, hygiene of both elementary and advanced grades has been taught, and examinations have been instituted by Government. By 1894 the employment of none but sanitary inspectors qualified by a very high grade of technical education and examination was rendered compulsory for all local bodies—preceding any similar efforts in Great Britain, with the exception of the City of London. But, in the midst of many years of sanitary duty demanding intimate (and, I may add, pleasant) contact with all classes of Indians, I found no reason to believe that the many hundreds of men who have passed public examinations in hygiene since 1882 had shown initiative in impressing their beliefs in practice on their less favoured neighbours; whereas, in the case of sanitary inspectors (of whom over 600 exist) who had acquired in addition to their theoretical education a practical training in sanitary benefits, their influence in inducing sanitary action amongst their countrymen was of great value. With the uneducated the same beneficial influence of practical demonstration, as against mere

theoretical knowledge, was also obviously operative. I found that, provided no injury be done to caste feelings, the uneducated classes are no less appreciative and grateful for benefits derived from executed sanitary works than the educated. In short, whilst academic education is a valuable coadjutor of sanitation (and one which I do not in the slightest wish to deprecate), there is no reason to pause in the execution of public sanitary works—major or minor—till its influence has declared itself by the birth of a general desire by the Indian public to follow sanitary dictates, which has been the guiding principle in Indian administration. Yet, in the midst of preventable diseases causing year by year huge mortality, the educational optimists have allotted for sanitation funds which are a mere *placebo* in reference to comparative necessities, whilst to education have been allotted funds greater than the rate of spending capabilities. Perusal of the Budget debate of 1913-14 in the Viceregal Council, and in the Legislative Council of the Government of Madras, shows that when pressed by the education panacea party to place more funds at disposal, these Governments declared that the amounts already allotted under that head were greater than the bodies concerned had been able to spend.

Alluding to this disproportionate allotment of funds sanctioned by the Government of India, in my paper of July, 1914, read before this Association, I stated as follows. "Obviously, the 'brainy' men of the Education Department are obeying Gladstone's indication to 'mak sicca.' They are bent on ear-marking all possible funds by steady additions to recurring grants from Imperial, provincial, and local sources. It requires no prophet to say, therefore, that sanitation which is fed on 'doles' during exceptional prosperity must be checked in progress in the presence of war, famine, or trade depression, whilst Education will sail gaily on. The Government of India doubtless knows where Education is leading them financially; but it is remarkable that no forecast of the cost of expansion under the present educational policy has been made public. In the meantime *Education threatens funds for the defence of the country and its railway expansion.*"* [Italics not in original.] This forecast (written a month before the declaration of war) has indeed been lamentably verified in the regrettable mortality and needless suffering which occurred in the Mesopotamia campaign. Responsible officers in the field have been crushed for this and that shortcoming, but nothing has been heard of the financial short-sightedness which sent an army to the field with medical equipment and accessories which had to share the chances of multiplication, renewal, or modernization in that less than 1 per cent. increase against the 78 per cent. for education—already grossly disproportionately financed.

The SECRETARY: If I may be allowed to say a few words I would like

* "The growth in our total spending has been, as I have mentioned, from £73·1 millions to £79·3 millions, or 6½ per cent. Within these totals, however, expenditure on education has risen from £1,705,000 to £3,043,000, or by 78 per cent., and on medical and sanitary services from £968,000 to £1,683,000, or by 73 per cent. *During the same time the growth in police expenditure has been only 10 per cent., and on military services it has been less than 1 per cent.*" [Italics not in original.]

to point out that I have noticed in the Indian papers for this week that a Women's Conference has been held in Madras, and I think it is a very great step forward. It was held under the presidency of Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, and the subjects which were discussed were such questions as child welfare and kindred affairs. I think the women of Madras are to be congratulated on the fact that they have now come forward to discuss such matters as these, and I believe it is absolutely unique in India as far as I am aware.

Dr. CASTELLANI said he would like to associate himself with Colonel King in congratulating the lecturer on his most interesting paper. It was a great pleasure to listen to a paper which was not only interesting but very suggestive—a paper that made one think. He fully agreed with Dr. Webb-Johnson when he said there were some very good points in Indian native medicine, and in native medicine in general. He was for many years in practice in Africa and Ceylon, and he came to the conclusion that it was very unwise on the part of European doctors to continually ridicule native methods of treatment, and despise completely the use of native drugs. They had only to remember that one of the very few drugs which was a specific, namely quinine, was for hundreds of years a native drug, and that for a very long time many European doctors refused to use it.

Colonel ELLIOTT said the lecturer had touched on so many points that it was really impossible to follow him. One agreed with many things, and profoundly disagreed with other things which he had said, but he would try to keep to the things with which he agreed. (No, no.)

He would like to say that any view of the future with regard to India must be Imperial. Anything less than that would be suicidal to the greatest Empire the sun had ever shone upon, and to bring up such petty questions as had been recently brought up—not by the lecturer—was a great mistake. During the five years he had the honour to be Chairman of the Naval and Military Committee he was supposed to have been identified with the interests of the I.M.S. He had never identified himself solely with the interests of the I.M.S., but he had endeavoured to associate himself with the interests of India, and with the interests of medical men. (Hear, hear.) The one great idea in this connection of the British Medical Association had been and is: What is the best for India? (Hear, hear.) One looked to the future, and one wondered what it was going to be. Very few could be optimists when they looked at that future, but if there was to be any optimism, if there was to be any hope for Medicine in India, it would be brought about by those in authority putting aside all such twopenny questions as the so-called rival interests of the R.A.M.C. and the I.M.S. on the opposite side of Whitehall. They had to do the best they could for the Empire for which they were responsible, and to take no account of smaller matters.

Then another thing he would like to say, and he had told both the Royal Commissions so; it had not been very acceptable evidence, but he would say it again, and he would go on saying it as long as he lived, namely, that the time had not yet come to relax the European hold on India. (Hear, hear.) He would say that as a Service the I.M.S. had

been an inspiration to the young medical men of India, and the time had not yet come to take that inspiration away from them. He had told Mr. Montagu so, and he had told everyone so who was connected with the Commission, or with whom he had had to deal in his official connection with the B.M.A. To take away European control from India would be a set-back to the clock of progress; it would stop scientific advance, and it would be an act of enmity to India and to the Indian medical man himself. Those were great Imperial questions. They should consider what was best for the people, and then, having done that, they should see how best it could be done. But when they had done all that, at the present time they might not be able to get the class of men they wanted in India. It was no use getting second-class men; they wanted the very best men, men with the scientific drive behind them, and men who would go out there and be absolutely whole-hearted to make the science of medicine progress. The man who simply went out there to scrape together rupees, and then to come back to wait on a golf course for a coffin, would never do any good to the people or to the country. They wanted the man who was out to learn, and, having learnt, to teach. The whole of the East was one great tangle of important medical questions, and there was work for all. There was an enormous amount of work yet to be done. He wondered how many of those present had ever thought that there were 600,000 persons lying submerged in villages in India, blind, whom they were taking no care of, and no thought for. One gentleman asked him the other day at the Royal Commission if he had ever thought of the expense, and he replied: "For God's sake do not talk of expense." That was not the question. On one occasion he had asked for a miserable 10,000 rupees so that he might equip a great ophthalmic hospital, the better to teach Indian medical men to do something towards helping these people, and he was refused this sum by a Government which was able to return a huge balance to the Government of India, but which lacked the vision and the statesmanship to spend a small part of it then.

In his opinion the average civilian and the average administrator in India had not yet woken up to their responsibilities towards Medicine. Those 600,000 people could be and ought to be reached. If you were able to send men out into the country and bring medicine, and healing, and sight to the doors of the people in those far-flung villages, you would be saving a large mass of people for whom this country is responsible. In his own Presidency he had asked permission to have medical men down to his hospital in batches, so that he might train them in ophthalmic work. The men wanted to come, but the Government said they could not *afford* to do it. That was the spirit which was actuating too many of those in positions of responsibility. They needed to wake up the Government of India, and they must get people to think of these things. He was thinking of the great mass of submerged blind people who might be made into useful citizens by a little organization and work. It was necessary to talk straight out to Governments; and he wanted to say that, in his opinion, the Government of India were not doing their duty to Medicine in India. They were spending money, and spending it well, on all kinds of other

things, but let them at the same time put their backs into it and do something much bigger for Medicine and Sanitation. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

Miss SCATCHERD said she would like to read an extract from a letter which she had received from Dr. Pollen about the subject of the lecture, in which he took a great interest: "I have read with very great interest the excellent paper Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson is giving you on Monday. The tone throughout is admirable, and Dr. Webb-Johnson is evidently one of the best. His heart is in the right place, and he understands India and his own work, and appreciates the deep veneration of his Indo-Aryan brothers for true knowledge and recognizes the Aryan culture which gave India its high place among the civilizations of the world.

"His words of warning about the wave of discontent rising at present amongst all medical men in India should be heeded; and he is profoundly right in deprecating jealousy between medical practitioners. There ought to be *emulation*, but no competition or jealousy—and seeing what a noble profession the medical is, the private practitioner, the I.M.S. and the R.A.M.C. should work together for the good of all in the true spirit of brotherhood. There is room for all and plenty of good work to do. I feel quite certain, with Dr. Webb-Johnson, that India will soon recover from its present state of unrest, and that with the uplifting of the Indian women a new era of prosperity will dawn upon the land."

Lady SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, with reference to the statement of the lecturer that none but the best men should go out to India, said she would be glad to know if the same thing would hold good with regard to the great need they were often told of as to women doctors going out to India in larger numbers. So far as she understood there were likely to be a fair number of fairly well qualified young women ready to go out to India shortly, and she thought they ought not to be discouraged from going.

Dr. ALICE PENNELL said the lecturer had left out of his address anything about women doctors. Perhaps that was because he did not know many in India, but in her opinion the work done by women doctors was one of the most important parts of the work done for the Empire. She was glad to say that in the Indian Women's Medical Service they had not yet got those jealousies which seemed very much to mar the Medical Service for men. Indian and English women were equally in the Service on the same footing. Neither had they had the difficulties of English women not wishing to serve under Indian women, and she hoped those days would never come. She hoped that perhaps women would prove to be better than men in that one little matter.

Talking about the best for India, if they had the best men then they ought to have the best women; they had no use for women who had been partly educated, just as they had no use for men who were not well qualified and who were not keen on science and on medicine as a science.

With regard to the question of sanitation, Colonel King had talked of teaching boys in the schools. It was true boys were taught in the schools, and they could even repeat whole chapters from their books on the

themselves. I am very fond of the Indians. I have lived in India for many years. My father was an Indian officer, and I was born in India and sent home from there. I have a great affection for the Indian people; they work hard, considering the climate, and they have a great sense of duty. Of course they have some faults, as everyone else has; but, in my opinion, the Indian people have to be reckoned with in the future, and we should do everything we can to get happiness for them—the greatest prosperity for the greatest number. I know that Herbert Spencer looked down upon that principle as the leading principle of politics; but I do not think that he proves his point, and I consider that the whole aim of Government should be to produce the greatest prosperity for the greatest number of people. When we substitute for this form of scientific politics (as it might be called)—the getting of prosperity for the people—when we substitute another form of politics, the politics that demands rights of one class against another class and all the rest of it, we sink to another level altogether. We must remember that India is a vast nation, an Empire in itself; and as soon as the controlling hand is removed there will be a great deal of disorder throughout that country. It is not time to remove the controlling hand at present.

When I was engaged in public sanitary work in Bangalore in India many years ago, I was engaged in reforming the sanitary conditions of the city, and there I saw a very great deal of the inner side of things. Some of the municipal commissioners there were most able men who looked after and attended carefully to the sanitary work. Others were idle, and were simply given to the ideas of politics and of political talk which are so popular nowadays, and which are not the same thing as "work." With regard to Colonel King, who is the greatest sanitary Commissioner India has ever had, and who has seen India really from behind the scenes and knows it intimately, I also agree with what he says.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the lecturer for a very suggestive and interesting lecture. He has covered much ground, from the time of ancient Hindoo medicine down to modern days and to the modern conditions of the Indian Medical Service, and so on. All these points are suggestive and interesting. That is what a lecture should be, and I should like in conclusion to propose a hearty vote of thanks to him, which I hope you will carry *nem. con.*

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The LECTURER, in response, said that there was little for him to reply to in regard to the comments which had been made on his paper. In the time at his disposal he had been able only to touch the fringes of many of the subjects discussed, and he could speak for hours on the I.M.S. and its future were he given the opportunity.

He agreed with Colonel Elliott, but unfortunately he had not helped him in his endeavour to discover a means of attracting suitable candidates for the I.M.S.

Lady Scott-Moncrieff had asked if it mattered if only second-rate medical men were sent to India. In his opinion India expected the best, and if indifferent men were sent a great harm would be done to British

prestige, for Indians were apt to judge England by the men who came to India as representatives of England.

Mrs. Alice Pennell had remarked that if England could not send their best men it would be better for Indians to run their own service.

He agreed with Colonel Elliott that the time was not ripe for such a state of affairs, and that was why he had tried to lead the discussion into the ways and means of attracting good and brilliant Englishmen to the Service. The amalgamation of the R.A.M.C. and I.M.S. into one Service had many advantages, but there were drawbacks to such a scheme. No one, he said, could fail to agree with Dr. Castellani that many drugs like quinine were known in the East years before they were introduced into the Western Pharmacopeas.

There were drugs used in India to-day which might be introduced with advantage in England to-day. He did not agree with Colonel King that it was waste of time teaching the younger generation modern ideas of sanitation. It was disheartening work to teach and find little appreciable result or improvement, but they must be patient and not expect their efforts to bear fruit too quickly.

A wit had said that it required a surgical operation to drive a joke into a Scotchman's brain, and it might take generations to inculcate Western ideas into the brains of the ignorant Indians, but one must persevere and keep on "drumming it in." Just as drops of water falling on the hardest stone finally made an impression, so teaching by lectures, example, and demonstration must in time make their effect felt. He suggested that girls as well as boys should be taught modern ideas. Much work was being done in India by Indian women which would help to reduce the rates of mortality and morbidity.

He recollected when he was staying with the Bishop of Lucknow at Allahabad, that he was sent for in the middle of the night to give a demonstration on the technique of "Twilight Sleep." The medical officer was a Parsee lady who was very keen on her work and wished to be up to date. Colonel King had advocated a proper water supply throughout India, but in the present state of finances such an ideal state of affairs must be left for future generations to supply. At present the ignorant people must be taught to keep their wells protected and free from contamination. Finally he thanked the various speakers for their complimentary remarks, and especially Colonel Sir Ronald Ross for so kindly taking the chair. He still hoped there would be found a means of attracting good men from the British Isles to the Indian Medical Service. (Applause.)

The SECRETARY said that he congratulated himself and those present on the fact that Colonel Ross had consented to come and preside over the meeting. There was nobody who combined more than he did a knowledge both of India and Medicine, and he thought their hearty thanks were due to him for coming.

(The proceedings then terminated).

CRIME AND POLICE IN INDIA

BY SIR JOHN G. CUMMING, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A.

THE wise and witty Sydney Smith wrote about a century ago that the object of all government was roast mutton, potatoes, claret, a stout constable, an honest justice, a clear highway and a free chapel : in other words, a good standard of living, the maintenance of law and order, an impartial judiciary, easy transportation and religious toleration. Now in all discussions of the functions of government security of life and property is accepted as one of the fundamental : this means the maintenance of law and order, and includes the prevention and detection of crime. Owing to the geographical, political and ethnical conditions of India this duty of the maintenance of law and order has been in the past pre-eminently incumbent on the central government as established by law in India ; and never was it of greater importance than now, when powerful disintegrating forces are at work, and when the transfer of certain branches of administration to indigenous responsibility has not in the least diminished the responsibility of the Indian Government to the British Parliament for the remaining branches which include the function of maintaining internal security.

The agency for exercising this function is the police force ; and it is extremely necessary to realize what are the duties imposed on that force in India. In order to avoid misconception it is desirable to remember that the analogy of this country is not altogether correct. Here in Great Britain we are accustomed to the existence of distinct forces under boroughs or counties, subject to a certain control of the Home Office, but paid mainly from local rates. In India, on the other hand, the police forces are highly

centralized organizations directly under the Government, with each province as the unit, while all are paid by the State. In respect of control they are similar to the Metropolitan police, which, it should be noted, is a State police, and not a local police. The tendency has been to demunicipalize any forces which have been paid from local sources ; and even in Calcutta, which has become a cosmopolitan city comparable with the great cities of the West, the police force is a State charge, and not a burden on the local rates. It would indeed be more profitable to make comparison, if any comparison be made at all, with the State police in a continental country like Italy, or with the Constabulary in Ireland, if the varied duties and the centralized control of the police forces in India are to be fully appreciated. Let me mention a few of the miscellaneous duties. In some provinces the police still is the agency for the record of all vital statistics in rural areas, though developments are in hand for the transfer of that duty to other bodies. Then, again, except in certain large cities, the officer in charge of a police-station has to perform the duties of a coroner in the case of unnatural deaths. Moreover, the system of keeping the funds of the State in little money-boxes, called treasuries and sub-treasuries, at administrative centres all over the country, necessitates a considerable employment of police in the constant movements of treasure ; and the still imperfect railway facilities in the rural areas impose likewise an additional burden in the escort of prisoners. These instances by no means exhaust the list of such miscellaneous duties.

Just as in this and other civilized countries, the police forces in India are meant primarily for the preservation of order, the security of the person, and the safety of property—in the words of the great Prefect of Paris, M. Louis Lepine. But the police in India also represents the right hand and arm of a Government which, however benevolent in intention and impartial in act, is an alien Government. Hence a proportion of the district forces is armed ; there

one policeman to 350 of the population, whilst in Great Britain, as a whole, the ratio is about one to 800. The recruitment is local in North, Upper, and Western India; but in Bengal and Burma the recruits have been to a great extent from Upper India. In Burma the military police includes Gurkhas and Sikhs, while the police of Rangoon are nearly all Punjabis. In Bengal before the war about two out of every three were natives of Upper India, and thus foreigners to the province; but in that province there has been a steady increase in local recruits until the proportion has been reduced to one in three. In the Madras Presidency it has not been difficult to recruit certain classes from the West Coast; but these men are foreigners in language and habits if they are allocated to the Tamil-speaking districts in the east of the Presidency. The rise in the cost of living in recent years is a well-known handicap in the matter of recruitment; but the recruitment of men who are foreigners in the districts in which they serve creates a difficulty which is perhaps not fully appreciated. The ideal is, of course, to fill the ranks with contented, competent, and self-respecting men.

The organization, as it exists at present, is mainly the result of the Police Act of 1861 and of the changes effected by the Police Commission of 1903. The unit of control is the district, familiar to all acquainted with Indian affairs as the unit of executive control, under a Superintendent; and there are widening concentric rings of authority under Deputy Inspectors-General and Inspectors-General. The administrative heads are supplied by the Indian Police Service, recruited until recently entirely in London; but gradually the grade styled Deputy Superintendent, the invention of the 1903 Commission, recruited in India, is supplying selected officers for the higher administrative duties. The Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors who form the investigating staff are locally recruited almost exclusively from the middle classes, and the rank and file of head constables and constables are from the agricultural classes.

The Sub-Inspector is the head officer at each police

station, the jurisdiction of which forms the areas into which all districts and towns have been divided. He is the real centre round which all revolve; the lesser luminaries, the constables, are his agents, while the higher officers make their tours with the periodicity of planets and occasionally with the eccentricity of comets. Instances have not been wanting in which rankers have risen to the highest position of power and responsibility: the controlling staff is only too eager to reward merit. One of the finest detectives of modern times in India joined the Bombay force as a head constable and became Superintendent of the Bombay City Police and was twice decorated. He was, it is true, a man of good family and well educated. I knew personally, in different parts of India, two men who had remarkable careers. One started life as a village watchman, and had no education beyond the vernacular; yet through pure merit he rose to be a Deputy Superintendent and received decorations. The other began his service as a constable, and at present holds the rank of Deputy Inspector-General.

Each province has, within the last twenty years, made great strides in organizing training colleges and schools for the cadets in the investigating staff and for the constables. The object and the result of the curricula have been to produce better qualified servants of the public. In the case of the investigating staff, it was hoped that the taint of corruption would gradually be eliminated, as men were recruited of better education, better social status and better morals; and, in the case of constables, that there would be a gradual approach to literacy and to the cultivation of intelligence. In three large provinces only half of the rank and file, or even a smaller proportion, can read and write: in Madras, as might be expected, the standard of literacy is very high, and in the North-West Frontier Province very low. One result of this preliminary training has been to give to provincial organizations a greater *esprit de corps*, which, as elsewhere, tends to promote pride of calling and higher

ideals of duty. There is, however, some misgiving when the complaint is made that the new type of Sub-Inspector, coming as he does from the ranks of the middle middle class instead of the lower middle class as before, is too much of a town-bred youth who knows too little of the rural economy of the agriculturists with whom he has to deal. But there is very general evidence that the recruitment of a superior type, combined with improved training, is steadily improving the morale of the force and the respect in which it is held by the general public.

The work of the police in relation to crime falls naturally under the heads of prevention and investigation, and these heads may be considered separately. But, first, it is useful to survey as a whole the crime with which the police forces have to deal. I do not discuss here the researches of English, Continental and American sociologists into the causes of crime, or the views of criminologists and social reformers on the prevention of crime. For the present purpose I take merely the fact of crime. There is in India much that is familiar to us in Western countries: there is the crime of petty thefts, due to poverty or temptation; there is the crime of passion; and there is the crime of perverted brains in clever forgeries, in embezzlements by persons in positions of trust, and in swindling of all kinds, with the confidence trick in many Eastern guises. But there are certain classes of crime throughout the Indian continent with which we in Great Britain are almost entirely unacquainted: a certain type of co-operative crime, hereditary crime and agrarian crime. By the term "co-operative" I mean the crime in which bodies of men among the criminal classes work jointly; and by "hereditary" crime I mean the commission of deeds which in the eye of the law are illegal, but which are held by the culprits to be the natural result of their birth. A peculiarly Indian type of co-operative crime is dacoity, a word which has become familiar to English ears; it is robbery with violence in bodies of five or more, as declared

by Lord Macaulay's Penal Code, first framed in the late thirties of last century. The commission of an offence of this character is facilitated by the timidity of the average villager. Bands of dacoits are the real bugbear to the police officers in every province. It is said that the professional dacoit seldom reforms; and it is a labour of Sisyphus to round them up in twos or threes, or in large numbers in what is called a "gang" case, with the certainty that as soon as they come out of gaol seven or ten years hence they will re-coalesce and start again on their career of plundering their neighbours. The subjugation of these bands formed the main pursuit of the police in the early years of the occupation of Upper Burma; but it is a trade which flourishes in the oldest provinces. Sometimes their violence makes them outlaws; and in Upper India we hear of regular battles between armed dacoits and the police. Next, there are some castes which in the past have been entirely criminal and of whom many are now criminal; others, again, have become criminal. These are what are styled the criminal classes. The Chapparbands in the Central Provinces are an interesting survival; originally camp followers of the Moghal armies—as hut-builders, as their name indicates—they have now become professional coiners. The Dusadhs in Bihar, from whom most of the village watchmen are recruited—on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief—were originally a criminal class; but many of them have now taken to honest avocations as labourers and domestic servants. But the real hereditary criminals are the criminal tribes,—those unfortunate children of nature to whom crime is instinctive. While they add to the cares of administration, they certainly furnish a romance about crime, which the drab criminality of the West usually lacks. Every province in India has its representatives; there are about 4,000,000 of them in the whole of India; their numbers and variety deserve a lecture to themselves. They have been styled Ishmaelites and Outcasts by different writers. Take, for example, the Sanats of the

are armed reserves at headquarters which are employed on escort and similar duties other than purely police duties ; and military police battalions have been embodied at selected centres.

It is true that the military forces in India can be, and have been, used for the suppression of internal disorder ; but the disposition of those forces has necessarily been guided by two principles, the fixing of the centre of gravity of the military mass in accordance with the dictates of external military strategy and the protection of large centres of population. But to the great majority of Indian districts the existence of cantonments and military forces is unknown ; and it is on the police, therefore, that the brunt of the burden in the repression of any local disorder naturally must fall.

Let me now describe in broad outline the present constitution and organization of the Indian police forces. At the bottom of the scale is the village watchman—in some cases the survival from Mughal or even pre-Mughal times ; in others the creation of the British Government, with **varying** names from province to province. His remuneration is by different methods—by land grants, by money payment, or by both—in the different provinces ; and the control of the village watch varies from pure State control to pure local control, with combinations of the two in different proportions. But it is mainly an indigenous organization, and the **prevailing characteristic** is the self-protection of a village or group of villages. It needs no argument to understand that it is **essential** that there should be complete co-operation between these village units and the permanent forces of the Crown ; indeed, it is both the ideal and the despair of all Indian police administrators to secure that co-ordination. Reams have been written about the reform of the village watch ; but, in the words of Thomas Gray :

“No sense they have of ills to come,
Nor care beyond to-day.”

I have a warm corner in my heart for the humble village watchman.

After the village watch come the uniformed and disciplined forces of the Crown. They number about 200,000 men, with a controlling staff of 1,000 officers for the whole of British India proper, that is, exclusive of the Native States, with a population of 240 millions. The cost is $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, which is cheap. In recent years there has been a tendency in the Legislative Councils and in the press to attack the expenditure on the police; accusations have not been wanting that it is a pampered service; the critics are zealous in expenditure for public welfare in the interests of education and health, but inclined to forget that a peaceful condition of society is the pre-requisite for all professions, for all trade, crafts and agriculture, and that it is not in India alone that police administration has become more complex and more expensive. Just contrast the cost of the Metropolitan police: a force of nearly 22,000 men costs $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, and the expenditure has increased more than fourfold in the last twenty years. Then consider again the vastness of the area over which it is sought to uphold the *pax Britannica*,—over a million square miles in British India. It cannot be too frequently emphasized in this country that we have to deal with a continent, not a country; and that it includes people of every conceivable type of civilization, varying from those, on the one hand, who for centuries have been accustomed to prey on their neighbours, to those, on the other hand, who demand and expect all the amenities which modern civilization can furnish. The proportion varies from nearly one police officer for three square miles in the closely packed United Provinces to one for eighteen square miles in the province of Assam with its vacant spaces. Again, there is one police officer to about 500 of the population in the turbulent North-West Frontier Province, while in the thickly populated, but generally law-abiding, area of Bihar the proportion is as small as one police officer to about 2,500 of the population. These figures are significant when one learns that in London and Paris the ratio is about

Punjab ; reputed to have had a full dose of original sin, with all the arts of the gipsy vagabond from snake charming to juggling ; but every man, woman and child a thief. The Maghaya Domes may be mentioned to a London audience, as Sir Edward Henry, for fifteen years London's Commissioner of Police, was, during his Indian service, the first to take deliberate steps to reclaim them. In the Punjab since 1914 a definite scheme of reformation through reformatories, industrial settlements and agricultural settlements, has been adopted. In Madras similar settlements have been placed under a Commissioner of Labour. The Salvation Army has been called upon to help in the United Provinces, Madras, and Bengal, and with some of the criminal tribes a hopeful degree of success has been achieved. Twenty-eight years ago, and again three years ago, I had to deal with this work at first hand, and can only say that it is a long, tedious and uphill job. Genuine progress must not be expected within a generation, and then only in the case of the young if there were any chance of influencing them apart from their parents.

The other class of crime which I mentioned as unfamiliar to people in Great Britain is agrarian crime ; that is to say, the riots which take place over the possession of lands, crops, fisheries and the like. I exclude from this category the riots which are the result of religious antagonism or which are the culmination of turbulence in resisting constituted authority. Conflicts about land between rival claimants are troublesome enough when there is the solid land which can furnish some silent testimony ; but they are ten times more troublesome in the riverain areas of Bengal, where the ever-shifting silt of the big rivers is constantly making and unmaking cultivable lands. It is of course natural that in an agricultural country in which the pressure of the population lies heavy on the land the fight for land should be acute, and this form of crime lessens in those parts of India where the pressure is not so acute. Agriculture, moreover, in India spells cattle : cattle must graze :

scarcity of grazing promotes cattle trespass on crops; and this is also a fruitful source of agrarian rioting.

But apart from these main differences from Western experience, there are individual forms of crime which are worthy of note. One such item is cattle theft. Cattle lifters were once familiar on the Scottish border; Sir Walter Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" mentioned the raiders who—

"sought the beeves that made their broth,
In England and in Scotland both."

But the professional cattle thief of India would shock the Scottish or English countryside of to-day. Cattle theft is rather prevalent in the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and Bihar, also in Burma. Blackmail is the concomitant of theft,—a blackmail which is sometimes terrorism, sometimes unconscious humour. If so much is paid down, the owner will find that his cattle are to be found at a certain place. It is said that in Burma the owner will pay almost the value of his cattle as a ransom. In that province the increase in this class of crime within recent years has alarmed the administration. On the other hand, it is claimed for the United Provinces that this very provoking form of theft has, owing to police action, been diminished with the last thirty years.

The exponent of another specific form of theft deserves mention—the professional river robber on the Ganges from Benares to the ocean. For years the existence of this menace to boatmen was hardly noticed, because the sufferers said nothing about it. But the creation within recent years of a river police force has checked the depredations of these river pirates, in addition to saving many lives from drowning; and now it is difficult to realize how the provinces of the Gangetic valley ever managed without some organization of this kind.

Let us now briefly review crimes of violence. In the Indian records murder is associated with domestic quarrels,

greed and disputes about land; but witchcraft is also a causal factor. There are in India instances of violent crime which are peculiar to the East or reminiscent of the Europe of more than a century ago. During the appalling and mysterious influenza epidemic of 1918 there was prostration from the sickness and extreme mental depression. This led in one district of the Central Provinces to the murder of several men and women who were believed to be responsible by witchcraft for the disease. Then in 1919, in the United Provinces, a sorcerer, who had not been able to drive out an evil spirit from a boy who was sick, was murdered by the boy's father. I have a painful recollection of an appeal in the case of some poor, superstitious aboriginals who had killed, as **they thought**, a witch and had received the capital sentence: in that appeal I advised the head of the province on the propriety of exercising the prerogative of mercy. The villagers were perfectly frank about it; but not infrequently there is a conspiracy of silence when such cases occur. Instances of human sacrifices are also to be found in recent records: in the United Provinces a boy was offered to the goddess Bhawani, and a girl was sacrificed in order to propitiate the goddess Kali at Cawnpore, while in Bengal also, recently, a two-year-old child was sacrificed in a state of religious frenzy to the same goddess Kali. Again, there are the diabolical cases, fortunately rare, in which children have been murdered for the sake of their ornaments, usually gold earrings or silver anklets. One more personal experience may be mentioned. In the time of Lord William Bentinck's administration, nearly one hundred years ago, the act called suttee, the self-immolation of a widow, was declared unlawful. Genuine cases, however, still occur, and I had once to deal with one such case of suttee. What struck me most on that occasion was that the public feeling in the village was entirely on the side of the widow. The fellow-villagers applauded her act at the time; and their mentality indicated that in their case

no change in public sentiment as to the duty of a Hindu widow had been developed since 1829. The enquiries of the police were obstructed; and when at last the leading abettors were punished, it was considered that the ways of the Sirkar were incomprehensible.

I might describe under the head of crimes of-deceit various forms of imposture, including the work of the professional poisoner, which always begins with imposture; but I refrain from troubling you with too much detail. There is, however, one type of swindling which has always struck me as the meanest of the mean. A party of illiterate country folk, probably unused to travel, go to a railway station to purchase tickets. A plausible man offers to help them; he takes their money, purchases some tickets, and hands the tickets to them. After they have travelled some distance they discover at a ticket checking station that their tickets are for a very small portion of their proposed journey, and that this apparent benefactor has decamped with the excess money not required for the short journey. Or I might dilate on various forms of anarchical crime, but I must refrain from straying into this side path, though I had much to do with this kind of crime. This much, however, I should like to say, that the courage and devotion shown by the Indian police in dealing with it cannot be too highly praised.

Before leaving the subject of Indian crime, it might be worth while to glance at the other side of the picture. Is there any form of crime common in this country which has no analogue in the East? Now, whatever may be urged in certain quarters against the excise administration in India, this much may be asserted with confidence, that crime which is the direct result of intemperance in drink is rare in India proper; it is from a drug like *bhang*, the Indian hemp, that instances may be found in which there is an outburst of ungovernable passion resulting in homicide. It is interesting to note that the Arabian preparation from Indian hemp is called *hashish*, and that it is the origin of

our English word "assassin." This illustrates clearly the connection between this drug and murder.

I trust that you will not imagine after this short review that the Indian is exceptionally criminal ; on the contrary. It is extremely difficult to appraise the incidence of crime between country and country, as the factors vary so much, and the statistics available are not all based on the same principles. It is true that in the East many crimes are never reported ; and hence statistical inferences are vitiated. But it is perhaps permissible to make the following generalization : the average incidence of crime for every ten thousand of the population in India and Burma as a whole is about the same as in the large industrial centres in England. We may also say that robbery, whether with or without violence, varies directly with economic stress, which again varies inversely with good or bad agricultural seasons.

Let us now consider the measures adopted by the police in dealing with crime. First of all, as explained already, let us take prevention. There is one Criminal Procedure Code for the whole of India, and in that remarkable piece of codified law there are provisions for preventive action ; for preventing riots and for ensuring good behaviour. Suspects may at the initiative of the police be called upon by the Magistracy to show cause why they should not be bound down in specific recognizances to be of good behaviour ; the most common ground is that the suspect is an habitual thief. These provisions of law, known as the bad livelihood sections, can be, if honestly and discreetly worked, a great deterrent to wrongdoers ; if dishonestly and indiscriminately worked, an engine of great oppression. The local trial of such cases near the suspect's own home can usually disclose whether the prosecution is the result of personal animus, village vendetta, vague suspicion against an ex-convict, or real, thoroughly justified ill reputation. On the occasion of a large outbreak of burglaries it is the last refuge of the incompetent officer to make an ill-regulated raid on the men who are on the police-books ; on the other hand, it is the

first line of attack by the really competent police officer to analyze intelligently his statistics of crime, and then to institute proceedings against the important few whom the test of elimination reveals. Sir Robert Anderson, a former head of the Criminal Investigation Department in London, once said that he could house in the wing of one prison all the English criminals who really counted. Here I would remark that in surveillance over the registered criminal our police work in the East is generally defective. It is so easy to obtain the shadow of effective control without the substance; but wherever real co-operation exists between the local public, the village watch, and the regular police, the task of real control is easy. These bad livelihood provisions of the law are strongly worked in North, Upper and Western India; and in Burma. Under the head of prevention may also be mentioned the many cases which do not find a place in criminal statistics concerning threatened agrarian or religious disturbances, but for which the police are entitled to credit. There are many trying occasions on which violence has been averted by the tact and good temper shown by the police officers concerned. The prevention of crime raises, of course, a much larger question than the working of the police forces; but I may mention that the creation of children's courts, of Borstal institutions, and of settlements of criminal tribes, has done something to attack at the source crime which depends on environment.

As regards the second main subdivision of the policeman's work—namely, investigation—a great advance has been made through reforms initiated after the Commission of 1903. I might mention two defects which have been combated during recent years. One was the system of judging the work of police officers by the statistical results of the cases in the courts. A system of such statistics has its use in the hands of an intelligent police administrator when the control of crime as a whole has to be reviewed; but as a mechanical check on the work of the individual police officer it was usually an untrue and frequently an

unfair guide. Even before the Commission sat the evil had been diagnosed and more equitable tests were in process of adoption. What may be termed judicial success by the police in all but petty cases is highest in Bombay and the United Provinces, and lowest in the Central Provinces and Burma.

Another evil was the abuse of confessions. It was the aim of the old type of investigating police officer to obtain a confessing accused, and then to make him the pivot of the whole of the prosecution before the courts. It was so obviously easy, and its evidential value was apparently conclusive. But it was a system which lent itself to all kinds of abuse. Indeed, the practice brought about its own nemesis; for it became a byword that an accused could make sure of his release by making a confession in a lower court and then retracting it in a higher court. An investigating staff is now growing up which is being saturated with the idea, taken from this country, that a confession should be treated as a mere incidental scene, and not the main act in the drama. Apart from that, the recruitment for the investigating staff of men of a better social status, and the improvement in the technical instruction in the training colleges, as well as the more rigorous selection of the upper grade called Inspectors, are bearing fruit.

There are two interesting departures from Western practice which deserve some comment in this connection. One is the permission given by a section of the Criminal Procedure Code to the police to refuse to investigate an alleged crime. Each province has different rules about this, and the practice varies to a remarkable extent; the application is, however, usually to thefts of unidentifiable articles. In fact there are two schools of thought as to the duties of the police with reference to petty crime. One view is that this type of refusal has to be carefully watched, as a complainant will not take the trouble to walk sometimes a considerable distance to a police-station to report his case, unless his loss is in his eyes considerable and important

to him. The other is the view that it is waste of time to enquire into hopeless, petty, and unimportant cases. Hence we find one Inspector-General complaining because his staff refuses too many cases ; and another complaining because his staff refuses too few. The varying practice is, indeed, startling : from 3 per cent. of refusals to investigate reported crime in Burma to nearly 50 per cent. in the Central Provinces. It appears that it is very difficult to lay down a general instruction in this matter without presuming more equality of discretion than is found among the class of investigating officers to whom it is addressed. Another instance in which Western practice differs is to be found in the law relating to statements made by an accused person during police investigation. In this instance Indian law is more favourable to the accused than English law. In this country an arrested person is warned that any statement made by him may be used in evidence against him ; but in India there is the very substantial protection to an arrested person that any self-incriminating statement made to any police officer is altogether inadmissible as evidence in court. Under the head of investigation it may be mentioned that there is in each province a highly specialized branch known as the Criminal Investigation Department, which concentrates the detective energy of each provisional organization ; and at the headquarters of the Government of India there is an intelligence bureau which holds strings radiating, not only over all the Indian continent, but also to foreign countries. As the Indian criminal develops in skill and ingenuity, so must the defensive organization be developed to meet him. Indeed, from a study of the literature of crime, I venture to hold that the best type of Indian detective compares not unfavourably in acumen, pertinacity, and integrity, with any of the famed investigators of England, France, America, or Canada. The system of identification which has now received almost universal adaptation in the campaign against recidivism—I mean the system of finger-prints—received its first serious practical application

in India; and Sir Edward Henry's development of its possibilities, especially in the matter of indexing, has entirely supplanted the system known as the Bertillon system of body measurements, which was tried for a time in India.

Before I conclude I should like to bear testimony to the conduct of the Indian police during the strain of the Great War. Both during and since the war India has had some sore trials: unrest, actual disorder, anarchical outbreaks, inter-religious conflict, serious scarcity, economic strain owing to high prices and a disastrous outbreak of influenza. It speaks volumes for the respect and loyalty which British officers have inspired among their Indian colleagues and subordinates in the police forces when it is found that the Indian police forces passed through the strain not only with satisfaction, but with credit, in the control of crime, though depleted in numbers and depressed by sickness and anxiety. In the United Provinces one-sixth of the force volunteered for the army, and in the Punjab one-eighth.

This subject of crime and police in the great Indian Dependency is, as you may imagine, one of vast extent; and I have therefore endeavoured on the present occasion to present simply a general conspectus. But I trust that I have shown that, in spite of many defects—the removal of which is prevented, not by want of knowledge or want of sympathy, but want of funds—and in spite of the inheritance of bad traditions from the past, the police forces of India constitute well-organized bodies, which are a tribute to the ideals with which the men who control them have been and are guided in endeavouring to make them good servants of the public which they protect, and of the Government which they serve.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, February 21, 1921, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Sir John G. Cumming entitled "Crime and Police in India." Sir Edward R. Henry, Bart., formerly Commissioner of Police, London, occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Captain Sir William Nott Bower, C.V.O., Sir Christopher W. Baynes, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Robert F. Fulton, Major-General F. E. Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. W. Chichele Plowden, C.I.E., Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, I.M.S., Mr. Thomas Luby, I.C.S., the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, the Rev. J. M. E. Ross, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. Bernard V. Shaw, Mr. R. H. Bhagat, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. Ronald C. Baynes, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. J. C. F. Holland, Mr. A. C. Cumming, Miss E. Binney, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Dr. Lawrence Fink, Mr. A. S. Hunton, Mr. Marlborough Crosse, Mr. H. R. James, Mrs. Dick Cunyngham, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. R. H. Cust, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Cook, Mr. B. C. Taylor, Mr. A. Toulmin Smith, Mrs. Creagh Osborne, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. Clark Kennedy, Miss Price, Mr. G. E. R. Grant Brown, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. A. Page, Miss Sykes, Mr. J. W. Holme, Colonel A. L. Caldwell, Mr. H. C. Barnes, Major Skene Thompson, Mr. H. M. Jagtiani, Mr. G. P. Whalley, Mr. J. E. Armstrong, Mr. C. Whitmore Clarke, Mr. C. O'Brien, Mr. J. M. Gosh, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I will now call upon Sir John G. Cumming to read his paper on "Crime and Police in India." Sir John possesses very special qualifications for the task he has imposed upon himself, for I think I may say he has held almost every post under the Government of Bengal that a civilian can hold. He was an assistant magistrate, magistrate, magistrate-in-charge of a district, and for a time he was a Commissioner, and in addition he has had great opportunities of learning all about the people by being a settlement officer. He has also held high posts, as he was in the Viceroy's Council. I think, therefore, we are fortunate in having one who has been for a whole generation—that is to say, for over thirty years—working amongst the people of India to express his views upon so important a subject as crime and the relations between the police and the people of India. As you know, the security of

everybody out, there is mainly dependent upon the police force, and no police force can be at all effective for its work unless it is more or less popular. A police force is strong when they have popular support behind them, and to anyone who has been entrusted with the duties of a settlement officer or who has been in charge of a district where he not only heard all the reports sent in by the police, but where, as a matter of fact, being magistrate, he was responsible for the action taken on them, it is particularly helpful to him to have an intimate knowledge of the people. You have in Sir John Cumming an officer who possesses that particular qualification.

I will now call upon him to read his paper.

The lecturer then read the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, Sir John Cumming has covered a so extensive field in his remarks that it would be quite impossible to touch upon more than one or two points. I understand it is the practice here to invite discussion, and the Chairman, I believe, is expected to make a few remarks before inviting others to express their views.

Well, I have been so much connected with police work that I really hardly know which particular point I ought to say something about. The lecturer has referred to the reclamation of criminal tribes. My official connection with criminal tribes is this: I was District Magistrate of Champaran in Behar in the early eighties—a long time ago, I am sorry to say—and Champaran has for its northern boundary the Nepal Terai, a more or less swampy tract lying between the lower ranges of hills and our territory. Very few people can live there. Those who live there are called Auliyas—i.e., men who have become immune to the dreadful malarial fever, known in the vernacular as Aul. When the rainy season is well over it can be lived in, but taken throughout the year it is about the most pestilential place in the whole world. Here dwell a tribe of nomads known as Maghaya Dhomes. Dhomes are quite a large caste throughout India, but these, though known as Dhomes, are differentiated by the appellation Maghaya; in fact, they have no real connection with the Dhomes. They are nomads, and, though able to converse in the vernacular of the district, have a language of their own, and even an epic of their own. They were born in the open, and had never been under a roof except when in jail. All men's hands were against them, and occasionally the Nepalese sent soldiers to shoot them down, and I am afraid our treatment of them was not much better. They used to come and harry our villages; if a villager got in the way, they would not hesitate to knife him, and if the villagers were fortunate enough to resist them and got the opportunity they trampled one or two of them to death. It was a dreadful state of things—a disgrace to civilization and to our administration. I thought therefore I would try my hand, and see if I could do anything. It so happened we were expecting a number of these men out of jail—a sort of jail delivery—and a great number were being released. They had been run in under the gang cases the lecturer has referred to. So I spoke to the Maharajah of Bettiah and other land-owners, and asked if they would help, and they said they would, and they supplied me with

money and seed and bullocks, and, to make a long story short, I built some houses and got land and money, and then, when the wives and families of these people came and waited round the jail for the men to come out, I got hold of the wives. They were very fine-looking women, the men being small, wiry, and lithe; and in the statistical account of Bengal they are, Sir William Hunter says, so fleet of foot that a mounted man could not capture them. The women were very desperate when driven to bay. On an encampment being rounded up a woman would take a child by the heel and threaten to dash his brains out if the pursuit was pressed. That they were desperate criminals was due to the manner in which they had been treated. Well, the wives of these men said they would come along, and so we got fifty or sixty of them at first, and finally we had nearly five hundred of them, and put them into houses, gave them land, and made them cultivate the land; and we induced them to cultivate it in various ways—sometimes by methods not recognized by any code of criminal procedure. Anyhow, it proved a great success, and one of the most interesting features in connection with it was to watch what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the surface-sweeping tendency of semi-Hinduism towards orthodoxy. They entertained a priest, or Guru, and gradually were forming themselves into a sort of Hindu sub-caste.

Well, eventually I left the district and lost sight of them; and this settlement is now being administered by the Salvation Army. I could talk to you about many things, but I am told that time is limited, and I must therefore be brief, as I understand others wish to speak.

Sir John Cumming has referred to the strength of the police force, but has referred but little to the village police. You have not only 200,000 regular police, but probably eight times as many village police—something like 2,000,000, and not 200,000. And, mind you, the village policemen, the Chowkidar, is most important. For good results in investigation you are often dependent on the Chowkidar. The best detective in the world can do nothing without information, and it is from the village Chowkidar that information must be sought. In my days we tried to improve the village watchmen in several ways. I got them a uniform in Bengal and got their pay increased. I think we had about 190,000 in Bengal, with a regular police force of about 22,000. Well, that point has not been dwelt upon, but it is a point of importance. Anything which can be done to improve the status of the village Chowkidar will do more towards preventing crime than any other assignable improvement. That is only one of many things.

Sir John has also referred to the use of the police as an armed force for repelling disturbances. The armed police in my day had an old rifle with the rifling cut out, and they fired packets containing slugs. Personally, I would prefer a wound from a bullet to a wound from slugs. Incidentally I may say that infantry, whether they are armed police or military, are not the best agency for dealing with bodies of rioters. Mounted men are preferable. You cannot very well have cavalry in Bengal, because the ground is unsuitable. But in England mounted men can be used, and are more effective than footmen, and I will tell you

why. I suppose many of you have been to the Derby, and you may have seen after the race the whole course so dense with people that you could not drop a pin between them, when suddenly in the distance half a dozen mounted police are visible, and then a girl perhaps walking alone with her young man looks round, clutches his sleeve, and others gradually edge away, and the desired disintegration of the crowd begins. The fact is that people can see the mounted man because he is high up, and so it is with the rioters in the street. The rioters at the back of a crowd cannot see infantry or foot police, but if cavalry come up they see them in the distance, and as it is only the first three or four ranks that have any stomach for the fight, when they find the people at the back are beginning to edge off and that their support is melting away they often deem it advisable not to stand. That is why I think the best force for dealing with rioting in a humane way is to employ mounted men. Then your foot soldier has only one effective arm, the other is holding on to his rifle and bayonet; but the cavalryman's horse is a very efficient agent in disintegrating a crowd. To deal with rioting without blood-letting, mounted men should be tried in the first instance, with infantry or foot police as a second line. Ladies and gentlemen, I have trespassed too long on your indulgence, and will now ask others to join in the discussion. I understand Sir William Nott Bower would like to speak.

Sir WILLIAM NOTT BOWER said he was quite unable to speak on the question of police in India; his experience had been entirely in Ireland and England. He quite agreed with what the Chairman said with regard to the use of mounted men in dealing with disturbances. Naturally they were the best body for dispersing crowds in a humane manner. In Ireland they had a plan of always sending two men with truncheons, each man with a rifle, so that there was always more than the one arm which the Chairman had referred to when it came to close quarters. He had been very interested indeed, but he was quite ignorant of Indian affairs, so that he was afraid he could say nothing on the subject.

A member asked why it was that the Tamils in the South of India had no police force of their own race, which the lecturer had referred to.

THE LECTURER: I can say at once that the reference is not to the fact that there were no Tamil policemen, but that policemen from the rest of India were sent to Eastern India, where they were foreigners.

A member asked if they had altered the rules about the tom-tom sounding, and so on, because there had been recently a riot in Madras, where the great complaint was that the police fire unnecessarily, and did not sound the tom-toms, and so on. The people said they were collecting to have a meeting, and complained that they were unnecessarily fired on.

THE CHAIRMAN said that practice of employing armed police is no innovation; they had to be employed in the Gaurakshani riots in the eighties. He remembered quite well sending out a party under a sub-inspector, who had written instructions as to when he was to fire. He went out, and unfortunately he had to fire, and some people were killed, and for his handling of the situation he, on his return, was promoted to commissioned rank. The question was raised in Council, and the

explanation offered was that this officer was promoted, not because he fired, but because he showed extraordinary moderation in not firing more. That occurred thirty years ago, and a similar resort to extreme measures have not infrequently been taken since. It is a terrible thing to have to fire on an unarmed crowd, and it should only be done when there is no other way of enforcing obedience; but whoever resorts to it must be able to justify his action, and unless he can show that he acted with moderation he would stand condemned.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said that everyone would join with the lecturer in bearing testimony to the conduct of the Indian police during the strain of the Great War, and the sore trials they were put to both during the war and afterwards. The main question they were concerned with was the question of the Indian police, and not the question of the English or Irish police. The lecturer had told them how the police force in India were responsible for the preservation of order, the security of the person, and the safety of property, and how the police had to bear the brunt of the burden in the repression of any local disorder. That was no doubt quite true, and the first thing for them to consider in India was the necessity of a contented and loyal police force. (Hear, hear.) The great question was: Were the payments they made to the police in India sufficient to secure a really contented body of men? They had heard of the extraordinary small number of police there were in India in comparison with the population, and how much smaller it was as compared with England, and how very small was the cost of the police administration in India in comparison with this country. They should all take that to heart, and realize that what they had to do was to urge the Government of India to put the police once and for all on a really satisfactory basis. When one read of the miserable pay they got they realized how important it was to increase the status of the force in India. He did not know exactly what the pay of the police constable was in the various provinces, but at any rate it was far too low, and he hoped that the Government of India, especially in view of the serious condition of India at the present time, would take that point into consideration, and that they would hear no more of what the lecturer had described as the tendency in the Legislative Councils and in the Press to attack the expenditure on the police. He trusted that the new Legislative Councils would not forget that, as the lecturer has put it, a peaceful condition of society is the prerequisite for all professions, for all trade, crafts, and agriculture, and that it is not in India alone that police administration has become more complex and more expensive; that, however good education might be, they would realize that education was of no use unless those educated had security to enjoy the benefits of that education, and thus quickly make up their minds that the police ought to be well paid, and that nothing should be left undone to secure that they had a really contented and well-paid body of men to look after the safety of the people of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. COTTON said that, first of all, he wished to say with what great pleasure he had listened to the paper of his old friend Sir John Cumming. He did not think there was a single word in it to which one could take

exception. It was an extremely fair and comprehensive presentment of the whole question. At the same time there was one important matter with which he could not help wishing that the lecturer had dealt. He would like to have heard from him whether the attitude of the public towards the police in India had altered from what it used to be. When he was engaged in criminal practice in Bengal he always noticed that the prevailing atmosphere in which the police moved was one of suspicion and distrust. One always noticed that if anything occurred in a village it was usually the most unpopular man in the village who was given in charge; that was the easiest way of settling any doubts. Then, again, it was always an easy matter to get hold of the police papers, and the police papers seemed to be arranged generally with a view to enabling a prisoner to have a very good chance of an acquittal. He felt sure there had been a great improvement in the *morale* of the police since those days, but it was not quite enough to improve the methods of recruitment for those at the head of affairs. He would like to have heard whether any corresponding improvement could be traced in the constitution of the lower ranks. He would also like to have heard whether local recruitment had taken the place of recruitment from outside provinces in Bengal. So long as they had what was practically a foreign police force they would never get a proper feeling between the police and the population. The people would be bound in such conditions to look upon the policeman as one who did not belong to them, and who could always be relied upon to be up to some sort of underhand game or other. He was particularly speaking of Bengal, and he wished the Government of that presidency had been able to take in hand the question of superseding the foreign police by constables locally recruited. He thought the experiment would be a great success.

He was in complete sympathy with what Sir Charles Yate had said with regard to improving the pay of the police, but there were great difficulties in the way. A very large number of heavy demands were being made, and would be made in the near future, upon the public purse, and many new developments were promised which were bound to be expensive. He would be glad if the lecturer could tell them something about the prospects of improvement in that direction; whether there had been any alteration in the popular view of the police; and, finally, whether anything was being done in the direction of getting rid of the outside element in the lower ranks of the force, all of which were subjects of great interest to him.

In conclusion, he would only say that the paper had been one of the best he had heard in connection with the Association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JAGTIANI said one point which had been rightly emphasized was with regard to the village watchman, but they had yet to give a fixed place to him. The old village watchman had a certain status in the social organization of the village which he did not occupy to-day; he was neither a man of the village nor a unit of the Crown forces. In many cases he was merely a personal attendant of a certain official or the district officer who went there. The lecturer had said that success in detecting crime more or less was dependent on the amount of support he was able to get from the public themselves, and he would like to ask the lecturer as to

what were the chief causes of the lack of it where it was not forthcoming from the village.

A third point which had been raised was with regard to the criminal tribes. The experiments which the Chairman had assisted to carry out by way of reforming them, by giving them houses and providing a certain amount of work, lost sight of still another point which had got to be faced, and that was the fact that those criminal tribes worked under the disadvantage of having to bring up their children in the same surroundings as themselves, and that was a reform which ought to be faced by the Government; the children of those criminal tribes ought never to be brought up in those same surroundings, and he thought it was high time their conditions were improved. (Hear, hear.)

Concerning the last point, he wished to add that he wanted to suggest that the method of segregating criminals was not the right one. The English, and more particularly the Italian, efforts have been on reformative rather than segregating lines.

LORD CARMICHAEL said that as a late Governor of a large province in India he felt in the position of a man who ought to say a few words on the subject; there was no man who heard more of the faults of the police than the Governor, and it was his duty to try and find out the causes of the complaints. In his opinion there was an improvement in the police in recent years, at any rate in Bengal, and he felt certain those who knew most of the subject would agree with him; and he would go further and say that the question of money had a great deal to do with it. All the time he was there that was his opinion. The police could be greatly improved still, but what they needed was money. When he was in Bengal they did get an increase of pay for the police, but it would have been far better if it had been given some years before. Unless they gave the policeman a living wage they could not expect any more than they could in this country to have police who would do their duty, and whom the people would respect. He agreed that it was an unfortunate thing to have a policeman who did not belong to the country itself. What could they expect if they had constables in the village who did not understand the language of the people, and whom the people could not talk to in their own language? It was ridiculous to imagine they could have a perfect police force under such a system. They could not expect to get suitable men if they did not pay the current rate of wages. If they paid low wages in a part where the wages were high they could not expect to get the men they would like to have got. He would like to mention one instance bearing on the question of pay, and that was in connection with his visits to a certain hospital in which there were often a large number of police suffering from illness. He remembered asking the doctor there why it was, and he replied that if he wanted to know the truth, the fact was that those men were suffering from starvation simply and solely; they did not get enough to eat. That ought not to be the case. It was impossible for men of their size and weight to keep in good health on the wages they received, still less to live and send away money to their dependents; therefore often they were driven to increase their earnings in other ways.

In days gone by he had often pleaded with Indian gentlemen to encourage their sons or their relations to go into the police force, and he knew many Indian gentlemen who really cared about their country, and who wished to see the country do well, and would like to see Indians taking part in that part of the government of their country, but they said to him: "How can you ask us to let our sons go into a force of that sort; do you want us to put them into a position where we know they cannot live as they ought to live?" It was quite true.

Then, again, he thought there was a great deal in what had been said about the Chowkidar, and he thought they would have to pay more attention to that part of the force than the Government did in his time before they could get a satisfactory police force. (Hear, hear.)

Miss SCATCHERD said that she had been asked by Dr. Pollen to read a note or two from his letter she had received that morning on Sir John Cumming's paper, which he considered, as they would all agree, to be a very able and instructive one. Dr. Pollen writes:

"Sir John Cumming's paper on 'Crime and Police in India' is an able one and instructive. Personally I have always felt that we might have perfected the old village and district system of police without building up an elaborate European police department and a police secretariat. From the earliest days of my service I discouraged spying and anonymous petitions, and deprecated confidential reports. Everything ought to be done in the open—in the door of the tent, or under the mango tree—*coram publico*. Whisperings and sneakings in police matters should have been systematically discouraged. I remember how I fought against the transference of power over the district police from the heads of the district to Inspector-Generals dwelling on hill-tops with their secretarial staffs, and 'all the measureless ills' of ignorant interference from above.

"I think the Criminal Investigation Department in a land like India was a huge mistake. In Bombay we put down 'Thuggism' without it (and Dacoity also on a large scale). Minute searching for crime begets crime, and a permanent staff engaged in such a task is a curse to any community. The best policeman is the policeman who knows how and when to look the other way. But I fear we have not hitherto had many 'best policemen' in India. However, I acknowledge we have had some excellent men like your Chairman, and especially in Bengal, as acknowledged by the lecturer.

"In dealing with riotous mobs in India I have often thought one should be careful to use the right 'elements,' and in dispersing them 'water' has often been found more effective than 'fire.' A turbulent mob has sometimes been converted thereby into a laughing crowd. Police should be taught to use the hose on occasions."

She would like to congratulate the Society on having such a practical psychologist presiding as their Chairman. She had always maintained that in the higher grade of the police force, as well as in diplomacy, they should have trained psychologists, and evidently the present Chairman was one of these. She wondered whether there was any scope in India

for a department of women police, in view of the admitted failure of the men to deal with the wild women of the criminal tribes.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir John Cumming will perhaps now reply to one or two of the points that have been raised, and will answer any of the points that have not been already answered.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, at this stage I shall not detain you long. In the first place, I wish to thank those who have spoken in some terms of appreciation of what I have been able to place before you.

As regards the subject of the village watchman, to which reference has been made, I intended to make it clear that the 200,000 men represented the uniformed forces of the Crown; and I am wholly in accord with those who have spoken in agreeing that the best work is obtained by co-operation with the village watchmen. As regards the attitude of the public, to which one speaker has referred, I should like to say that it is impossible in one or two sentences to explain all the reasons why assistance is not given by the public to the officers of the Crown. One might say that in a great measure success in police work in India is in spite of the public, whereas in this country it is certainly with the assistance of the public. I quite agree with what has been said by Sir Charles Yate, Lord Carmichael, and others. In one sentence, you cannot have good police unless you pay them well and house them well.

Lastly, on the subject of criminal tribes, with regard to which our respected Chairman has made some remarks, I had the honour of serving in the same part of the world about six or eight years after the period to which he refers, and in a small way I endeavoured to carry on the system which he initiated. Undoubtedly the work of the Salvation Army at the present time is the direct descendant of the work which he inaugurated. I would say, in reply to the speaker who suggested that improvement of the criminal tribes could only come when the children were separated from their families; that if he or any others can tell us how to separate the children from these unfortunate people it would be useful. That is the great problem—there is also the same difficulty in the case of lepers—how to make any improvement or reform amongst the young, and how to take the children away from their parents.

With these few remarks, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you again for your appreciation. (Loud applause.)

Mr. VIRAN, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting and instructive paper, said that he came from the extreme South of India, and it might interest them to know the sort of pay the policemen got there. They got seven rupees a month, or about fourteen shillings a month, and they did good work, and the people had great respect for those men. As far as he knew they were recruited locally.

Mr. PENNINGTON seconded the proposal, which was carried by acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

FINANCE

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

IN an article written on November 23, 1920, and published in the ASIATIC REVIEW for January, 1921, I gave some account of the recent history of the rupee, and pointed out that it appeared to be again linked with silver, as it was before the closing of the Indian Mints in 1893. Since then a change has taken place. There has been a further very rapid fall in the price of silver, and, although the value of the rupee in pence sterling has also fallen, it has not fallen so rapidly as has silver. The London quotations on February 25 were as follows: Fine gold 106s. 4d. per ounce; exchange with New York 386 cents per £; silver 925 fine 31 $\frac{3}{8}$ d. per ounce; exchange with Calcutta 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per rupee. On the same day foreign silver bullion was quoted in New York at 54 $\frac{3}{8}$ cents per ounce fine. According to these quotations, the rupee, which contains 165 grains of fine silver, could on that day purchase in London 215 grains, or, in other words, while the rupee was worth 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., the 165 grains it contains were worth in sterling only 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ d.—that is, '77 of the value of the rupee coin. But although the rupee thus seems to have been again unlinked from silver, the Secretary of State's announced policy of linking the rupee with gold at the rate of ten rupees to a sovereign, or 11·3 grains of gold to the rupee, is farther than ever from being accomplished.

The London quotations given above mean that on February 25 the value of the paper pound sterling was only 80 per cent. of that of the sovereign. Instead of being worth the 113 grains of gold contained in the sovereign, it was worth

only 90 grains. And although the rupee was quoted at 15½d. sterling, it was worth only 5·7 grains of gold, instead of the 11·3 grains aimed at by the Secretary of State ; in other words, measured in gold, the rupee was worth on that day in London only 12·2d.—almost exactly one-twentieth of a sovereign, instead of the intended value of one-tenth of a sovereign.

Before the war, when the rupee was stabilized at 1s. 4d., the sovereign readily passed from hand to hand in India at the rate of fifteen rupees. Now, although an Act has been promulgated making the sovereign legal tender at the rate of ten rupees, it sells in India at the value of the 11·3 grains of gold contained in it, and its price in rupees varies with the varying exchange value of the rupee coin, measured in gold. On February 2, 1921, the quotation for mint gold in Calcutta was Rs. 28/5 per tola of 180 grains, so that the value of 11·3 grains of gold was nearly eighteen rupees, and the sovereign sold at about that figure. Now that the value of the rupee in London, measured in gold, is only a fraction over one-twentieth of a sovereign, it is probable that the sovereign coin now commands in the Indian bazaars nearly twenty rupees instead of the ten rupees aimed at by the Secretary of State.

The trouble has arisen mainly owing to the recent phenomenal fall in the world's price of silver. In 1913 the average price of silver in London was 27·6d. (measured in gold) per ounce 925 fine ; so that one ounce of gold was worth 34 ounces of silver, and the corresponding price in New York was about 60 cents per ounce fine. During the war and after the Armistice (owing largely to India's urgent demand for silver, because she was refused the gold her people wanted, as I explained in my previous article) the price of silver rose by leaps and bounds, and on January 31, 1920—just before the Secretary of State announced his new currency policy on February 2—it was quoted in London at 83d. per ounce 925 fine, and as on the same date the price of gold in London was 1·7s. per ounce, this meant that on that date in London one ounce of gold would exchange for only 15·7 ounces of fine silver. The price of fine silver in New York on that day was about 133 cents per ounce,

which gives the ratio there as 1 to 15.5. During the last thirteen months the world's price of silver has fallen as rapidly as it rose, and on February 25, 1921, the prices quoted were—in London 31½ paper pence per ounce, and in New York 54½ cents per ounce, both of which quotations give an ounce of gold as worth 38 ounces of silver. So that silver is now worth even less (measured in gold) than it was in 1913.

The chief reasons for this extraordinary fall in the value of silver, measured in gold, apparently are as follows: During the war many countries restricted the export of gold and collected as much gold as they could secure. More especially, the United States increased its stock of gold by about 236 million sovereigns' worth. Asia was starved of its usual supply of gold, and accordingly demanded such immense quantities of silver that the price of silver rose very rapidly. Since the Armistice the restrictions on the movements of gold have been gradually relaxed, and the world's stock of gold has now been redistributed more in accordance with pre-war conditions. During the year ending with June, 1920, the United States parted with about 80 million sovereigns' worth, and from that country and the United Kingdom put together India took 35 million sovereigns' worth, China 23, and Japan 17, besides what they got from Australia and other countries; while South America took 34 million sovereigns' worth. When they got the gold they wanted, their demand for silver fell off, and as several European countries were parting with their silver currency, to be replaced by paper, the supply of silver was increased in this way as well as by new production; so that naturally the price of silver, whether measured in gold or in commodities generally, rapidly fell. Both India and China have recently been exporting silver, even at the present low price; and it seems that their demand for silver has been fairly well satisfied for the present, while their demand for gold continues. It seems, therefore, on the whole probable that the price of silver, measured in gold, which has already returned to about the pre-war level, will not for some time rise much above it, and may rather be expected to fall further. It must be

remembered that in 1902 the price of standard silver in London fell below 22 pence per ounce.

It now seems certain that the Committee on Indian Exchange and Currency, when they recommended that the Government should aim at stabilizing the rupee at the rate of ten rupees to one sovereign—that is, of one rupee for 113 grains of fine gold—did not anticipate the great fall that has taken place in the price of silver, and that the policy which they recommended, and which was adopted by the Secretary of State, is now practically impossible of attainment. I may be pardoned if I recall that in a memorandum, dated July 17, 1919, submitted to the Committee, I pointed out the likelihood of the fall in the demand for silver that would take place as soon as the restrictions on movements of gold were removed, and said that by 1922 the price of silver might be as low as 30 pence per ounce, as compared with the then price of 53 pence. At the same time I recommended that the Government of India should announce that it would make it its aim to restore the exchange value of the rupee to 1s. 4d.—that is, to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 753 grains of gold—as the policy most likely to be successful and fairest to all the interests concerned. The course of events adds strength to that recommendation. At all events, it is high time to give up the futile attempts to make the rupee worth one-tenth of a sovereign, which are doomed to failure, and which remind one of King Canute's endeavours to stem the flowing tide. Indeed, now that the rupee is worth less than one-fifteenth of a paper pound, and seems likely to fall further, as the silver contained in it is now worth less than a paper shilling, the Government may be well content if its value in exchange can be stabilized at 1s. 4d. sterling, and so be linked to the pound sterling, in the hope that it may rise with the value of the paper pound, and ultimately become equal to one-fifteenth of a sovereign, or 753 grains of gold.

The success of the policy of closing the Mints in 1893 was due to its stopping any increase in the quantity of rupee currency available, and so, by the operation of the law of supply and demand, gradually raising the value of the rupee coin as

the demand increased with the increase in trade and prosperity, while the supply was gradually reduced by loss or melting. But at that time there were in existence only about 2,000 million rupee coins; and since then, owing to the short-sighted action of the Indian Treasury, over 2,000 million rupee coins have been minted and issued, and there are probably now about 4,000 million in India. Many of these are no doubt in hoards, but they will be brought into circulation in large numbers if the rupee rises in value in comparison with silver, and the prices of commodities, expressed in rupees, show a consequent tendency to fall. There are also now in circulation notes to the value of 1,636 million rupees, so that the quantity of currency available for the purpose of exchange with commodities is about 5,600 million rupees, each of which is at present worth less than 6 grains of gold.

The first step necessary to raise the gold value of the rupee above its present level is to stop any addition to the existing supply by definitely closing the Mints to the coinage of silver, as was done in 1893. The next step is to reduce the embarrassing quantity of notes in circulation, which required frantic and costly efforts on the part of the Government of India three years ago to maintain their convertibility. The resources immediately available for this purpose are (1) in the Currency Reserve in millions of rupees' worth—silver coin and bullion 632, gold coin and bullion 240, securities 764—total 1,636 million rupees; and (2) in the Gold Standard Reserve British Government securities to the value of £38,000,000. Part of these reserves might well be utilized to call in and cancel currency notes, in order to reduce the quantity of currency in circulation, and so help to keep up the exchange value of the rupee. No doubt, if securities had to be sold, there would be some loss on their sale, but unless some action of the kind is taken the exchange value of the rupee is likely to fall still further, which would cause greater loss, not only to the Government, but to millions of the Indian population. Merchants would also grumble at the reduction in the quantity of currency available for purposes of financing trade, but if they have still

4,000 million rupees and, say, 1,000 million in notes to draw upon, that should surely suffice for all purposes ; and they will be more seriously embarrassed if the rate of exchange falls further than if the quantity of currency in circulation is reduced. These measures may not be sufficient to keep the rupee at the value even of one-fifteenth of a paper pound, and it may become necessary to undo the mischief caused by the excessive minting of two years ago, and to melt down rupees in large quantities and sell the metal as bullion, even at a considerable loss.

I understand from what the Finance Member said in Council on September 2, 1920, and from the return of the Indian Paper Currency Reserve for October 7, when the value of the gold coin and bullion in India was suddenly reduced from 362 million rupees to 239, that the gold in the Reserve, which was formerly reckoned at the rate of fifteen rupees to the sovereign, is now reckoned at the rate of ten rupees to the sovereign. If that is so, the gold coin and bullion, which is now valued at 240 million rupees, is really equivalent to 24 million sovereigns, and could be sold at public auction in India for something like 432 million rupees at eighteen rupees to the sovereign, the current bazaar price. The sale of this gold would enable the withdrawal of 432 million rupees' worth of currency notes, at at least a large nominal profit to the Currency Reserve. Similarly, the 38 million pounds' worth of British Government securities held in the Gold Standard Reserve could be sold for about 570 million rupees, at the current rate of exchange of over fifteen rupees to the pound sterling, which would enable the withdrawal of 570 million rupees' worth of currency notes, and so far reduce the supply of currency in circulation and help to keep up the value of the rupee. I do not suggest that all this gold and all these securities should be sold at once, but merely point out that, if a reduction in the quantity of currency in circulation is considered necessary for the purpose of keeping up the exchange value of the rupee, there are ample resources available. And Currency and Gold Standard Reserves are of little use unless they are utilized in such a crisis as now threatens the finances of India.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

INDIAN JUTE

BY SIR CHARLES MCLEOD

It is very difficult within the limits prescribed to write an article on jute. It has so many and such varied uses throughout the world that it would fill a considerable volume to detail and enumerate them. It would also be a very long business to give details of the manufacture of an article like jute; but the following short resume will, I think, enlist the interest of those who may not know what a useful and valuable monopoly of Bengal this is.

The early history of jute lies in obscurity. It may have been cultivated in a small or large way centuries ago, for the natives of India are so conservative in their ways that what we may have thought was a beginning in the eighteenth century may have been as ancient as some of the temple ruins one sees or reads about in various parts of India. As a pot-herb the leaves are extensively used in India still, and the "Encyclopædia Britannica" states that jute-leaves were used for this purpose from very ancient times, if the plant may be identified with the "mallows" mentioned in Job xxx. 4: "Who cut up mallows by the bushes." The same authority states: "It is certain the Greeks used this plant as a pot-herb, and by many other nations around the shores of the Mediterranean this use of it was and is still common." It might even be suggested that tents used in ancient times by the great army of Mahomet were probably partly made of the fibre. We must not, however, labour this point, and if we start on the fact that we have some knowledge of jute being handled in a small way in 1746, and

grown pretty freely in the northern districts of Bengal in 1804, we have at least an authentic starting-point. Mr. Finlow states that in 1829 some 20 tons of jute were exported from Calcutta, and although the next five years only saw a small advance, averaging under 600 tons per annum, the exports increased very considerably during the next ten or fifteen years, and eventually reached the very substantial figure of 800,000 tons in 1911-12. The principal districts in which jute is grown are Mymensingh, Rungpur, Tipperah, and Purnea.

There are two principal species of jute—*Corchorus capsularis* and *Corchorus olitorius*. The former is easily distinguished by its round pods, while the latter has long cylindrical pods. *Capsularis* is almost exclusively grown in the northern districts, and *Olitorius* is extensively cultivated in the Hooghly and twenty-four Pargana districts and in Western Bengal. This latter species has the advantage of being more easily decorticated than *Capsularis*, which is of considerable advantage. On the other hand, *Capsularis* plants can stand submersion better than *Olitorius*, and, generally speaking, are less easily affected by adverse climatic conditions. Notwithstanding these peculiarities, it has been proved beyond all doubt that each of these principal species of jute would yield a different class of fibre if subjected to different conditions of soil and climatic influences. The best jute is produced on the higher lands, especially if well cultivated. Jute on the lower lands is generally cut before it has time to ripen or reach maturity, owing to fear of floods and loss of plant. Another species of jute is grown chiefly on the Madras side as "Bimli" jute. It is in every respect inferior to the Bengal jute, being shorter and coarser. It has, however, come into considerable requisition in late years, owing to an improvement in the treatment and packing, and also, I believe, on account of its comparative cheapness as compared with Bengal jute. Its production has also considerably expanded during the last five or six years.

The preservation of seed has received considerable attention of late years, helped by experiments conducted by the Government Department of Agriculture. In former years seed was

raised from stunted plants on the outside edges of the jute-fields, and naturally, being obtained from the poorest plants, proved disappointing. As in dealing with many other industries in India, the ryot pays insufficient attention to keeping seed grown from the healthiest plants, with the result that year after year the same old seed from the same old and weak plants has been preserved since the original bagful came out of the Ark! A little more care and an interchange of seed would materially increase the outturn and improve the quality of the jute as well. Jute in India can be grown in almost any soil which has a good depth and has the necessary material required to fertilize it. On the alluvial soils in Eastern Bengal, where the rivers and khals leave a rich deposit annually, jute grows freely without any artificial help. On the other hand, the higher lands are heavily manured and yield heavy crops, not only on this account, but also owing to the fact that jute grown on the higher lands is immune from floods and has a much better chance of ripening. An ample rainfall is, of course, an essential to supply moisture, and later on steeping water for "retting" the plant when cut. Rain-water is generally considered more beneficial than irrigation, however ample. Early in February the ploughing commences on the low-lying lands, and continues to the beginning of May on the higher lands.

The process is crude enough, and it is difficult to believe, at a later stage, when the plants appear in full growth, that a scraping of the earth with a crooked piece of stick drawn by a pair of emaciated bullocks could possibly have produced such a result. After the land is ploughed and pulverized the seed is sown broadcast and in quantities of from 6 to 12 pounds an acre. After this has been done the ground is raked or harrowed and the plants allowed to germinate and grow to a height of a few inches, when the rake is again used to stir up the soil and stimulate the growth of the plant. This raking process also results in keeping down the very healthy crop of young weeds that come up with the germinated plant. At times they are more numerous than the plants, and are very troublesome. At

a later stage weeding and thinning take place, and then the plants are allowed to reach maturity without further interference.

The period of reaping varies according to circumstances and climatic conditions. On the lowlands cutting starts about the end of June ; if there is any danger of the fields being flooded, cutting is commenced even earlier. Early-cut jute is never very satisfactory ; it is usually immature, short, and mossy. The process of "retting" usually takes anything from ten to thirty-five days, according to the time of year. In July and August, when the temperature of the water is high, the process is quicker and the jute is ready for further handling, but in September and later months it takes quite a month to "ret" the plants. The experienced grower can tell at once when the "retting" process is complete, and then the plants are taken out of the water, the fibre extracted, washed, and dried—and here, again, climatic conditions play a prominent part. Heavy and continuous rain prevents the drying, and very often, as we know, makes the crop late in coming to market. When the jute is sufficiently dry, it is rolled up in drums and sent to the nearest market or sold locally to small dealers, who take it away to some of the large centres in country boats and dispose of it at a considerable profit. Many of these country boats make their way down to Calcutta and sell their cargoes to the jute mills along the River Hooghly.

The principal jute markets are at Naraingunge, Serajgunge, Chandpur, Madaripur, Jagannathgunge, Purnea, Julpaiguri, Koostea, Goalundo, and during the season these centres present scenes of animation and extraordinary activity.

The use of jute-presses in the jute districts has greatly facilitated transport. In 1891 there were only nine or ten presses in Eastern Bengal, whereas the number is now about 130. These presses are used to pack what are known as "cutcha" bales, containing 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, and are usually sold to mills and large balers. The exported bale to Europe and other countries is of a fixed standard of 5 maunds, or 400 pounds. The packing is chiefly done in Calcutta, where the pressing-houses

have increased from fifteen or so in 1885 to about forty at the present date. Adjoining the press-house are large stores or "go-downs," where jute is assorted into the various standards required for the European market. The packing business was formerly in the hands of Bengalis, but with two exceptions this part of the trade has passed into the hands of Marwaris, outside, of course, of the European balers, such as Ralli Bros., Duffus, Steel, and the Chittagong and Naraingunge companies.

Normally jute is the cheapest fibre for providing bags to carry the produce of nearly the whole world. It carries all the valuable wool and grain from our Australasian colonies, from America, South America, and, indeed, any quarter of the world where grain and oil-seeds are produced. It is used for the internal carriage of goods in every part of the globe, for covering cotton bales, tarpaulins, carpets, and even shirts are made from it in Dundee. Hem Chundra Kar, in his official report on jute issued many years ago, gives the following interesting varieties of uses to which jute was put in the Midnapur district : (1) Gunny bags ; (2) string, rope, and cord ; (3) *kampa*, a net-like bag for carrying wood or hay on bullocks ; (4) *chat*, a strip of stuff for tying bales of cotton or cloth ; (5) *shika*, a kind of hanging shelf for little earthen pots ; (6) *dulina*, a floor-cloth ; (7) *beera*, a small circular stand for wooden plates, used particularly in the poojahs ; (8) brushes for painting and white-washing ; (9) *ghunsi*, a waist-band worn next to the skin ; (10) *gochh-dari*, a hair-band worn by women ; (11) *mukbar*, a net-bag used as a muzzle for cattle ; (12) *parchula*, false hair worn by players ; (13) *rakhi-bandhan*, a slender arm-band worn at the Rakhi-poornima festival ; (14) *dhup*, small incense-sticks used at poojahs ; (15) *dola*, a swing on which infants are rocked to sleep. It was, as we know, extensively used for sand-bags in the late war. It has no real rival, and is not likely to have as far as one can see.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF INDIAN WOODS

It will be the aim of the writer of this article to describe as shortly as possible some of the more prepossessing woods which can be shipped from India, together with their commercial prospects when imported into this country. It is also desired to show the various stages during the last few years which have resulted in the Government of India taking up the prosecution of its forest resources more vigorously. In order to discuss the various merits of these woods it will be necessary to mention other woods from other parts of the world, and the kind reader's indulgence is asked, and it is hoped that he will not think that the real subject of the article has been left too far in the distance. The user of woods always has to compare the merits of one wood with another, and it is only by a comparison of this sort that it is possible to arrive at the true value of the woods of India.

Generally speaking, it must be admitted that the United Kingdom has adopted a very short-sighted policy as regards its timbers and the timbers of its Dominions. It has neither encouraged the use nor the cultivation of either British or Dominion timbers in the past, and before the war it depended almost entirely on foreign nations for its supplies of every kind. The soft woods for common building material were imported from Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Norway; the decorative timbers that were fashionable were oak, mahogany, and walnut. Oak was imported in enormous quantities from America, Austria, and Russia. Mahogany was imported mainly from the West Coast of Africa, but also from the island of Cuba, from Nicaragua, and from British Honduras. Walnut was imported from America, the Crimea, and France. Enormous quantities of other timbers for various purposes, such as

American ash, pitch pine, spruce, Oregon pine, and American whitewood, were also imported. Architects made a point of specifying Austrian oak, though it is open to question whether some of the actual supplies did not hail from Libau and Southern Russia. Such specifications were common in spite of the fact that English oak is the finest oak in the world, while excellent supplies were also available from Japan. It must, however, be admitted that the foreign traders knew very well how to supply exactly what was required; they shipped their supplies generally in good condition, they kept up large stocks of good quality, and they cut their planks and boards with both edges squared so that there was little waste incurred by the consumer.

When the war came the country was thrown back on its own resources and the resources of its Dominions for supplies of timber. Of necessity use was made of the English woods, and it began to be generally realized that it would be wiser in the future to cultivate the home-grown product as well as to extend the production of timber by the Dominions, and not to rely entirely on foreigners, who would only provide supplies when it suited them to do so.

The result of the Indian Industrial Commission of 1916-18 has been to urge the Government of India to exploit more seriously the forest wealth of that country. It would not be amiss perhaps to quote briefly from the Report drawn up by this Commission. In Chapter III., on "Raw Materials for Industries," the Index quotes "Forests," "The extent and value of the Government forests," "Incomplete use made of forest resources," "Necessity of a link between research and commercial exploitations," "Failures to develop industries dependent upon forest products," "Necessity of plantations." Page 40: "The exports of forest produce in the same year (1913-14) were valued at Rs. 454 lakhs. The principal export (all others being produce other than timber) which can be assigned wholly or mainly to this source was teak, valued at Rs. 78 lakhs. The value of other timbers (excluding sandal-wood) was only Rs. 7 lakhs."

The Report continues : " The above figures will have shown that the national forest estate is of vast extent and value ; but a scrutiny of the output per square mile proves that its actual yield has hitherto lagged far behind its possibilities, and is, in most cases, greatly in defect of what the natural increment must be. The chief needs of the Forest Department are undoubtedly the development of transport facilities, the exploitation of the forest on more *commercial* lines, and the extension of research and experimental work, which should when necessary be carried out on a larger scale and under commercial conditions. . . . Another important deficiency to which we desire to draw attention is the absence of information of commercial value regarding the products of the forests, and of commercial methods in rendering them available for industries. We would refer especially to the advantages which would arise from putting the timber on the market as far as possible in the form of standard scantlings. In certain cases, especially in Burma, the exploitation of timbers has been handed over to private agency on long leases. The Forest Department claims that such an arrangement is pecuniarily advantageous to Government, and there is evidence to show that private firms are unwilling to remove or unable to find a market for the less known timbers which are usually too heavy to float." After touching upon these problems the Report continues with a very important clause which emphasizes the necessity of a link between research and commercial exploitations.

As will have already been seen, there was up to this time practically only one wood that had really been exported on any scale—namely, teak. The demand for this is so great, and its wonderful and unique qualities are so well known, that it is hardly necessary to speak further upon it. Otherwise the vast forests of India had only been exploited for more or less local requirements. One cannot help contrasting this with the situation in America, where every wood is known and used the world over.

In January, 1919, partly as a result of the above-mentioned

Industrial Commission, the Government of India appointed a well-known London timber firm as their sole selling agents in the United Kingdom and Europe. Experimental consignments were sent to London in order to find out which timbers were most likely to meet with a favourable reception from the conservative English consumer.

About nine months ago an Empire Timber Exhibition was held under the auspices of the Overseas Trade Department of the Board of Trade. The Government of India and their advisers realized that this was a good opportunity to introduce some of the more decorative Indian timbers, and what was possibly the most comprehensive collection of furniture, paneling, flooring, and so forth, in Indian woods which has ever been seen was there exhibited. It was decided that little would be gained by a mere display of rough planks and boards, however perfect they might be in quality and striking in appearance; consequently, there were shown model rooms, parqueted, panelled, and furnished throughout entirely in Indian woods. This Exhibition was such a success that it was kept open for a week longer than had been originally intended. Most of the large consumers of high-class woods, including many architects and railway chiefs, paid a visit.

The timbers which generally created the most interest were padouk, Indian silver greywood, laurel-wood, gurjun, Indian white mahogany, and sissoo. A short description of these might perhaps be of interest.

Padouk.—Padouk is a rich reddish-brown wood, which is sometimes of a brilliant crimson colour streaked with dark brown, and often finely "figured." It is very strong and durable, and in elasticity exceeds most woods; it weighs about 50 pounds per cubic foot. Its chief value is for ornamental decorative work, such as panelling, parquet flooring, and furniture. Examples of its use for all these purposes were shown at the Exhibition; it formed part of the panelling and flooring of the entrance hall and staircase, it decorated the railway carriage built by the Great Eastern Railway, and it was used for all kinds of furniture and small work. It has been successfully

tested in India for propellers and longerons of aeroplanes. There are two species of padouk, one of which is obtained from Burma and the other from the Andaman Islands, the latter of which is the finer coloured wood. There are large supplies available. It will work at the machine like a very "roey" Cuba mahogany, slightly brittle, with a tendency to "chip" out at the arrises if fed too fast; under the hand plane the "roey" figure is left slightly dull, and the surface must be finished with the "scraper"; the tools stand up to the wood quite well, and it requires no more attention than is usually given to mahogany or walnut of good firm quality.

Silver Greywood.—While somewhat resembling Italian walnut, Indian silver greywood has a very distinctive silvery tinge on a greyish-brown ground, and is generally streaked and marked with a deeper grey. The wood is very effective for all kinds of decorative work. It was exhibited as flooring and panelling and for the decorative part of the first-class railway carriage which was shown. It is obtainable in large quantities of good quality. It may be described as being quite easy to work, and it can be compared with good-quality and grained ash.

Laurel-wood.—This is a dark greyish-brown mottled wood. It is very beautifully marked with a wavy undulating figure, and was used to panel the billiard-room which was exhibited, and which was very generally admired. It works in what is technically described as a "glassy" way under the machine-cutters, and must be fed slowly; it is heavy work to prepare with the hand plane, but "scrapes" well, and gives a good finish.

Gurjun.—A wood which for many purposes can replace teak at one-half the cost is gurjun, which is obtained from the Andaman Islands, in almost unlimited quantities in large sizes of excellent quality. It has a mellow brown colour and contains, like teak, a valuable natural oil, which enables it to be constructed in proximity to steel without any damaging chemical action taking place. It is admirable for all kinds of constructional work, and for the cheaper kinds of flooring and

panelling it is difficult to find a better wood. The railway carriage of which mention has been made, and which probably attracted more attention than any other one exhibit, was constructed of gurjun. The wood was also used to panel the dining-room. It strongly resembles a "mild" teak, but does not dull the tools so quickly, and can be "fed" over the machines at a good speed; it surfaces well under the bench plane, from which it should be left (*i.e.*, should not be scraped); when glasspaper is used it seems to cause the accumulation of the oil which the wood exudes. This oil no doubt makes the wood most valuable, as it acts as a preservative.

Indian White Mahogany.—Indian white mahogany, one of the cheapest of the exhibited Indian woods, proved one of the most attractive for general use. It is very light both in weight and in colour, and in grain it resembles some grades of mahogany. It is very "kind" to the tools, and quite as easy to work as the silver greywood before mentioned, save that in the inferior qualities it is likely to work "woolly."

Sissoo. Sissoo is a wood which Gamble, in his *Manual of Indian Timbers*, says is probably the finest wood in India for furniture and carving. It is a warm rich brown colour with golden streaks. The texture is firm and compact, and the wood stands well without warping and splitting. While it will probably be most largely used for fine furniture such as was shown at the Exhibition, it has other qualities which fit it for stronger work. In India, for instance, its strength and durability have caused it to be used by the Ordnance Department for the wheels of gun-carriages, obviously a hard test for any wood.

Very largely as a result of this exhibition there has been a greatly increased demand for woods other than mahogany, oak, and walnut for decorative work, and it seems probable that Indian woods will come into their own. It has evidently been realized that if such fine work as that shown at the Exhibition can be produced with almost entirely unknown woods (padouk was probably the only wood that the average trader in England would have recognized), and if they are to be

imported in considerable quantities at a lower cost than those which have been previously obtained, they are worth careful consideration.

The first forward step was that all the more important railway companies placed considerable orders for gurjun-wood for railway scantlings. Since 1914 railway carriage scantlings have become more and more difficult to obtain ; before the war they were supplied at an exceedingly low cost cut to the exact required dimensions in American oak. Owing to the large quantities that were wanted at the beginning of the war, this source failed, and English oak was used for the purpose. At the present time it is becoming increasingly difficult to obtain English oak in sufficiently large quantities and long lengths, and this want is beginning to be filled by the gurjun of India. One of the railway companies ordered sufficient padouk, silver greywood and gurjun to make three complete trains.

The next step was the introduction of Indian woods into the fittings and panelling of large buildings. It is now becoming apparent that the more important building contractors are taking up these valuable woods seriously, and a few examples may be of interest. A considerable amount of work is now being done at the new County Hall, Westminster, in laurel-wood under the direction of Mr. Ralph Knott, of Messrs. Knott and Collins, architects. Laurel, silver greywood, padouk, and gurjun-wood are being used in a building in Eastcheap under the direction of Mr. A. H. Kersey. The contractors in both the above cases are Messrs. Holland and Hannen and Cubitts, Ltd.

The new offices of the General Electric Co., Birmingham, are being panelled, fitted, and furnished throughout in Indian silver greywood ; for this work Messrs. Wallis, Gilbert and Partners are the architects.

The new offices of the Guardian Assurance Co., opposite the Monument station, are being decorated in laurel-wood, and the floorings will be of gurjun-wood. In this work Messrs. Higgs and Hill, Ltd., are the contractors.

A large proportion of the flooring at the new factory at

Silvertown built for Messrs. Wm. Vernon and Sons, Ltd., was done in gurjun-wood, and something like 400 squares of this flooring were used.

A considerable quantity of gurjun-wood has been employed by Messrs. F. G. Minter, the well-known firm of contractors.

The new board-room for Messrs. Bovis, Ltd., in Upper Berkeley Street, was entirely panelled and furnished in padouk. And, finally, laurel-wood and padouk are being employed by the Bank of England for desk tops and fitments.

The above are only a few instances of the more important work which is being done in England at the present moment in these valuable woods. The list would indeed be a long one if it were attempted to make it complete; but the intention has been to quote individual cases where it will be possible to see at an early date work actually completed in the various woods that appear to be worthy of the most careful consideration.

It should be added perhaps that the furniture which was shown at the Empire Timber Exhibition was taken over for sale purpose by Messrs. Waring and Gillow, and can now be seen at their showrooms in Oxford Street.

The descriptions as to the actual working of the various woods have been kindly furnished to the writer of this article by an expert who has probably had more experience of the use of these valuable woods than anyone else up to the present time in London.

THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN TRADE

BY FRANCIS H. SISSON

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THE foreign trade of the United States with the countries of the Far East is now running about one billion and five hundred millions of dollars annually. This compares with about six billions for Europe and a little more than one billion for Latin America. American trade with the Far East has thus reached second place.

While American imports from the Far East, with the exception of those originating in Japan, consist almost entirely of raw materials for use in American industries, a considerable proportion of which are returned to the producers in manufactured form, American exports to the Far East consist almost entirely of manufactured goods. The constant improvement in character and quality of the goods exported from America to the Far East is highly significant. Starting long ago with petroleum, cotton piece-goods, and cheap hardware, exports to the Far East have gradually included the best products of American industries.

DEMAND FOR LUXURIES WIDENS

This is particularly true of the American trade with China. What at first is a luxury soon becomes a necessity in China, as elsewhere. As a former Chinese Minister to the United States remarked: "The Chinese nature is not much different from that of other human beings. A young merchant from the interior comes to Shanghai for the first time. He is taken about and entertained by the local merchants. He is introduced to some of the delights of the modern civilization. He longs for luxury once he has

tasted it. He likes the cigarettes; he likes the scented soaps, the wines, the perfumery, foreign clothes, automobiles, upholstered furniture, and so on. These things are largely beyond his reach because of their cost, but as he begins to feel better financially, he adds to his stock of foreign-introduced luxuries and enjoys them."

The tremendous increase in American trade with Asia applies to practically all its important trading sections. To Japan our sales in the year ending June 30, 1920, were \$460,000,000, against \$51,000,000 in 1914—nine times as much in the after-war year as in the pre-war year; to China the exports in the fiscal year 1920 were \$115,000,000, compared with \$25,000,000 in 1914; to India, \$78,000,000, while they were \$11,000,000 in 1914, or seven times as much now as immediately preceding the war; to the Dutch East Indies, \$45,000,000, against slightly less than \$4,000,000 in 1914—twelve times as much in 1920 as in 1914; to the Philippines, \$72,000,000, as contrasted with \$27,000,000 in 1914; to Hongkong, \$20,000,000 in 1920, and \$10,000,000 in 1914; and to the Straits Settlements, \$15,000,000, compared with \$4,000,000 in 1914.

On the import side the increase in the trade by countries is correspondingly great. American imports from Japan aggregated a little more than \$500,000,000, against \$107,000,000 in 1914; from China, \$225,000,000, as contrasted with \$40,000,000 in 1914; from India, \$180,000,000, while they were \$74,000,000 in 1914; from the Dutch East Indies, \$97,000,000, compared with \$6,000,000 in 1914; and from the Philippines, \$70,000,000, against \$18,000,000 in the year before the war.

IMPORTANT AMERICAN FACTORS

The important factors in the growth of American trade with Asia are:

1. Improvement of direct shipping facilities between American and Asiatic ports. During May, 1920, forty-

nine American vessels called at Shanghai. In 1919 the entrances and clearances of vessels on the Pacific Coast of the United States amounted to 39,000,000 tons.

2. The establishment of American banks. Where there was formerly only one American branch in Shanghai, there are now seven American banks. Fully equipped American banks are also in operation in Hongkong, Canton, Changsha, Hankow, Peking, Tientsin, Manila, Yokohama, Singapore, and Bombay.

3. American missionary educational institutions are helping develop Chinese industry along the most scientific and modern lines. The College of Agriculture and Forestry at Nanking University is a notable instance.

4. The work of American medical missionaries in improving sanitary conditions in Asia. The new medical school erected in the centre of Peking by the Rockefeller Institute alone cost six million dollars, and its endowment will cost another half-million dollars per annum.

The visit of the American Silk Commission to China, and also the visit to China and Japan of Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Co., in connection with the consortium project, have done much to benefit American interests in China. America is taking a very large proportion of the silk produced in China and could take a great deal more.

How far-reaching is the American trade with the Orient may be gathered from the fact that on two ships sailing recently from San Francisco to Far Eastern ports there were 304 different commodities, and that on the return journey to the United States these same vessels carried 153 different commodities.

JAPANESE TRADE

American imports from Japan cover a wide and interesting range. The principal articles imported regularly by the United States are articles which that country does not produce itself because of conditions which make production

unprofitable, such as silk, tea, and camphor, or such commodities as it does not produce in sufficient quantity for domestic use, such as beans, peas, soya bean oil, peanuts for oil, and braid for hats. A large share consists of the miscellaneous type of small wares which are usually thought of as Oriental goods—typical Japanese products.

Heavy American purchases enable Japan in turn to buy from the United States many raw, semi-manufactured, and manufactured materials which the United States produces, or can produce, in excess of domestic needs. Examples of such materials are raw cotton, iron and steel, machinery and engines, kerosene oil, and chemicals. In other words, there is a sound basis for the exchange of commodities between the two countries to their mutual advantage. In 1919, the total foreign trade of Japan was 4,259,600,000 yen, of which 1,587,268,400 yen was with the United States.

GROWING TRADE WITH PHILIPPINES AND DUTCH EAST INDIES

Another Far Eastern market in which American trade is growing rapidly is the Philippines. This archipelago of 3,000 islands, with a total population of 10,500,000, produces a variety of raw products of great value, such as hemp, sugar, copra, coconut oil, tobacco, fruits, spices, lumber, and rubber. It offers a splendid market for agricultural machinery, implements, automobiles, motor trucks, foodstuffs, iron, steel, cement, and building materials. The Dutch East Indies, "the treasure-house of the Netherlands," is another eastern market, with a population of 48,000,000, which is now buying direct from the United States and exporting direct to that market. In 1919, the Dutch East Indies bought American goods to a total value of \$20,000,000. Exports from the Dutch East Indies to the United States in the same year amounted to \$78,743,000.

CHINESE CONSORTIUM

Acting upon the initiative of the American Government, the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Japan agreed to encourage the formation of strong banking groups in each of the four countries, these groups to act together as a consortium in affording financial assistance to China in the upbuilding of her great public enterprises. It is quite possible that, from the humanitarian point of view, one of the greatest benefits that may come to China from the work of the bankers' consortium will be eventually the prevention of famine. China can easily raise her own food-supply in any year. Failure of crops, or their destruction by flood, does not extend throughout the country. It is only a local phenomenon, although in some sections, where the population is denser than in any part of Europe, millions may die within a relatively restricted area.

The consortium will not concern itself with general enterprises in banking, industry, and commerce, but will include within its scope the development of transportation systems, highways, and the reorganization of the currency. It is understood that one of the leading purposes of the consortium is to extend as widely and rapidly as possible the Chinese railway system. Naturally these extensions will be built on the most strategic routes from the economic viewpoint, so that supplies can be most readily transported from one section of the country to the other, from the interior to the coast, and from the coast to the interior. As has been repeatedly proved—in China, in India, and, during the period since the armistice, even in Europe,—famines can be promptly held in check or relief afforded if only adequate means of transportation can be supplied.

China offers a rich market for the products of American industry. During the next twenty years that country must buy large quantities of steel rails, bridge material, and American railway equipment of all kinds. The country calls for electrical equipment, farming implements, cotton

mill machinery, and machine tools. Then, it will require quantities of mining machinery, both for the baser and precious metals. Finally, the Chinese people will require on a prodigious scale the many domestic appurtenances that American ingenuity has evolved.

The United States Government proposed that the consortium should be in the nature of a free and full partnership among the banking groups of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan; that not only future options which might be granted, but concessions already held by individual banking groups on which substantial progress has not been made should, so far as feasible, be pooled with the consortium.

The Far Eastern field affords tremendous opportunities and wide scope for the energy and ability of American business enterprise. The current figures of the volume of trade between the United States and the countries of the Far East furnish ample grounds for the belief held by many interested observers that the greater future of American trade lies across the Pacific rather than the Atlantic. Asia is now on the threshold of a marvellous development. The business leaders of the world are turning their eyes towards that great continent with its vast natural and human resources.

During the period 1914 to 1920, the international commerce of the Far East doubled in value, while its trade with the United States sextupled in the same period. The countries of the Far East, including India, Burma, and Ceylon, bought from the United States \$125,000,000 worth of products in the year before the war, and \$850,000,000 in the fiscal year 1920. The United States bought from the Far East \$250,000,000 worth of products in 1914, and \$1,350,000,000 worth in 1920. These figures emphasize very clearly the constantly increasing importance of the United States in the development of the resources and industries of the Far East.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

(In this new section it is proposed to examine the systems of education which have been adopted in various Asiatic countries.)

I

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN THE ISLAND OF JAVA

By N. SCHELTEMA

(Late Assistant-Resident in Java).

ONE of the most difficult problems for the Dutch Government in these days is that of education.

This matter may be divided into two parts : education for the natives and that for the European and Chinese inhabitants of those islands. On the one hand, the Government has to provide for a population of millions, with an ever-increasing demand for education ; on the other, for a class of colonists of much smaller number, but of considerably higher development, and therefore not easily satisfied regarding the quality of what is given to them.

Though many schools, particularly those for instruction in trades and the agricultural and technical branches, are open to children of all nationalities, provided they are capable of following the set course successfully, there is a group of schools especially for the natives and another group for the European part of the population.

In this article I will give a brief synopsis of the educational system for the natives, while that for the European (and Chinese) colonists may be sketched later.

In former centuries the great mass of the Javanese—not to

speak of the more uncivilized inhabitants of the other islands—did not care for instruction and development. But the so-called “Awakening of the East” has made itself felt also in Java. The natives are now longing for Western knowledge and civilization, and it can be said that our Government is very willing to assist them in their efforts and aids them by procuring all possible means for intellectual development. One of these is the creating of a great quantity of schools, which supply the need of the lower classes of the Native population, for whom some elementary instruction is sufficient, as well as the longing of a constantly increasing number of the people for education along European lines, which, until a few years ago, was only within the reach of the children of the higher classes.

The first instruction on a large scale was given in the so-called elementary schools of the second class, the first of which were established about half a century ago. Before the founding of the “people’s schools,” or “village schools,” which I will mention later, the instruction given in these second-class schools was only elementary, and consisted of the reading and writing of the language of the country, the Malay language, and the principles of arithmetic. Later it became a little more advanced, and to the three grades those schools contained, in most of them a fourth and even a fifth grade was added.

For more advanced instruction than is given in the second-class schools there are schools of the first class, since 1914 called “Dutch-Native schools,” that have a seven years’ course, are directed by a European instructor, are organized along the lines of the European primary schools, and prepare the pupils for continued instruction in the normal and training schools, as well as in the technical schools, that will be mentioned later. In these Dutch-Native schools the following subjects are taught : the Dutch language, the language of the country and Malay, arithmetic, the geography of Holland and the Dutch-Indian Archipelago, and the rudiments of physics and biology.

Of these schools there were, in the end of 1918, 89 in Java and 32 in the Outlying Possessions ; of the second-class schools,

there were 1,138 and 528 respectively, and their number is increasing every year.

As, however, our Government could not satisfy this ever-increasing demand for more schools at once, as it was impossible to build hundreds of them a year and absolutely impossible to raise in a short time a whole army of teachers, a kind of transition period has been instituted by the establishment of a large number of more elementary schools, the so-called "people's schools," or "village schools."

The founding of these schools is, theoretically, entirely left to the initiative of the village people themselves; in practice some compulsion on the part of the Dutch and Native officials had often to be practised in order to get a school placed where it was thought necessary. The villagers themselves build and furnish the schoolhouse, for which the Government provides the necessary wood, as well as free books and other equipments. The schoolmasters' salaries are paid from the school fees; sometimes they receive the revenue from a piece of land, given in usufruct to them by the villagers, and sometimes they are paid from the Government subsidy, while after a certain period of service they receive a pension.

In these village schools the instruction is very elementary, and consists only of reading, writing, the very first rules of arithmetic, and a little physics and biology (as far as it can be applied in the pupils' daily life).

The tendency of these schools is to give some elementary education to the numerous lower class of the population—the peasants. In the meantime the second and first class schools would be less overcrowded, and only used by the children of the more cultured higher classes. And as it was not difficult to train in a short time a great quantity of teachers for these very elementary schools, several hundreds have been built every year during the last ten to fifteen years, and so there are now in Java about 5,000 and in the Outlying Possessions about 1,600, and their number is constantly increasing. It is a great pity, however, that the lower classes of the Native population do not yet fully understand the necessity of instruction. This

seems a contradiction of what I wrote a few moments ago—viz., that the natives now are longing for Western knowledge and civilization. I should have written : the higher classes of the population. The fact is that those who have already some culture are longing for better education. They are understanding more and more that knowledge is power ; they see, moreover, the direct profit of the skill they acquired in the shape of Government employment or some other lucrative post. The lower classes of the population, however, the simple, uncultured peasants, do not yet grasp that idea ; they are still thinking, “Are conditions among the peasant population of the civilized European countries any different ?”—that a man needs no knowledge of reading and writing and calculating to be a good farmer, and so they do not try their best to prevent their children from playing truant every now and then, to the great detriment of instruction. Thus the officials have to take measures in order to make school attendance as regular as possible.

In connection with the increasing desire of the natives for Western development it became necessary to revise and extend the primary instruction given to them.

One of the first measures to this effect was the already mentioned changing of the elementary schools of the first class into “Dutch-Native schools.” But this was not enough, and soon schools for trade instruction and agriculture were established, and more advanced schools for professional education. In recent years much attention has been paid to trade instruction. Though the great mass of the population consists almost exclusively of farmers, and skilled trades are to a great extent carried on by the Chinese—especially carpentry, joinery, gold and silver work—yet during the last years, as the standard of civilization became higher in these colonies, the need for skilled craftsmen increased, and so, in order to lead the native in this direction and give him an opportunity to learn these handicrafts, the first trade schools were established about fifteen years ago. In the beginning three large schools were opened in the three most important towns of Java, where carpentry, bench-work, and forging are taught, so that the graduated

pupils of these schools can easily find employment in Government institutions and European industrial undertakings. It seems, however, that none of them opened workshops of their own, and, as evidently the native handicrafts proper, particularly in the villages, were not influenced nor improved by these schools, it was thought necessary to establish more simple trade schools, with the object of raising a class of trained workmen who will not only find employment in industrial concerns, but also may be able to open shops of their own, so that gradually the standard of native handicrafts will reach a higher level.

Since then a great number of such schools have been opened in different parts of Java and Sumatra.

The history of the agricultural schools is about the same, in the sense that the few existing schools did not sufficiently answer the set purpose, and so a large number of more simple schools have been established, which are scattered all over the country.

As for higher development, next to the normal-schools for native teachers, the training schools for native officials are the oldest institutions in the colony. In these training schools are taught the elements of jurisprudence, the State and administrative laws of the Dutch East Indies, the principles of political economy, the principles of agriculture and rural economy, surveying and book-keeping. There are now six of these schools in Java and two in the island of Sumatra.

Training schools for native teachers number six in Java (of which one is for women teachers) and three in the Outlying Possessions. In these schools the Dutch language is used as a teaching-medium.

For the purpose of training teachers for the elementary schools of the second class, so-called "normal schools" have been established, where training is given by Native teachers, headed by a European instructor. Here the language of the country is the teaching medium. There are now twelve normal schools, of which nine are in Java, besides two for women-teachers, of which one is situated in the Outlying Possessions.

In 1909 a training school for native jurists was opened. This school has a six-year course, of which three are devoted to general education and three to the study of law, while care is taken that not only scientific training, but also moral education and the forming of character, are given the necessary attention.

A training school for doctors was already established about half a century ago, and a second school of this kind was opened in 1917. In these colleges very capable native physicians are trained, a matter of great importance when we take into consideration the large area of the colonies, where, of course, European physicians are scarce.

A diploma from these medical schools, as well as from the law school and a veterinary college that was opened a few years ago, exempts the students from a faculty examination in the Universities in Holland if they wish to continue their studies there, where they may obtain the same academic degrees as the other students of these Universities.

Besides the above-mentioned schools and colleges that were established by the Government, a great number of private institutions are in existence, sectarian as well as non-denominational schools. Of the first kind there are about 170 in Java and 1,770 in the Outlying Possessions; of the neutral schools, about 230 and 470 respectively, and more than two-thirds of all these private institutions receive a subsidy from the Government. Among them are elementary as well as more advanced and technical schools, and training schools for native teachers.

As the need became more and more apparent for an institution giving higher instruction in the colony itself, a technical college was opened last year in the island of Java, which, until further plans are realized, is exclusively for the training of Civil Engineers, open for students of all nationalities. And so the first step has been taken towards obtaining a University on a European scale in the Netherlands East Indies.

THE PROGRESS OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E.

THE School of Oriental Studies has now been in existence for four years, and the time has come when some account of its progress may be welcome to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

That the School has met a public want and has had some measure of success is fully demonstrated by the statistics published in the Annual Report of the Governing Body. During the first session, 1916-1917, already 125 students were attached to the new Institution which opened its doors on January 1, 1917. The present number of those attending courses is nearer 500 than 400.

The greatest difficulty at the beginning was the want of first-class teachers, and by a somewhat strange chance it is precisely in those subjects most in demand that our staff has been weakest, whereas for some languages in comparatively small demand we have from the outset had first-class teachers. I need only mention the names of Miss Alice Werner and Mr. Otto Blagden. It is true we have on our staff lists the names of most distinguished scholars, such as Dr. Barnett, and Dr. (now Sir Thomas) Arnold, but these men have not belonged to us primarily, and consequently have been able to give us very little of their time. During the war we were fortunate enough to secure the temporary services of Professor de la Vallée Poussin, whose name on our lists did great honour to the School, and whose inspiring instruction on the higher branches of Buddhism attracted advanced students.

From the outset Arabic proved the greatest attraction as a language, but during the first three sessions of our

existence we were without a Head of Department to control and direct this important branch of study. Two hours a week was all that Dr. Arnold could spare us, and this small modicum of time could only be devoted to actual instruction. It was therefore not easy to co-ordinate the various classes in Arabic, and control the teaching, which was conducted—except for occasional assistance from outside—by native teachers, two Egyptians, one Syrian, and one from Baghdad. We were most fortunate in receiving (thanks to the Educational Department of the Egyptian Government) the services of Sheikh Abdel Razek, who is a trained teacher of his mother tongue and a man of untiring energy and industry. Thanks to Professor Browne, of Cambridge, we were able to enjoy the services of a most admirable instructor in Turkish in the person of Ali Riza Bey.

I need not enter into further details regarding the staff, except to say that we have now secured the full-time services of Sir Thomas Arnold, as well as Dr. Hopkyn Rees, Dr. Grahame Bailey, Mr. MacGovern, and M. de la Vallée Poussin.

Another great difficulty was the supply of the requisite grammars, dictionaries, and text-books. To our shame be it said we in England have fallen far behind our continental colleagues in the production of Oriental books—the best practical grammars in Arabic and Persian, though written by Englishmen, were published in Germany, and there was considerable difficulty in obtaining books from the Continent during the war. The same was true of India and Egypt. So greatly was the need felt for specimens of Modern Turkish, that the School went to the expense of printing a small reader in this language prepared by Ali Riza Bey. Fortunately the Board of Trade were able to import grammars from Germany for the use of the Army classes.

Accommodation at quite an early stage began to present difficulties. It must be mentioned that in the new building there are in all seventeen class-rooms available for teaching.

These class-rooms hold comfortably ten to twelve students, and we do not, it may be observed, encourage the attendance of more than ten students at a time in any class.

There are four other rooms available in the old building. Of these, one is required as a Women's common room, a second as a Students' common room, and a third as a Staff common room. The fourth we have used as an additional class-room; and so great is the demand for separate class accommodation during the busy hours of the day, that we have been obliged to utilize a landing outside the big lecture theatre for a small class.

Another difficulty has been the preparation of a fixed time-table. I do not know whether this will ever be realizable in such an institution as this, but it is a goal which we should always keep before us.

The difficulty lies in the fact that, with the exception of the War Office and Admiralty classes and the courses of the Bank men, each student requires a different standard, and has a different number of hours to give to his studies, or can only come at a different time to the others.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this Institution caters for an entirely different class of student to that of any other College of London. It is true we have a certain number of intercollegiate students who are taking an Oriental subject for their degree, and that the number of such will probably grow; but the vast majority of our students have no connection with the University outside the School, and have their own reasons for learning a particular language in their own time. It is, therefore, quite impossible for us (as it is possible for Arts Colleges) to draw up in advance a time-table stating at what hours and on which days such and such a language, for beginners or for advanced students, will be taught.

We cannot refuse to teach anyone Arabic on the ground that the ordinary course occupies four hours a week, whereas the applicant can only give two. Nor can we refuse to give an intensive course in a language to a man

who can come every day and all day, but has only a short time for study before proceeding abroad. The Colonial Office, for example, makes a regular practice of sending officials on leave for two months for an intensive course in Arabic. Such students as these practically demand a separate time-table, and it is hard to see how it could be otherwise.

If we have failed to attract the business man in large numbers, exactly the same is true of the two similar Institutions in Paris and Berlin. In Paris the courses have been part of an official curriculum for men proceeding overseas in various capacities. In Berlin the students have been men destined for the Consular and diplomatic services and students of law.

In 1892 there were seventy-seven regular students in the Berlin School, which was opened in 1887, and in 1897-8 there were 352. It is interesting to note that when in May, 1887, the Reichstag discussed the new project, a member declared that German trade which had hitherto displayed such great activity in the East would feel no necessity for utilizing the resources offered by the new Institution. And his conjecture was fully verified. It may be mentioned that in 1899 a smaller Institution on similar lines was promised in Munich under the name of "Orientalische Lehrkurse." The number of students by 1900 had never exceeded forty.

The School of Oriental Studies does not aim at instruction in business, for this is provided by the School of Economics, and it is now a simple matter for any man who intends to trade in the East to take an intercollegiate course at these two institutions, which will enable him to acquire not merely the language of the country he is bound for, but also the principles of trading, the local peculiarities, the customs and the laws prevailing in that country.

The only class we have had in the School attended by young business men studying a language solely for business purposes was that of the four students sent by the Bradford

Dyers Association. They took an intensive course, which extended over eight months, and they devoted themselves exclusively during that period to the study of written and spoken Arabic, with astonishingly good results. This is an example which we can only hope will be followed by many firms in the future.

Certain banks have, it is true, made arrangements for a number of their men to attend lessons in Chinese or Hindostani on two evenings a week at the conclusion of their working day. In rare cases this is of some use, but, speaking generally, it may be affirmed that such men would acquire a far better knowledge of an Oriental language by devoting to it one whole month of intensive and exclusive study, than by coming to a class two evenings a week tired from their work at the bank. Moreover, under the latter arrangement it is very difficult to secure regularity of attendance on the part of the students, or any great enthusiasm on the part of the teachers or the taught.

In both Persian and in Arabic we have had a number of regular students taking a two years' course, competing for the certificate at the end of each year. These classes—four hours a week each—form the basis of our time-table in these languages, and each student has fixed days and hours. But for the rest no time-table can be made until the beginning of the new session, when it has been discovered exactly what each new student requires. Every effort is, of course, made to reduce the number of separate classes in a subject, having regard always for the instruction of classes to a limited size.

The best we have been able to do is to prepare, when the session has begun, a time-table showing all the days and hours which have been arranged for. It naturally cannot be expected to apply to the whole session, but when it has been drawn up it is a convenient document to show to new students who present themselves in the course of the session.

This same promiscuous nature of our students has also

militated against the formation of a School club or the development within our walls of the collegiate spirit. There is no means of bringing together students who spend only a few hours a week in the building, as is the case with the majority; and were there such means, we have at present no available space which could be set aside as a reading-room or place of meeting.

The number of research and post-graduate students is never likely to be large, but in this department we have from the first been able to meet such demands as were made on us, and it is, of course, a side of our activities which we are most anxious to develop to the full.* For we have two distinct aims: (1) To teach men and women to speak, read, and write Oriental languages for practical purposes, and (2) to give the best training on the lines of Oriental research. There are among Englishmen far too few workers in this important field, and no doubt one of the reasons for this dearth of scholars is the poorness of the prospects which a devotion to such studies offers. The very existence of this school, with its large staff, has already made the field a more attractive one, and the opportunities for study in almost all branches of Oriental lore are such as have never before been available in this country.

As a recognized school of London University, we are in close touch with the local University authorities, and our courses, not only in languages, but also in Oriental History, form part of the University curriculum. We have now reading in the School students for the D.Litt., the M.A., and the Ph.D., and for the newly instituted Degree in Commerce.

There is one other feature in the activities of the School which may be mentioned—namely, the public lectures held at least once, and sometimes twice, a week throughout each term. These lectures are delivered by various members of the staff on their special subjects, and they are open to the public without ticket.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE FUTURE OF EXCAVATION IN THE HOLY LAND.

BY W. J. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, M.A., D.S.O., M.C.

EVEN the passing visitor must be struck by the wealth of ancient sites which are dotted visibly over the length and breadth of Palestine. It is true that on the Philistine plain the eye of experience alone will detect the centuries which have gone to raise Gaza and Jebna above the surrounding flats. The old Ashdod seems from the railway to be nothing but a massive sand-dune, and of the remaining two cities, with their nests of subject villages, so little trace remains that to this day the maps retain their notes of interrogation.

But pass from Haifa to Semakh and you find yourself in another world. To your left, over the marshy plain of Acre, you see in fading perspective the tell-tale profile of early historic mounds. El Harbaj, longest and loftiest, dominates the nearer distance, and as you enter the narrow Kishon Pass into the great plain of Esdraelon, the squat form of Tell Amre warns you like a sentinel that you are approaching a guarded realm. This is no idle fancy, for at the other extremity of the defile, Tell-el-Kussis at once appears as a sort of Inner Guard. Those who have stood on its summit, above the reed-choked and placid waters of the river, will not soon forget the impressive entrance to this huge fortress of the Canaanite League which defied Thothmes III., fought with Rameses II., and still retained

some strength to hurl its chariots against the forces of Israel.

At the farther end of the pass which you have left Tell 'Amr stares unwinkingly across the gap; to the south-east the enormous toad-like mass of Tell Keimun guards the deep wadi in its rear; next to it, on the south, another pass, the Wadi Abu Shusheh, is held tight by a Tell of the same name; beyond again Megiddo, watching the famous high road of "Aruna"; beyond Taanach, and yet farther still, though far away out of sight, you will find Tell Dothan in the open passage of the Wadi Selhab. The plain itself is dotted with ancient sites—Tell Shamman, Afuleh, Tell Abu Kudeis, Tell Shadud, and many others. You are now in the centre of this walled enclosure, and when the railway sinks rapidly beneath Mount Gilboa into the Jordan Valley you feel no surprise at seeing the imposing mounds of Beisan and more distant Mujedda playing their part as sentries at its eastern gate.

Or if you return to the extreme south of the Judæan mountains and passing out of their deep defile ride downwards through the rolling downs which shepherd you more gently into the Negeb, you will see in front of you, just before you round the last spur which shuts Beersheba out of your sight, a great Tell seated in silence above the waterless wadi. Admirably situated as it is from a strategic point of view, for it commands the natural highways in all directions, it is only one of a chain of similar cities which will lead you, if you will, to Masada, above the Dead Sea, or pass you on along the Wadi Saba till you strike the coast road and the Mediterranean shore.

We have touched only three of the great centres of ancient civilization in Palestine. A glance at a good map will disclose even to the casual student the existence of several others. The South Shephelah group which runs from Tell Khuweilfeh to Tel el Hesi, the North Shephelah group from Tell Sandahanneh to Gezer, the Jericho group, the North Galilee group, all these can be worked out with

extraordinary ease and the expenditure of only a little patience. The Holy Land is by its nature divided into many parts, and the multiplication of its races in the Old Testament is corroborated fully by the dispersion and concentration of its early settlements.

Above and within the warring circle of the plains hidden away amidst barren hills and guarded by tortuous ravines, Jerusalem forms with Hebron the secluded nursery of a creed. To the archæologist this area is less attractive, for with the exception of the towns themselves the countryside is barren of ancient history. Had there been more, indeed, there would have been less of civilization in the world to-day, and in the lowlands there is work enough already for the spade.

To-day, after two years of recovering from the agonies of war, Palestine is preparing for another and more peaceful invasion. It would be in the last degree ungracious to decry the methods which her recent masters adopted in their dealings with archæological explorers; no British excavator, at least, can look back on his experiences under Turkish rule without a sense of real gratitude to those whose duty it was to superintend the work, and the pages of the quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund abound with repetitions of this sentiment. On the other hand, no one who has suffered from the Ottoman law's delays (or from delays less intimately associated with that or any other law) will feel less than glad that the country is now under a British administration. Nor will it be heard without a feeling of relief that the remains of the Palestine Museum, once admirably arranged by Dr. Bliss, but since his departure ransacked, neglected, and forgotten, have been rescued from oblivion and are in process of re-registration and arrangement. Scanty as these remnants are, they can still claim to be a representative exhibition of the earliest ceramic types of Palestine, and as such no student can afford to overlook them. As excavation brings further treasures to light, this museum will steadily

increase in value, and, thanks to the new Antiquities Ordinance, should become a real centre for archaeological research.

As regards the work of excavation itself, there are already many signs of a renewed vitality. The Palestine Exploration Fund has inaugurated the new era by attacking the most important and difficult of all Palestinian sites, Ascalon. The results of a preliminary "season's" work have been most encouraging. A Græco-Roman temple, with massive marble columns and capitals, has been partially laid bare, and special interest has been aroused by the discovery of an ancient well which is alluded to by writers of the Byzantine epoch, and may even go back to the days of the old Fish-goddess Derceto.

Stratographical sections in the "Acropolis" mound have revealed the presence of a culture contemporaneous with the eighteenth or nineteenth Egyptian Dynasties, and it is not too much to hope that succeeding "seasons" will settle many problems with regard to the period of the Amarna letters and the confused struggles which saw the entrance of the Philistines.

America has already put in her claims for two of the most important sites in Galilee—Beisan and Tell Mutesellim. The British School of Archæology has provisionally secured Tell 'Amr (already alluded to) as a subject for preliminary soundings.

The Jewish Archæological Society has conducted soundings near Tiberias, and if provided with sufficient funds will proceed to a thorough excavation of the area south of that city. Already traces of old synagogues, mosaics, and other finds, attest the importance of this site for Jewish students.

But when all this is said, one can only glance with despair round the innumerable opportunities that remain. In the north, Tell Keimun (Jokneam of Carmel) attests both by its size and position its ancient importance: it is untouched. The old Ashdod is unencumbered by build-

ings (though in truth it is very much encumbered with hedges of prickly pear): no one has attempted to dig it. Close to Tell El Hesi, a fourth part only of which has been excavated, stands Tell El Nejileh, a mound of great size, and with a past in no way inferior to that of its neighbour. Neither this nor the more easily accessible Tel-es-Saba has been attacked except, in the latter case at least, by Turkish entrenchments. These are only a few examples of a task which has hardly been begun, and any of them may now be secured by a scientific body without difficulty or delay.

A few words on the newly-created Department of Antiquities must bring this brief survey to a close.

One of the first acts of the new High Commissioner was to request Professor J. Garstang, Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, to organize a service of Antiquities for Palestine. This work has now been completed, and the "Antiquities Ordinance of 1920" was published in the *Official Gazette* of October 15. The most interesting feature of the new Department has been the appointment of an Archaeological Advisory Board, composed of representatives of British, American, French, Italian, Jewish, and Moslem interests.

The Director consults the Board with reference to:

- (a) All applications for permits to excavate.
- (b) The regulation of excavations in the city and district of Jerusalem.
- (c) The conservation of historical buildings.
- (d) International questions, and so forth.

Every effort is being made to encourage and facilitate research and to secure the harmonious co-operation of all whose interests lie in the past and future of the Holy Land.

In addition to this and its other more "passive" work of organization and supervision, the Department is undertaking, through its Inspectorate, the registration of all historical sites in Palestine. This is a work which cannot be completed in a day, but the survey which Conder and

Kitchener so admirably carried out serves as a basis for the new investigators, and the use of a card-index for the codification of their results will facilitate their labours and make these more accessible to the student.

In all respects, then—and it may be said without reserve—the archæological future of Palestine is a bright one. The work before us is immense, but the opportunity is proportionately great. Money only is lacking, and when the conditions which at present rule us relax their hold, we may hope to see the veil withdrawn from that mysterious past which has ever tantalized and fascinated the world.

JAPANESE POEM

2. EVENING

BY RINJIRO TAKAYAMA (D. 1902).

THE sun is setting.

From a distant temple I hear the note of a tolling bell.

The deep blue shadow of night is gathering from afar.

My heart is heavy; I know not wherefore.

I betake myself to my lofty balcony,

And, leaning on the parapet, I heave a long sigh.

Formless thoughts surge up like clouds.

Methinks, Death is like a cold night,

And Life is like a close, sultry day.

Once when I was ill, and, as it seemed, about to die,

I felt my heart beat more easily.

Look, and enjoy the beauties of mountain and river, so they say.

But what leisure had I to drink deep of the loveliness of nature,

Shackled, as I was, by the sorrow of human life,

And with my heart sore wounded?

Ah, my thoughts are so long, and my pen is so short.

I would fain embrace these thoughts of mine, and with them fall
asleep.

My past is hard to tell about and hard to think upon,

And now it is entering into a dream, and no more certitude remains.

But do not wonder at me, my friends,

For is not everything beautiful in Life

Merely a dream?

THE NECROPOLIS OF ANCIENT THEBES

A RESCUE FROM OBLIVION

(Continued from ASIATIC REVIEW, January, 1921.)

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

II

THE mere delineation and description of the scenes and texts of a tomb would be little understood by the general reader without a great deal of introductory matter, and the author has hit upon the happy expedient of working all this matter into the description of a single tomb in such a way as to make it unnecessary to repeat it in the succeeding volumes. It must be borne in mind that every detail in a tomb had a deep significance mythologically, and to gather a comprehensive idea of the underlying motives would require a very wide and discursive hunt among the many publications in which they are dealt with piecemeal, and very variously interpreted. This hunt Dr. Gardiner has made on behalf of his readers, and to the information so gained, which he freely acknowledges in the footnotes, he has added the latest discoveries and seasoned the whole with his own wide knowledge and experience. Hence we have for the first time a complete and handy exposition of the whole system of Egyptian funereal archæology made all the more intelligible by the consecutive study of a specific tomb. By this means we have a standard tomb set up, and in other tombs we have merely to note the variation from type without the necessity of working out each subject again in detail.

Dr. Gardiner personally conducts us through the chambers of Amenemhêt's tomb, explaining point by point every detail which meets the eye, sometimes taking us outside to neighbouring tombs to make comparisons, and sometimes we pause whilst he expounds fully the origin and meaning

of a religious formula or a sacramental rite.* Dr. Gardiner has succeeded in a difficult task—that is to say, he has produced a book equally acceptable to the amateur and the specialist; the information for the former is not too “popular” to shock the latter, nor *vice versa*. Indeed, he has done for Egyptology exactly what the late Mr. Richard Lydekker did for zoology in the books which brought him world-wide fame. The illustrations are beautifully and truthfully executed and well reproduced, whether in colour, line, or photograph.

And now we have to welcome the second memoir in the series—that on the tomb of Antefoker.† This tomb belongs to an earlier period of history than that of Amen-emhēt, and displays the funerary cult in an earlier stage of development. Mr. Davies has produced a volume of no less interest than its predecessor, and has given us a succinct and clear account of the tomb, but we cannot help regretting that in describing the various features of the tomb there is no series of references to the Introductory Memoir, wherein each point was discussed with the fullest detail. Such references would have made the volume more useful to students, and to those who, not being professed students are anxious to learn all they can of the subject, and who have a full reference-book with bibliographical notes so easily at their disposal were it but appropriately indicated to them.

The tomb of Antefoker being one of the oldest in the necropolis was often taken as the model for the tombs constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and was moreover, in Pharaonic times, one of the show places of Thebes, and many of its ancient visitors have scribbled notes in hieratic writing on the walls recording their ex-

* See, for example, the admirable excursus on the dedication formula and the rite of “Bringing the Foot,” *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff.

† The Theban Tombs Series: Second Memoir—“The Tomb of Antefoker and his Wife Senet.” By N. de Garis Davies, M.A., with a chapter by Alan H. Gardiner, D.LITT., etc. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1920. Price 2 gs. net.

pressions of admiration. We are always righteously indignant with those who deface ancient monuments by writing upon them, but the hallow of antiquity has sanctioned these scrawls in Antefoker's tomb, and we welcome the archæological data which they give us. Dr. Gardiner, in a special chapter, has edited and translated these *graffiti*.

Reference was made earlier in this paper to the plundering of the tombs in antiquity by the Egyptians themselves. The custom of burying jewellery and valuables with the dead has from the earliest times made the tombs the objects of greatest temptation to thieves. Scarcely a tomb has preserved its contents to us intact, but when we do rarely find one there is little wonder that their contents were such a source of transgression. We know from the famous Abbott Papyrus that a royal commission was instituted to protect the tombs of the kings, which were no more immune than those of commoners, and that legal proceedings were instituted against the robbers. A number of documents have come down to us relating to these trials, and one of the most important, although long known, has only just been made accessible to students. The Liverpool Museum contains two hieratic papyri, known as "Mayer A and B," which form the sequel to the Abbott and other known documents, and these are now published, edited, and translated by Professor T. E. Peet.* A series of twenty-seven plates reproduces the hieratic text, and opposite each plate is a transcription into hieroglyphic characters.

The Mayer papyri throw much light not only on their own particular subject-matter, but on ancient legal procedure in general. In the Museum of Turin a judicial papyrus describes the trial of certain persons arrested on a charge of high treason, and we find that the suspects were dealt with in the same summary fashion in the Mayer papyri. It would seem, moreover, that the prisoner was put on oath

* "The Mayer Papyri, A and B." By T. Eric Peet, M.A. With 27 plates. London: Published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. 1920. Price 50s. net.

not to speak falsehood, and received a preliminary bastinado and a beating on the soles of the feet as an earnest of pleasures to come. This appears to have been the practice in all cases, and if found innocent no compensation was made to the sufferer.

Professor Peet has made a model study of his subject. His translations are sound and cautious, and form an important contribution to the study of ancient law and literature.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT

THE LITERATURE OF THE COPTIC PERIOD

BY WARREN R. DAWSON.

WITH the passing of Nectanebo II., the last native Pharaoh, ancient Egypt, in its most characteristic sense, came to an end. In the last three centuries before the Christian era the country passed successively under Persian, Greek, and Roman dominion. Thus in three centuries a strong obtrusion of alien forces and ideas suddenly spread over the face of a country whose religious and political traditions had remained, in all essentials, unbroken since their inception more than three thousand years earlier. This sudden cleavage with old ideas, imposed by peoples of quite different mentality from the Egyptians, naturally paved the way for the acceptance of Christianity, and as the foreign influence increased so the hold of the old religion weakened. Greek elements entered into the old national gods, and the religion of Ptolemaic times, although outwardly the same as ever, was in reality undergoing a great change. It was during this period of atrophy that the descriptions of Herodotus and other classical historians were drawn up, and which gave us quite an erroneous impression of the Egyptians, which has only been removed during the last century by the recovery of the lost language of the hieroglyphs—a discovery which has put us in touch with first-hand information from the contemporary native documents.

When at length the inhabitants of the Nile Valley forsook the religion of their forefathers and embraced the new Christian faith, we know them no more as Egyptians, but as Copts. The history of Christianity as the national religion in Egypt is of short duration, some two and a half centuries only from the edict of Theodosius in A.D. 381 to the Mahommedan conquest in 640, although it survived amongst part of the population to this day. The literature of this period which has come down to us is very largely religious, purely secular compositions being comparatively rare. The language in which they are written—Coptic—is the last stage of derivation from the ancient language of the hieroglyphs, but written in Greek characters (with a few signs derived from Egyptian demotic to express sounds unknown in Greek) and containing a large admixture of Greek words. The old religion did not perish without a struggle, and, as we shall see, many of the ancient beliefs survived even in Christian literature.

The quantity of Coptic literature now published and available to students is very large, and it is manifestly impossible, within the limits of a single essay, to give even the haziest impression of it as a whole; but we shall take the five volumes of Coptic Texts published by the Trustees of the British Museum, under the editorship of Sir Ernest Budge, between 1910 and 1915, as representing a typical collection of works, and glance briefly at their contents. The following are the books referred to, all of which are edited from texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt:

1. "Coptic Homilies." 1910.
2. "Coptic Biblical Texts." 1912.
3. "Coptic Apocrypha." 1913.
4. "Coptic Martyrdoms." 1914.
5. "Miscellaneous Coptic Texts." 1915.

All the editions are drawn up in the same form. They contain first an account of the manuscripts from which the translation is made, a summary analysis of the contents, the Coptic text transcribed into type, an English translation,

and finally collotype facsimiles of the original texts, in some cases complete, in others giving selected sheets.

It may be mentioned that monasticism flourished in Egypt amongst the Christian population, and most of the extant literature is the work of monks, anchorites, or solitary ascetics. Great importance was attached throughout to the sanctity of the lives of the Fathers and Holy Men whose acts and sayings form the subject-matter of many compositions and are intended as didactic works based upon precept. Herein, perhaps, lies the great difference in mentality between the ancient Egyptians and their successors, for although ancient moral works are known, and generally also the names of the persons to whom they are attributed,* they contain little or nothing to glorify these names and to hold them up as models for posterity. The ancient Pharaohs in their inscriptions always regarded themselves as perfect and as paragons of virtue far exceeding all their predecessors, and their subjects, in the biographical inscriptions in their tombs, followed the royal example. Consequently every man regarding himself as perfect had no occasion to quote the example of others. The Copts, on the other hand, show more humility, and delighted to collect and preserve the acts and sayings of their Holy Men.

The first volume is devoted to homilies, and these homilies are moreover based upon quite different ideas from those which appear in the moral precepts in the ancient Egyptians. The writings of the latter show us that they were capable of very lofty ideals, but there is no evidence that these were ever embraced into the religious system, or that there was anything more than temporal prosperity to be gained from their practice. There is certainly no direct threat of displeasure by the gods and retribution at their hands after

* Instances are : " The Instruction of Ptah-hopet " ; " The Instruction of King Amenemes to his Son " ; " The Maxims of Ani " ; " Petersburg Papyrus " ; and numerous little works containing advice and warning to young scribes.

death for those who neglected the moral code, and the idea of repentance was entirely absent from the ancient theology. The ancient Egyptian could procure his own welfare in the after life by providing himself with the necessary magical apparatus—papyri, amulets, words of power, offerings, etc. The Coptic homilies teach that the Christian God is not to be "squared" in this way, and that the only means of securing happiness in the hereafter is by an upright and pious life on earth, and by humility, continence, repentance, fasting, and prayer. The belief in demons and evil spirits is very pronounced, and many are the injunctions to seek out and overthrow their power. It is in this belief in demons, and in the terrors of the hell to which the wicked will be consigned, that the survival of the old ideas most manifests itself. In the tombs of the kings at Thebes are depicted the mysterious regions into which the Sun God (and the dead) passed during the twelve hours of the night. Each hour had an appointed region with a population of serpents and other monsters, lakes of fire, and other terrors. The attendants of the Sun God piloted their chief and his faithful followers safely through these regions of terror and finally brought them safe and sound to the beginning of a new day.*

The Coptic writers borrowed freely from these images, and in one instance, at least, the parallels are easy to recognize ("The Homily on Repentance," by Apa John, I., pp. 147-191). Thus in the description of the punishment of the wicked and in frequent references throughout the homily to the "burning fire of Gehenna" we see the lake of fire depicted on the sarcophagus of Sety I. in the Soane Museum. The worm "which dieth not" is the echo of the great serpent Apophis, which figures continually on the same monument, and which is the subject of a collection of

* The principal books in which these ideas are described and depicted are the "Book of Him who is in the Netherworld", (Am-Duat), and the "Book of Gates." For a general summary see Maspero, "Les Hypogées royales de Thebes."

exorcisms known as "The Book of Overthrowing Apophis," preserved in a papyrus in the British Museum.* The "outer darkness" has its counterpart in the black region of desolation referred to in the Egyptian texts, *e.g.* in the "Book of the Dead,"† and traces even of the ancient Pyramid Texts of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties are to be detected in the pious Archbishop's discourse, which shows how deeply rooted these primæval concepts must have been.

Quotations from the Scriptures abound in these homilies, and ethical ideas and abstract notions quite unknown to the ancients find a definite expression.

A few excerpts will give an idea of the form in which these discourses are cast:

"It was the first transgression, that is to say disobedience, which cast man forth from Paradise. It hath changed this world, and hath made to exist things which ought not to exist; and the things which ought indeed to exist it hath set a restraint upon. It hath made God, who is without anger, to be wroth: and hath turned the Father from gladness to grief."‡

"If thou hast committed sin, make haste, stand up on thy feet, be sorry, and let thy heart eat thee [in remorse], and pour out thy tears. For did not the sinful woman act ~~in this wise~~? And did she not pour out her tears and lay ~~hold on~~ repentance?"§

"And now, O man, come and embark in the ship of salvation which is the faith of the Church. It hath two steering oars wherewith it is guided, and these are the Testaments, whereon if thou shalt meditate they will bring thee unto a good place for tying up thy boat. It hath a mast, which is the Cross of the Lord, and a rudder; these are thy hands which are stretched out in prayer to God. It

* Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, No. 10, 188.

† Renouf, "Book of the Dead," p. 356.

‡ "Homily of Apa Basil," I., 252.

§ "Discourse of Apa Eusebius," I., 278.

hath a sail which beareth it onwards, that is the power of God which directeth thee into every good course. It hath a guiding pole which is the Bishop in the Church. It hath a helmsman to steer it which is Jesus, who directeth the course of the universe. The sailors on board are the clergy who are in the Church and who minister. There is a cargo borne upon it, and these are the Christian peoples. Thou shalt arrive in port, in a haven which is fair, that is to say the harbour of Jesus, which is the heavenly Jerusalem.”*

This last quotation is reminiscent again of an ancient Egyptian concept of a spiritual boat, every one of whose parts was identified and given a religious significance.†

One of the most interesting homilies in the whole collection is that of Apa Athanasius, Archbishop of Rakote, concerning the soul and body.‡ Syriac versions of the same text are known which suggest that it was a work of great popularity, not only to Egyptian monks, but to those of the Syrian brotherhoods. It describes the passage of the soul after it leaves the body at the moment of death and passes into the region of Amente, the very name of which as well as many of its attributes are borrowed from the ancient Egyptians. Similar survivals of ancient beliefs are discernible in the Apocalypse of Paul (V., p. 1043 ff.).

Passing now to the Biblical Texts, these require no comment in this place, as their interest is mainly philological. The selection published by the British Museum contains the Books of Deuteronomy, Jonah, and the Acts of the Apostles. In the Introduction the editor discusses the relation between the Coptic manuscripts and the Greek originals (II., xvii ff., etc.). Reference may be made to the fine complete Psalter, also in the British Museum, which was found with the “Book of Homilies” described above, and was separately published some years ago.§

* “Discourse of St. Athanasius,” I., 233.

† Renouf, “Book of the Dead,” chap. xcix., p. 167. ‡ I., 257 ff.

§ Budge, “The Earliest Known Coptic Psalter”: London, 1898.

With the Apocrypha we come once more to a body of literature which is more distinctively Coptic. Six books are published and a valuable introductory chapter on Egyptian mythology in Coptic writings (III., lxi ff.), a topic to which frequent reference has already been made. One of the most striking and important apocryphal texts is the "Book of the Resurrection," by Bartholomew the Apostle. The beginning of the manuscript is wanting, but it evidently contained an account of the Crucifixion. At the point where the narrative begins the Body has been laid in the tomb. Hereupon Death, who is personified, goes into Amente and enquires for the Soul of Christ. He caused a search to be made and eventually located the tomb, and taking counsel with his sons devised a means of entrance by transformation into serpent form. Here the Body was found lying wrapped in a napkin. Death was greatly troubled by the disturbances which had shaken the world at the moment of Christ's death, for Amente rocked, the pillars trembled, and a violent commotion raged in the air. In Hell itself the fires were extinguished, the gates broken down and the gate-keepers scattered.* Death finally approached the Body of Christ, which stirred Itself, removed the napkin and derided him. Death thereupon was panic-stricken and fled, but recovered his courage and ~~visited~~ the tomb again, only to be derided as before. Death, ~~however~~, protested his omnipotence and proceeded to threaten Christ, and in the midst of his discourse Christ arose and ascended into heaven with a glorious company. Christ then went down into Amente and broke down the doors, overturned the fires and put them out, and wrought complete desolation there. He bound the ministers of Satan in fetters of iron, redeemed Adam and delivered man. In Amente Christ encountered Judas Iscariot, and it would appear that He did not forgive him, for a long passage is devoted to the terrors to which Judas was

*. A description of the Gates and Gatekeepers of the ancient Egyptian netherworld is given in the "Book of the Dead," chapters cxliv.-cxlvii.

subjected after death, and how he finally passed into outer darkness and everlasting oblivion.

Death still maintained his watch over Christ, and on the third day found Him risen. Death repaired to Amente and saw the wreckage and desolation there, and heard the wailing and distress of its denizens, whilst above the angels were singing in jubilation.

The text then proceeds to the description of the visitors to the tomb on the morning of the Resurrection, to the new life of Christ in heaven, and to the acts of the Apostles after the Resurrection. In the portion analyzed above it will be seen that there is much in conformity with the traditions of the four Synoptic Gospels, and a good deal of additional matter which is purely Egyptian in character and strongly tinged with reminiscences of the old paganism.

The Apocryphon the "Instructions of Pachomius" is an interesting composition and contains admonitions to a monk who had been guilty of anger and harsh treatment to a brother. Its style much resembles that of the homilies, and is similar to the exhortations in the "Paradise of the Fathers" of Palladius.*

Before passing on to the martyrdoms, one more point must be mentioned which bears on the ancient religion. In the "Encomium of Saint John" (III., 347) mention is made of a boat of gold given by Christ to the saint in order to ferry him across a river of fire. This is evidently a survival of the magic ferry-boat with its boatman "Turnface" which figures in the Pyramid Texts and in the "Book of the Dead." St. John in the Coptic legend assumes the character of "Turnface" and ferries the faithful across the stream.

As we have already mentioned, the lives of saints and holy men occupy an important position in Coptic literature, and the fourth volume of texts deals with ten manuscripts

* This is a Syriac text and has been published with an English translation by Budge.

containing accounts of the lives and martyrdoms of various saints.

The life and martyrdom of Victor the General (IV., 253 ff.) is an important document historically, as it gives us an abundance of details of the army of Imperial Rome, wherein the saint held the rank of General under Diocletian. The Emperor's devotion to pagan gods and his insistence that Victor should sacrifice to them caused the General to surrender his military office and hurl his badge of office in the Emperor's face. A long persecution ensued, and, in spite of every kind of torture and oppression, Victor denied the false gods and refused to render them obeisance. Finally he was put to a cruel death, as were many other Christians under the iron rule of Diocletian.

Another most interesting text is the life and martyrdom of Theodore the Anatolian (V., 577 ff.), which contains much information on Antioch, a eulogy of which occupies the opening paragraphs of the manuscript. Theodore likewise suffered martyrdom at the hands of Diocletian, who crucified him with 153 nails.

The martyrdoms were generally followed by the performance of miracles, and many sick and afflicted persons were cured. A series of eight miracles is related as following on the martyrdom of Mercurius (V., 828 ff.). In the *encomium* on St. Victor by Celestinus (V., 299 ff.) many of the miracles wrought by the virtue of the saint are described, and many other instances occurring in the texts contained in the British Museum collection might be quoted.

Anchorites and solitary ascetics who lived in caves in the deserts and in other lonely places were apparently very numerous, and we have many accounts of their lives, both in Coptic and Syriac texts. A typical example may be instanced in Apa Onnophrios (IV., 455 ff.). He wore no clothes* except a garland of leaves and his hair, which,

* See the similar instances in Palladius (ed. Budge, vol. i., chap. xvi. etc., pp. 234 ff.).

never being cut, covered him like a garment. He had begun his religious life in a monastery in Upper Egypt, but had left it early, and lived alone in a cave for over sixty years. He suffered great privations, from cold by night and heat by day, and from hunger and thirst. His only food was dates, of which a neighbouring tree annually produced twelve bunches, one for each month. The self-imposed hardships on Onnophrios are not so drastic as in some other cases. Macarius the Alexandrian, for instance, an account of whom is given by Palladius, added to the daily discomforts of his life by many feats of endurance. On one occasion he determined to vanquish sleep, and for twenty days and nights he sat in the open with no shelter from sun by day or cold by night. As a penance for killing a gnat which bit him he went to Scete and sat in the desert naked for six months, where the gnats were as large as wasps. He was so swelled and disfigured by their bites that he was afterwards only recognized by his voice.*

In the above paragraphs an attempt has been made by indicating a few out of very many interesting topics with which the Coptic texts deal. It is hoped that an interest in the subject may be aroused in those who have had no opportunity or desire to acquaint themselves with the great body of legends, histories, liturgical and sacred books which, thanks to the climate of Egypt, have reached us in almost perfect condition. The British Museum publications contain English translations for those who are not conversant with the Coptic language, whilst the student is provided with the text, plates of facsimiles, and indices. It is much to be hoped that the British Museum may continue to make its manuscript treasures available in this handy form.

* Palladius (ed. Budge, vol. i., p. 118).



WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *The East India Association—The National Indian Association—The Royal Colonial Institute—The Persia Society—The China Society—Congress of Orientalists at Leyden—Oriental Congress at Baltimore, U.S.A.—Royal Asiatic Society—Indian Gymkhana Club—Congress of Orientalists at Leyden.*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp. 245-295. The following lectures have been arranged for the next two months: For April, "Early Indian Polity in Kashmir," by E. Molony, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S.; for May, "Indians in British East Africa," by H. S. L. Polak, Esq.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Pentland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. (late Governor of Madras), and Lady Pentland entertained the members of the East India Association and the Royal Asiatic Society on February 24, to meet the Earl and Countess of Reading: The Viceroy Designate arrived at about five o'clock with Countess Reading and conversed freely with the guests.

On March 2, the Earl and Countess of Reading were entertained at the National Indian Association. The Viceroy Designate delivered a brief speech in which he emphasized the paramount importance of goodwill in Indian affairs. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., laid stress on the differences between the comparatively prosperous state of India and the poverty and uncertainty of Persia.

The dinner given in honour of the Earl of Reading by the Royal Colonial Institute on March 4 was in many respects a memorable occasion. As Sir Godfrey Lagden, the Chairman of Council, pointed out in his speech, the event served to illustrate that India was on the road to take her place among the Dominions, and the Institute was taking a growing interest in Indian affairs, as shown by the recent formation of an Indian Committee to which several Princes of the Native States had given their names. But above all it gave a welcome opportunity to the Fellows and Associates of the Institute, drawn from all parts of the Empire, to honour the new "Viceroy and Governor-General Designate." The Right Hon. E. S. Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State for India, took the Chair, and in proposing the toast of "Our Guest" paid a great tribute to the work done by Lord Chelmsford in connection with the Reform Scheme. It had, indeed, been the present Viceroy's inception, and the seal had been set upon it by the visit of the Duke of Connaught. How wonderful! and what an intangible thing was the spirit of the British Empire! Of how many

racial parts it was composed, and yet how all these parts could successfully withstand the shocks of militaristic materialism from without and economic unrest from within. Proceeding, he recalled how at the beginning of the war he had spent anxious hours with Earl Reading at the Treasury, stabilizing the structure of the Empire's credit. Now his task was to lead a proud people throbbing with national pride along the only well-ordered route, that of partnership within the British Empire.

At the dinner the tables were so placed that all the 300 present were able to obtain a good view of Earl Reading when he rose to respond. He gives the impression of one who never pre-judges any case or situation. In his speech he described himself as a "student of Indian affairs." We venture to think that it is in this spirit and with an open mind that he will enter upon his duties. He will land at Bombay with no brief in his pocket; he has occupied the exalted position of Lord Chief Justice of England, he will hear both sides, and we can already imagine him "reserving judgment until to-morrow," when he will give a verdict which will be final, and which should command respect.

Nor are his own views as to his mission in India at variance with the impression which he created that evening in his audience. For he emphasized again that it was on account of the office which he now held in England that the choice had fallen upon him. And, indeed, he exemplifies in that office the great British traditions of justice and fair-play.

There was a meeting of the Persia Society on February 15, at 74, Grosvenor Street. A paper was read by Captain J. B. L. Noel on "Mazandaran and the Caspian Coast," which was illustrated by an excellent series of slides which gave a very good idea of that little-known part of the country. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the Chair.

The proceedings of the Persia Society are now re-read in the new *Persia Magazine*, the first issue of which, with a foreword by Lord Lamington, was published on March 1. It contains a Literary Supplement contributed by Sir Thomas Arnott. The price is 2s. 6d. per issue quarterly.

The China Society met at the School of Oriental Studies on March 3, when a very interesting lecture was delivered by A. Neville J. Whymant on the Psychology of the Chinese Coolie. The reader of the paper had served with the Chinese Labour Corps in France, and owing to the fact that he has a good knowledge of the language he was able to make a close study of his men. Dr. Hopkin Rees, Professor of Chinese at London University, was in the Chair, and at the conclusion of the lecture questions were asked by Sir Montague Beauchamp.

The American Oriental Society will hold its Annual Meeting on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter Week, March 29, 30, and 31, in Baltimore, Md. The Directors of this Society have invited the Asiatic Societies of France, Great Britain, and Italy to participate in the meeting

at Baltimore through such of their members as may be able to attend. If this invitation shall be accepted, arrangements will be made to give one or more of the sessions the character of a joint meeting of the four Federated Societies.

Mr. D. A. Lane (late South Persia Rifles) read a paper on March 8 to the Royal Asiatic Society on "The Nomad Tribes of South-West Persia." The lecturer, who possesses a good knowledge of the local dialects, had made himself indispensable, as Sir Percy Sykes pointed out in the course of the proceedings, in organizing the transport over large distances in Persia. It was explained that his position required some diplomacy, as the ammunition boxes were rather heavier than those to which the muleteers were generally accustomed! Mr. Lane illustrated his lecture with many interesting maps and photographs showing the summer and winter camps. He pointed out that the crops of these nomad tribes were entirely dependent on the rain, and that consequently, whenever these failed, they had resource to raids on other tribes. Accordingly, a proper system of irrigation would be of priceless benefit in those regions. Professor D. S. Margoliouth was in the Chair.

The next lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society will be on April 12, when Mr. R. Levy, of Jesus College, Oxford, will read a paper on the following subject: "Bagdad to Teheran: a New Variation of an Old Theme." On June 14 Mr. R. Grant Brown, Hon. Treasurer of the Society, will deliver a lantern lecture on "Burma and its People."

We have received from Mr. T. B. W. Ramsay, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Secretary, the Report for 1920 of the Indian Gymkhana Club. The officers for 1921 are as follows: *President*: Right Hon. Lord Hawke. *Vice-Presidents*: H.H. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda; Major-General H.H. Sir Ganga Singh, Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., Maharaja of Bikaner; H.H. Sir Jitendra Narayan Bhup, Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Cooch Behar; Right Hon. Lord Sinha, P.C., K.C.S.I., K.C.; Sir Dorabji J. Tata, J.P.; Sir James Walker, C.I.E. *Committee*: Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G. (Chairman); R. R. Byahatti; Raj Rana Fatehsinh of Limbdi; S. K. Ghosh; R. F. S. Hardie; F. E. Lacey (M.C.C.); Austin Low, C.I.E., J.P.; Colonel K. M. Mistri, C.B.E.; K. S. Rajendrasinhji; C. Ramaswami; T. B. W. Ramsay, M.A., LL.B.; B. V. N. Rao; M. Saravanamuttu; N. C. Sen, O.B.E. *Cricket Captain*: Colonel K. M. Mistri, C.B.E. *Cricket Secretary*: M. Saravanamuttu. *Tennis Secretary*: B. V. N. Rao. *Bankers*: Messrs. Grindlay and Co. *Hon. Treasurer*: Austin Low, C.I.E., J.P. *Hon. Secretary*: T. B. W. Ramsay, M.A., LL.B., 10, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C. 4.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held at 74, Grosvenor Street, W., on February 17, when Mr. Martin S. Briggs, F.R.I.B.A., gave a most interesting lecture on "Saracenic Architecture and the Crusaders." Mr. Briggs laid emphasis on the beauty of Arab building, in which, he

said, the whole character of the builders seem to be expressed. He spoke of the pointed arch, the use of coloured marbles for exterior decoration and so on, which were introduced into Europe about the time of the Crusades, and which give evidence of the amount the Crusaders had learnt from the buildings they had seen, and the new ideas they had brought home with them; and he showed, too, that in the Arab architecture of the same date there were distinct traces of Western influences and ideas. He made his argument clearer by means of lantern slides illustrating the points he wished to make.

A discussion followed the lecture and an interesting speech by Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore. The chairman (Sir Francis Younghusband), when he closed the meeting, expressed the great pleasure and interest with which he and all those present had listened to the lectures.

On March 1, Miss Emily J. Robinson delivered a lecture to the Anglo-Russian Literary Society on "Armenia and the Civilized World."

On February 9, a paper was read before the Japan Society at 20, Hanover Square by R. A. B. Ponsonby-Fane. The subject was "Misasagi: the Imperial Mansoka of Japan."

Among the public lectures arranged for the School of Oriental Studies was one by Dr. Hopkyn Rees on "Chinese Fiction." This was read on March 10. "The Portuguese in India" was the title of the lecture given by the Director on March 2.

A CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT LEYDEN

ON May 8 of last year some professors of Oriental languages at the University of Leyden took the initiative in founding a society of Dutch Orientalists, called "Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland." On January 4 and 5 the "Genootschap" held its first meeting at Leyden, which was attended by some eighty members from different parts of the country. In his opening address the chairman, Professor Snouck Hurgronje gave an interesting account of the gradual development of Oriental studies in the Netherlands since the seventeenth century, of which the University of Leyden had always been the centre. The constantly growing interest in Oriental studies fully justified the foundation of a society like the present. He could state that the undertaking had proved a success, as the society had been joined by over 180 members, including a few distinguished men of British nationality. He emphasized that, although the society was meant in the first place to unite Dutch Orientalists, foreign scholars too would be warmly welcomed as members, and he expressed the hope that at the next meeting a large number of Orientalists from various countries would take part in the proceedings.

A remarkable feature of the Congress was the prominence given to Oriental art. A fascinating lecture by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., on "The Origin and Development of Persian Painting," was greatly appreciated

by the audience. In the course of an able paper on the ornament in Hindu-Javanese architecture, Lieutenant-Colonel T. van Erp, R.E., vindicated the essentially Indian character of the classical art of Java. The four lectures on Oriental art, which occupied the first day, were well illustrated by means of slides.

On the second day the Congress split into four sections: (1) Semitic (including Egyptology); (2) Hellenistic (including Byzantine studies); (3) Aryan; and (4) the Far East. In each of these sections some four or five papers were read, presenting a great variety of subjects. In the Aryan section Professor Caland gave a new interpretation and etymology of Avestan *spenta*; Professor Faddegon discussed the composition of Bâdarâyana's *Vedânta-sûtra*; and Mr. H. Dunlop produced a document on the religion of the Parsees which a servant of the Dutch East India Company had drawn up anonymously at Surat about the year 1625.

In connection with the Congress there was an exhibition of Oriental manuscripts in the University Library. These treasures, including several splendid specimens of Oriental calligraphy, were mostly collected in the seventeenth century by Levinus Warner, a Dutch scholar, who had been deputed to the East in order to study Oriental languages, and who for many years served his country as a diplomatist at Constantinople.

The Congress concluded with an evening entertainment singularly suited to the occasion. It consisted of a *wayang*, or shadow show, as practised in Java. A young Javanese nobleman, Raden Mas Ario Sooryaputro, acted as *dalang*, while a number of Javanese students had volunteered to form the band or *gamelan* which is an indispensable adjunct to any *wayang* performance. The puppets, musical instruments, and other requisites were borrowed from the State Museum of Ethnography at Leyden.

An account of the proceedings of the Leyden Congress will shortly be published.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

INDIAN WOMEN. By Otto Rothfeld, of the Indian Civil Service
(*Simpkin Marshall.*)

(*Reviewed by* LADY BOSE)

IT has been said by a European critic of Oriental life that the Oriental world is the man's world, the woman carefully secludes herself behind the veil. When contrasted with the rather obtrusive self-assertiveness of modern womanhood in Europe, this remark, understood rightly, is justifiable, although, in spite of this much-decried seclusion, the Eastern woman, different as she is by character, temperament, and environment, wields as much power and influence as her more forward Western sister. The seclusion and aloofness of the Indian woman is much exaggerated. It is more like the seclusion of classic Athens and is never, except among particular sects and races who follow the Muhammadan or Rajput tradition, so rigid and jealous as it is often represented to be. At the same time it cannot be denied that the Indian woman is retiring by nature and habit, and values her seclusion for the pleasurable sense of dignity which it naturally causes. In a country where, as a rule, few women of the better classes appear in public and beauty is seldom displayed, the constant sight of women in street or office, in the tubes, trams and buses, is indeed a rarity, except in the Bombay Presidency. She attains half her charm and power because she is occasionally seen and seldom met. Rightly or wrongly, she has always remained a mystery, an elusive figure—one of those rarest flowers which shrink away at the first vulgar touch of public curiosity. Justice, therefore, has seldom been done to the Indian woman in most studies of Indian life. She has been either neglected or studied from a distance; more often she has not been adequately understood or sympathetically treated. To the Western imagination, fed upon fantastic tales of mystery and passion, misnamed Oriental, the Indian woman appears either in hazy outlines draped with the imagery of fiction and the fantasies of invention, or as a symbol of Oriental opulence, a creature of incredible luxury, a freak of tropic passion and jewelled magnificence. The true, the tender, the retiring, or the loving woman is seldom seen and never known. Any contribution, therefore, to a sensible study of the Indian womanhood

is always welcome, especially when it is written with so much charm, sympathy, and insight, as the volume before us.

Mr. Otto Rothfeld, of the Indian Civil Service, has indeed made a notable contribution to a proper and sympathetic understanding of the divergent and many-coloured Indian races whose womanhood he depicts with a delightful pen. The book is as well written as the text and the cover are neatly and tastefully printed, and the value of the work is greatly enhanced by nearly fifty coloured illustrations of women of different provinces drawn by an Indian artist. The work portrays the Indian woman as she is to-day, not indeed shorn of all her natural romantic glamour, nor of the halo of glorious past traditions and charming present associations, but devoid of all taint of sentimentalism and loose thinking which has characterized many a recent writer on the subject. From the scholarly side the position of women in ancient India has been very ably studied by many an expert, and recently by J. Meyer in his "*Das Weib im altindischen Epos*"; and there is no doubt that a knowledge of past history is valuable for the better understanding of the present. But Western idealists in their study of the present conditions are generally apt to take some of the poetic ideals in Indian literature at their face value. On the other hand, there is a tendency towards an impressionist or surface-study of the question without any attempt to realize the woman in all her cultural surroundings, associations, and traditions which form more than half of her life. Although it is a study from the outside, the work under review is comparatively free from these dangers. It has no scholarly pretensions; it does not overrate the present in the light of the past, the fact in the light of the ideal; nor does it entirely ignore the value of inward facts as an illuminator of outward action. It does not go deeply into the delicate phases of the woman's life, but it is marked by an extraordinary quickness of observation, a sanity of judgment, and a vivid and sympathetic imagination—qualities which are essential to the proper understanding of alien races.

The difficulties of such a task are obvious, and the author shows himself fully conscious of them. In a vast Empire with a population of over three hundred millions, in area a continent like Europe minus Russia, with thirty-five main languages and over one hundred different dialects, with different religions and cultures, divided from each other by centuries of progress, anything like an adequate account of Indian womanhood is a task beyond the power of a single man. To add to this there are difficulties arising from the vast social and economic complexities of modern times which have not failed to affect Indian life, together with alien modern ideas influencing the more or less fluid conditions of great masses of people with divergent levels of culture and inconsistent ideals.

"The book of Indian womanhood," our author rightly remarks, "has many pages, and each page is different, one from the other. Living in a wide continent, the speech of one group of women is not the speech of another. And in faith they are not one, nor in blood nor habit." The author has therefore wisely restricted himself to a series of more or less descriptive sketches, drawn from personal study and observation. For

even if we do not view the Indian woman amid the glamour of poetic and romantic associations and divest her of the enveloping facts of history, tradition, or environment, she remains a figure sufficiently remarkable ; for the ideal of Indian womanhood, though lofty and selfless, is yet perfectly human and akin to the nature of womankind. In the midst of the perplexing diversities of creed and caste, of blood and race, there is a community of thought and feeling with regard to three things which, in our author's opinion, constitutes the essence of Indian womanhood, viz., contentment with her own womanhood, faith in religion, and the natural hope of love. The Indian woman, to whom sex is a necessary part of life, and motherhood a pride and duty, is frankly and thoroughly a woman beyond and above all else. This feeling lies at the root of her tender and true ideal of maidenhood, marriage, maternity, and widowhood, and inspires the unremitting devotion and unfailing tenderness which is the Indian woman's greatest gift to the land. Our author deprecates the system of Indian marriage which, in his opinion, produces in general "a very real, if colourless, affection and a sense of destined consecration," but not "that joy in a free humanity which alone can invest marriage with the flaming beauty of love." It is not our purpose here to defend the Indian institution, which is perhaps as defective as any other system elsewhere. But it must not be forgotten that in marriage the Indian woman finds the fulfilment of her whole being and function, and her love and religion invest it with a solemn and sacramental charm which has its own redeeming features. If the worth of a nation's womanhood can be estimated by the completeness with which it fulfils the inspirations of love and its devotion, Indian womanhood, as our author himself admits, need fear no comparison. The warmth and selflessness of this enduring love is strengthened and moulded from childhood to the day of death by the present reality of religion. In India, as in many other lands, the most essential part of the civilization is to be sought in its deep-rooted religious idea. Religion has not only been the teeming mother from whom sprang philosophy, literature, music, education, and the fine arts, but the Indian spirit itself can hardly be understood without a proper idea of its religious spirit. And it is this religious spirit which moulds the whole being of the Indian woman. In the words of our author, "her childhood is an adoration, marriage a sacrament, widowhood an oblation ; in motherhood she finds at once sacrifice and worship ; while life and death alike are a quest and a resignation."

We have in the subsequent chapters of the work a delightful series of pen-pictures of the ladies of the aristocracy, of the middle classes, and of the working and the aboriginal classes, all marked by a wonderful quickness of perception and sober judgment. It may be pointed out, however, that the author's knowledge of the women of some races and tribes does not always seem to be adequate. The accounts of the women of Northern and Western India, of the aboriginal tribes like the Bhils, whose simple life is yet unspoiled by modern civilization, are marvellously keen and true. His estimate of the commercial and imitative Parsi community, on whom the cheap aping of European manners sits ill, is

unjust and harsh, as it is only a transient phase through which it is passing.

Speaking of the lowest working classes, the author remarks: "They compare favourably with similar classes in other countries; and at the worst they shame the terrors of European slums, the brutal wife-kickers and procurers who lurk in the blind alleys of industrial life. . . . Generally it may be said that the Hindu husband, even in this class, seldom descends to the grossness and cruelty so often found in the lower quarters of European cities; while the wife forms and maintains a higher standard of womanly conduct and devotion. An easier toleration marks their conjugal relations, and the Hindu character at its worst is commonly free from the extremest modes of brutality."

There is also an interesting chapter on the professional dancing girl and a fine chapter on woman's dress, written with great discernment and appreciation: the Indian mantle, gracefully draped over head and shoulders, and falling in vertical folds to the feet, and of the gaily-stitched and neat little fitting bodice of the Hindu lady. Her head with its smooth hair, decked with simple gold ornaments or fresh flowers, half covered by the silken veil, is well poised and beautiful. She poses on it no twisted straws, dyed in metallic colours, no fantastic covering, hung with pieces of dead bird."

In conclusion, however, we feel bound to say that, although the work under review evinces wonderful insight and sympathy, combined with great literary powers, in realizing a vivid picture of Indian womanhood, it is yet in its essence a study from the outside. There is indeed some attempt to understand the finer aspects of an Indian woman's life, her delicate feelings and emotions, her deep sense of duty and devotion; yet we look in vain in this work for an appreciation of her inmost life, her modes of thought and being, such as we find in the glowing poetic pages of Sister Nivedita's work, "The Web of Indian Life" (Longmans), which approaches the problem from the inside, interprets the Indian woman as only a woman can interpret, and makes her stand out in her own familiar light.

THE CHARM OF KASHMIR. By V. C. O'Connor. (*Longmans, Green and Co.*) 1920. Price £4 4s. net.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

Lovers of beautiful books are already indebted to Mr. V. C. O'Connor for more than one finely illustrated book on the East, such as his "Mandalay" and "The Silken East." This time he has surpassed himself by the production of a magnificent work on Kashmir. The beauty and fascination of this Himalayan valley, unique in its situation and grandeur, have attracted many writers, and will continue in the future, just like other beautiful spots in the world—e.g., Italy and Switzerland—to provide the subject-matter of successive publications. Where else in the world can be found a valley eighty-four miles long, at an altitude of 5,600 feet above the level of the sea, flat enough to provide a large population with great stretches of arable land and grazing grounds, and a soil of

such fertility that all the fruits of the earth can be grown in abundance? As Mr. O'Connor says: "It is the secret of the charm of Kashmir that it combines these homely and pastoral scenes, that might be taken from an English valley, with a landscape that dazzles the eye with its majesty and fills the mind with its records of a splendid past." European travellers from the days of Bernier in the seventeenth century have described the charm of its iris fields and blossoming orchards; scholars like Sir Aurel Stein have told the long story of its ancient history, for Kashmir has produced a chronicle that is unique in Sanskrit literature, and its history arouses interest not only by the crowded story of its own secluded life, but by its connection with the Mughal emperors and their successors, after the valley had been drawn into the general current of Indian history. Like Italy, its fatal gift of beauty has led to its enslavement by foreign rulers, and to the Mughal conquerors are due those romantic gardens and palaces that border the Dal Lake, of which Mr. O'Connor gives a charming description running through several chapters. Mr. Abanindro Nath Tagore has embodied in his pictures some of the poetical associations that belong to the brilliant period of Mughal court life, when Jahangir and Shah Jahan paid protracted visits to the valley; five of these paintings are included among the coloured plates in this book. Two of the other coloured illustrations are the work of Mrs. L. Sultan Ahmad, a talented artist, the wife of a high official in the Gwalior State. Of the rest, half are by the late Colonel G. Strahan, who, if he had not been the head of a department of the Indian Government, might have won for himself a great name as a landscape painter; his pictures capture the serene sunlight of Himalayan valleys and the sweep of the landscape away to the distant snowy peaks with a power of sympathetic interpretation which no other English artist has brought to them. Miss G. Hadenfeldt's four paintings give charming examples of types of the present-day Kashmiri, full of a delicate characterisation and lively colouring.

In a sumptuous work of this kind, one's attention is naturally first attracted to the illustrations, especially as they are such successful examples of colour reproduction. But Mr. O'Connor's text has likewise a charm of its own; it is a traveller's narrative of wanderings through the winding valley and its surrounding mountains, which he describes with the fine insight of an artist and the enthusiasm of an ardent lover of nature, in language which at times takes on an almost lyrical quality. He makes no attempt to rival the detailed account of the country, given by an administrator such as Sir Walter Lawrence, or even the less formal descriptions of Sir Francis Younghusband; there are no statistics (perhaps an Accountant-General on a holiday is only too glad to be quit of them), and even very little history, except when some ancient building forces its historical associations on the notice of the visitor; but the author carries with him everywhere a strong human interest and records his talks with the peasantry whom he meets on meadow or mountain. His human sympathies reveal themselves also in many of his photographs, which are particularly fine. To all lovers of Kashmir this beautiful volume will recall delightful memories, and will be sure of a welcome from those also who have only the opportunity of viewing it through Mr. O'Connor's eyes.

MY RECOLLECTIONS OF BOMBAY, 1860-1875. By Sir D. E. Wacha. (Published by K. T. Anklesaria, General Manager, The India Newspaper Co., Ltd.) 1920.

(Reviewed by JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., LL.D.)

These reminiscences of the veteran Knight, Sir Dinshah Wacha, are well worthy of careful perusal, and will afford deep personal pleasure to readers who know and love Bombay the Beautiful, as it was and is, and will provide valuable material for the Bombay historian of the future.

Dinshah Wacha remembers how he was patted on the back as a school-boy by Lady Canning, the wife of the great "Clemency" Viceroy, and praised for his reading and recitation; and amongst his earliest recollections were the visit to Bombay (1) of Lord Strathnairn and Jhansi (Sir Hugh Rose), then Commander-in-Chief in India; (2) of H.H. the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh on his way to Lahore to perform the religious ceremonies in connection with the death of his mother, the widow of the great Ranjeet Singh, "the Lion of the Punjab"; and (3) of Dr. Livingstone, who lectured in Bombay on his way home from his missionary travels and explorations in Africa. Dinshah's early life was passed in "the golden days" of Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Alexander Grant, Rustomji Jamsetji (son of Sir Jamsetji Jijibhoy, the first Bombay Baronet), Juggonath Sunkersett, Premabhoy Hemabhoy, Walter Cassels, and the first *Ædile* of the City—Arthur Crawford.

Bombay is certainly a city of "magnificent changes"—rapid changes (just as Madras is of "magnificent distances")—and Sir Dinshah has done well and performed a public service of no mean magnitude in presenting the present generation with these vivid pen-pictures of what Bombay was like in early times, and how her citizens bore themselves during the days of her formation and translation.

It is, indeed, to be regretted that in the laying out and building up of the modern city more care was not taken to preserve at any rate some of the picturesque historical and architectural landmarks of the past, such as, for instance, one or two of the gates of the Ancient Town or part of the ramparts of the old Fort on which the inhabitants used to enjoy "high jinks" and the sea-breezes in the days of long ago. "Time, however, rolls its ceaseless course," and, as the Russian poet sings, "sweeps away kingdoms and their Kings; but, meantime, the writer of this brief review would like to support Sir Stanley Reed's plea for the conservation of the old historical Bombay Castle and old Secretariat. Sir Dinshah has described vividly and well how the foundations of Bombay were laid by broad-minded men like Aungier, Elphinstone, and Bartle Frere, and acknowledges the debt the city owes to great thinkers like Macintosh and Robert Knight, and to great missionaries like Murray, Mitchell, and Fraser, and educationists like Wilson, Wordsworth, and Grant.

From the lists of names of men and firms which Dinshah Wacha gives it would almost appear as if Bombay had been, in the main, developed by Scotsmen, aided by the Parsis—the Scots of India. But the Hindus were not backward. They followed the lead of the Scots and the Parsis, and

the Borahs (led by the Tayabjis), and the rich Arabs, Moguls, and Bagdad Jews (guided by the Sassoons) soon joined in the development. The principal Parsi social reformers were the Kamas, who befriended Dadabhai Naoroji, who began his academic career under Professor Paton, a Scot, and Principal Dr. John Harkness, and Sir Alexander Grant. "Many have been the Scotsmen who have been the educators of Indian youths in this and other Presidencies," writes Sir Dinshah, and he adds: "Not only Bombay, but all India is proud of its Scottish merchants, who were pioneers of commerce." He then goes on to show what Bombay owes to the Chamber of Commerce of the fifties, mainly composed of Scotsmen belonging to such well-known firms as Graham and Co., Ritchie, Stuart, and Co., Finlay, Scott, and Co., Peel, Cassels, and Co., Grey and Co., etc.

Amongst other old and venerated names, Sir Dinshah mentions with due appreciation and affection those of Dr. Buist and Sir George Birdwood, with "his deep and abiding sympathy for India and his warm love for the Indian people." "Where," he asks, "are men of the type of Buist and George Birdwood?" Echo answers, "Where?" And where, he might well ask, are men like the earliest Governors of Bombay he knew—Lord Falkland, Lord Elphinstone, and Sir Bartle Frere! and the legal luminaries of the fifties and sixties like Sir Michael Westrop, who a few hours before he retired gave judgment in the notorious East India Bank case heard fully five years before!

In concluding his interesting work Sir Dinshah expresses his obligations to Mr. Edwardes, I.C.S., the editor of the latest volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, "whose literature merits need no praise" and to "the most valuable paper left by the erudite Sir James Campbell," and to the Book of Bombay published by "the facetious and picturesque Mr. James Douglas." Finally, he offers his most grateful thanks to Sir Stanley Reed for the admirable "Foreword," in which he commends these reminiscences to the attention of the rising generation.

THE LIFE OF A BRAHMAN

THE RITES OF THE TWICE-BORN. By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., SC.D. (Dublin), of the Irish Mission in Gujarat: with a Foreword by Professor A. A. Macdonell. (*Oxford University Press.*) 21s. net.

Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.

This important volume in the Religious Quest of India series is the work of an accomplished lady who, with her husband, is held in the highest esteem in Western India. They are Christian missionaries, but they are also assiduous students of Hindu life and manners. It is evident from the wealth of material in these pages that Mrs. Stevenson has succeeded in gaining the complete confidence of the Brahmans in Gujarat, a part of India in which, as Professor Macdonell says, old traditions have been particularly well preserved. The result is a comprehensive and trustworthy exposition of the life of the highest caste among Hindus, not only compiled with understanding and sympathetic insight, but checked also by reference

to those who themselves practise the rites and ceremonies which she describes. Of the value of such a synopsis there can be no question. Here is a caste which committed its ritual rules to writing in the Sanskrit Sūtra literature more than two thousand years ago, and which has adhered to them as there formulated with comparatively little modification down to the present time. We realize as we read with the utmost vividness how completely the daily life of the Hindu from his cradle to his grave is permeated with religious practices.

The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the epochs in a Brahman's life : his birth, his investiture with the sacred thread (whereby he is admitted to the ranks of the Dvija or "twice-born"), his betrothal, his marriage, and his death. A full account is also given of the rites performed in infancy, the ceremonies which emphasize the importance of sonship, the offerings made to the dead, the widow's lot, the punishments allotted in future existences for sins committed in this life. The second part is concerned with the ritual of the Brahman's day, and with the ceremonies appropriate to various times and seasons. Due attention is likewise paid to the observances associated with the building of houses, the digging of wells, and pilgrimages, sacred hills and rivers. In the third and last part the worship of the gods Vishnu and Siva is described, together with the ceremonies performed in their temples and the practices of ascetics.

It is impossible to study these closely packed pages without being struck by the systematic manner in which the Brahmins assimilated the creeds of their opponents and grafted them upon their own. Innumerable traces are apparent of primitive usages and superstitions. The doctrine of Karma also affords ample food for reflection. Does it solve the riddle of life? If we accept it, we must believe that a widow is, *ipso facto*, a woman who has committed adultery in a previous existence, that a man before he can obtain final release must be born eight million four hundred thousand times, that a sweeper is by his very birth a convicted felon who is suffering contempt and degradation for the crime of murdering a Brahman. But, as Mrs. Stevenson says, how can a man or a woman assent to the justice of a punishment when he does not know what is the crime which occasions it or in which of his supposed past lives he may have committed it? For no clue to the first evil deed is ever discoverable : in the words of Sankaracharya himself it is an endless chain of blind men leading other blind men. In a final chapter Mrs. Stevenson discusses how far Christianity is able to make a successful appeal to the members of a religious system such as this. The argument is admirable, but one is left with the feeling that as far as the Brahman is concerned the appeal must fail. Hedged about as he is with ceremonies and rites which would render existence insupportable to an Englishman, he has his compensations. Is he not assured upon the authority of Manu that, upon coming into existence, a Brahman is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, and that, whatever exists in the world, the Brahman, by virtue of the excellence of his origin, is entitled to it all?

TOPEE AND TURBAN, OR HERE AND THERE IN INDIA. By Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Newell, I.A., F.R.G.S. (*John Lane.*) 2 IS.

(*Reviewed by* MRS. CLAIRE SCOTT)

This very interesting work was published early in the New Year. The author is widely known by reason of his celebrated series of guide-books to places of note in India. In "Topee and Turban" Colonel Newell leaves the beaten track and takes the reader into regions unfamiliar to the tourist. He introduces him to the real India, that mysterious India of sharp contrasts, diverse influences, clashing ambitions, and conflicting views. As he himself says in a brief Foreword: "In the crowded city these diverse influences are so compressed and condensed that, like the many ingredients of a Christmas pudding, they are apt to be swallowed indiscriminately as a whole. Only in the greater liberty, more ample leisure, and wider horizon of the countryside, have they space to expand and assert their several individualities. Out in the open, under the vast blue dome of the sky, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, and Muhammadan, reveal their spiritual significance in temple, stupa, rock cut figure, and mouldering mosque, weather worn and, possibly, ruined, but not built over, nor yet obliterated. Each testifies to a distinct period, the vital forces of which are still alive and active. Colonel Newell writes clearly and vividly. Instinctively one feels that what he writes is true, and not a narrative coloured for the benefit of a credulous public. Everyone interested in India will do well to read his latest book. The text is illustrated with fifty-nine photographs. Those of the State of Mysore have been contributed by His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, and are a valuable addition to Colonel Newell's work, which, by the way, includes an index and a glossary.

FAR EAST

MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA. By Harold M. Vinacke, Associate Professor of Political Science in Miami University. (*Princeton University Press.* London: *Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.*)

(*Reviewed by* PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

The American universities have recently been specializing with great success in "made-up dishes" upon China. First Dr. Paul Clements of the Columbia University worked out an admirable study of the Boxer Rebellion (examined in the October 1916 number of this Review); then the same University edits an excellent work on the Foreign Trade of China by Mr. Chong Su-see (reviewed in the number for April, 1920): a rival work by Mr. Sih-gung Cheng (Oxford: Clarendon Press) was noticed at the same time. Now we have a much-wanted summary of the latest political developments in China—at least up to the beginning of 1920—and right well has the work been done. The labours of Wells Williams, Morse, Jernigan, Arthur Smith (all Americans); Colquhoun, Bland and Backhouse (Britishers); and the compilers of the China Year Book (1912 and 1916) and China Mission Year Book have all been judiciously drawn

upon ; but the author tells us that most of the chapters " have been written from the study of the documents, and from knowledge of the situation gained during residence in China "—in what capacity and for how long we are not informed, nor what documents. Unfortunately there is no trace whatever of an index, which, however scant, would have been useful in comparing statements of fact ; instead of an index there is a mysterious " Appendix One," referring back to nothing in particular, but no doubt intended to illustrate the matter of Chapters III. and IV., explaining what the Manchus *would* have done had the revolution of 1911 not interrupted their proceedings ; possibly there were Appendices Two, Three, etc., to follow, but for some reason it was resolved to leave them out ? In later American works there seems to be a tendency to soften to the ear of the British lamb the harsh wind of Yankee spelling ; thus we hail with delight the two *l*'s in travelled (p. 42), though *favor*, *endeavor*, *neighbor*, *labor*, and *center* are mercilessly indulged in throughout. There is one horrible " locution " on page 20, " doing every thing in their power *to help meet* the new burdens " : this cacophonous novelty may possibly have been imported even into English literature by Lord Northcliffe during his prolonged stay in the States, for during the past three years it has been of frequent occurrence in *The Times*—other less distinguished papers timidly following suit. Owing to Mr. Vinacke having borrowed from so many original authorities, his spelling of Chinese proper names is apt to be irregular, and he gets a little confusing occasionally in describing the various councils, compacts, associations, parliaments, conferences, and so on. Whatever his experience in China, it is not likely to have included a knowledge of the official nomenclature, for Viceroy, Governor, Tutuh, and such titles are used out of their proper places, whilst Tuchun (*i.e.*, *tuh-kün*) never occurs at all. In the event of a second edition being brought out, the writer will be pleased to place a list of these numerous *coquilles* at the publishers' disposal ; they are, however, of little importance to the general public, who may securely accept the book as being quite authoritative and safe, besides being extremely readable, interesting, and quite free from snappish political gibes against this or that nationality. Of downright misprints the following may be cited : attendants, p. 21 ; heirarchy, p. 91 ; formidable, p. 94 ; privileges, p. 178 ; concensus, p. 197. The author thus has the gratification of knowing that his book has really been read through to the end.

GENERAL

FROM THE UNCONSCIOUS TO THE CONSCIOUS. By Dr. Gustave Geley.
Translated from the French. (*Messrs. Collins.*) 1920. 17s. 6d.

(Reviewed by S. DE BRATH, formerly Assistant Secretary, P.W.D.,
Government of India.)

Concurrently with the political awakening of India, arising from the influence of Western thought, there has arisen a great, though silent,

movement in Britain from an appreciation of all that India has to teach us. This leaven is necessarily below the surface, but is none the less powerful—perhaps in the long run will prove more powerful—by arousing that sympathy which, if it could be sufficiently widespread, would bring about a concord which might avert many disasters.

The wide circulation of FitzGerald's version of the "Quatrains of Omar," the influence of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," especially those relating to India, and the numerous small publications by the Theosophical Society and others on the Vedanta and other Oriental philosophies, are sufficient proof of the existence of such leaven, not to speak of the works issued from the University Press. The sermons of the late Archdeacon Wilberforce are but one instance how that leaven has affected Christian theological teaching; and on the philosophic side, since Schopenhauer's magnificent work on "The World as Will and Representation," largely derived from the Upanishads, Oriental ideas have been steadily gaining ground among thoughtful Europeans.

There has now appeared a volume, written from the purely scientific point of view, which illustrates this fact in a most remarkable manner. India never has been, and never will be, materialistic. Brahmanism and Mahommedanism are both religions of the Intuition. Students of the former are perhaps too prone, by the Western attitude of analysis, to emphasize the divergences of different schools, and to ignore the fundamental unity in metaphysical idea which underlies them all, and expresses itself in almost identical observances over an area almost as wide as Europe. As India never deludes herself with the notion that any verbal definitions can be absolute truth, religious and philosophical differences do not divide Hindus as they divide Christians, though it was inevitable that a religion founded in metaphysic should have many lower forms. Such difficult concepts as Sat, Chit, and Anand—pure immaterial Existence, Intelligence apprehending all phenomena, and pure Joy of Life arising from undeviating spiritual evolution—are incomprehensible to the many, and representations appropriate to the stage of development of the crowd inevitably took the place of a doctrine far above their comprehension. The simple formulas of Islam, replacing a metaphysical monotheism and a practical polytheism, often of the grossest kind, owe their influence to the power of the single idea of a Divine Ruler who inscrutably orders the destinies of men and nations. But the same concept lies at the root of both religions—the endless procession of the Universe from pure Spirit.

In the West this idea, taught as dogma, has partially lost its force; and the great interest manifest at the present time in psychic phenomena is a reaction from a prevalent mechanistic view of the universe that has barely touched the surface of Indian life. These phenomena are now being studied as objective facts; and the truly remarkable effect of such studies is not only the verification of the soul (which India has never doubted), but the emergence of the Indian idea of the Self as fundamentally distinct from the Person that is merely the manifestation of the Self under the limitations of Matter, Time, and Space. The permanence of the Self and

the evanescence of the personality *as we know it*, are almost necessary inferences.

Dr. Geley is no occultist. He puts aside as foreign to his method all theological, metaphysical, and spiritistic arguments, and starts from purely physiological and psychological facts, both normal and supernormal, and he deduces as an irresistible conclusion that Matter does not originate Mind, but is directed by it; in short, that Matter is "ideoplastic," moulded by antecedent Idea. From these data, which include both the normal facts of evolution and the supernormal facts of materialization, hypnotic memory (cryptomnesia), alterations of personality, lucidity and kindred phenomena (for each of which he adduces irrefragable instances), he is led to explain evolution as due primarily to a universal dynamo-psychism that is practically Energy directed by Universal Mind, "Adaptation" and "Selection" being secondary factors through which that Mind works. He regards the Self as an individualized portion of this dynamo-psychism, linked by its essential nature and its affinities to its Source. It follows by a strict logical sequence that Evolution is a process of developing Consciousness, rather than of the increasing complexity that is the machinery of consciousness. And as the Person is but the representation of the Self under the limitations of heredity and environment expressed by race, education, and climate, etc., it follows that the surviving Self, freed from the limitations by which experiences are transformed into faculties, must pass through a vast series of such experiences in its progress from unconsciousness to full consciousness.

The Oriental parallelism is obvious. The conclusions are derived from recognized (though supernormal) facts by a purely scientific method of synthesis, and yet the end of all is the idea of corporeal existence which is at the base of Brahmanic and Muslim and Christian philosophy, which was expressed by Akbar, the greatest of the Emperors of India: "Said Jesus, on whom be peace, 'This world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no habitation thereon.' Who hopes for an hour, hopes for eternity. Heresy to the heretic and orthodoxy to the orthodox, but only the dust of the rose-petal remains to those that have sold its perfume. The rest is unknown."

THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, January, 1921, 15s. net.

This issue contains an important article by M. Longworth Dames on "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century." The author points out that although M. Cordier has given a vivid sketch of the events accompanying the first establishment of Portuguese power in Eastern seas, these events required to be further set forth. He describes how Portugal, single-handed, struggled against the greatest military power in those regions, and reminds us that though she had laboured, others were to enter into her labours.

NEW PERIODICAL

A NEW publication made its appearance on March 1, entitled *The Persia Magazine* (East and West, Ltd., quarterly, 2s. 6d. net), which, in the words of a notice in *The Times Literary Supplement*, "is highly desirable in the present uncertainty as to the future of our relations with Persia." It contains the proceedings of the Persia Society, which include in the first issue, "War and Post-War Developments in the Persian Gulf," by G. A. Walpole, O.B.E., and "Some Opinions on Persia and the Persians" by Capt. J. H. Grove-White, I.M.S. A Literary Supplement is provided with a notice by Sir Thomas Arnold, C.I.E., of the Persian Tales recently issued in translated form by Macmillan and Co. There is also a Foreword by Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in which he writes:

"The days of 'secret diplomacy' are not yet over, and I think most of us find extraordinary difficulty in getting news of what is taking place abroad.

"Persia was the centre of ancient Oriental civilization, and this fact alone affords absorbing interest in everything connected with that country, in addition to the importance that her future must have on the fortunes of our Indian Empire. It is for the purpose of stimulating interest, sympathy, and understanding between Persia and this country that our Society exists, and I trust that this little magazine will help in this direction."

We have received the latest issue of the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*. This contains a lecture on the Federation of the Central Asian States under the Kabul Government, by Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. The discussion on this lecture proved very instructive. The lecturer pleaded for a Central Asian Alliance against the common enemy, Bolshevism. Turning to past history he stated:

"That Russia had always aimed at the destruction of Islam is demonstrated, amongst other things, by a letter which General Kaufman dispatched to his Government through Count Schouvaloff, the Russian Minister in London in 1875. It pretended to set forth that the mission of Russia in the East was a civilizing one, and that the true enemy of the Western nations was Islam. It suggested that Afghanistan and the Central Asian States generally should be divided into Russian and British spheres of influence. Kaufman was perfectly correct in his statement that Russia had a dangerous foe in Islam, and not without reason; for the entire Mohammedan world fiercely resented the constant aggression of the Muscovite upon its boundaries."

In the course of the discussion, however, a somewhat different note was struck by Mr. W. E. D. Allen, who said:

"I only speak with some diffidence, as I have never been in Central Asia, but I happen to have read one of Ikbal Ali Shah's articles. I referred it to a member of the South Russian Government, and asked his opinion on it. I think we are more or less under moral obligations to Russia because of the service she rendered us at the beginning of the war. He expressed the personal opinion that the South Russian Government, as representing Russia, would certainly not favour any movement in Central Asia; and he seemed to be of the opinion that they would rather have Russia there in any form than that the Russians should be expelled."

Colonel A. C. Yate, Hon. Secretary, stated that as far as he was aware no Afghan had ever before lectured to a London audience :

"We have heard his political opinions, and I have said to him myself that I shall follow his career with the very greatest interest. We know he is a friend of Britain, and I trust he will produce that good feeling between Afghanistan and Britain which will result both in the development of Afghanistan and the stability of the British Empire in the Middle East."

The March issue of *United Empire* contains a rather startling paragraph in its editorial notes and comments on Indian migration, which will probably lead to some discussion in view of the opinion there expressed :

"It must be admitted that, taken in the mass, the Indian settler in the Dominions is too often not a social acquisition. He lives on next to nothing, and he sends his savings out of the country. There is no antipathy against the cultured Indian who has acquired Western ways. If he were not handicapped by the low standard of the majority of his compatriots he would live down colour prejudices and be given an honourable status. Hence a future solution of this problem would seem to be in the direction more of supervision over the class of Indians who are permitted to migrate to the Dominions, a supervision applied to all white races to-day, than in seeking to remove all restrictions."

The question of Indian migration will be largely discussed in the next issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

Writing in a recent issue of the *Venturer* on "Asiatics in the Assembly of the League of Nations," Mr. Warren Postbridge declares :

"There remain the Asiatics, China, India, Japan—the three between them accounting for half the world's population—Siam and Persia. 'The Orient,' said Prince Ranjitsinhji at Geneva, 'has much to contribute to the League.' Who can question it? But the East will get from the League in as full measure as she gives. Her most active and far-ranging minds could set themselves no higher task than to work out the right basis for that mutually beneficent relationship."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"An Aid to Practical Written Arabic," by John van Ess (Milford) ; "A Peep into the Early History of India," by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (Tara-porevala) ; "The Message of Christ," by A. S. Wadia (Dent) ; "An Historical Geography of the British Dependencies," Vol. VII., India, by P. E. Roberts (Clarendon Press) ; "Around the Shores of Asia," by Mary A. Poynter (Allen and Unwin) ; "The Economy of Life," by J. Edmestone Barner (Universal Publishing Co.) ; "London through Chinese Eyes," by M. T. Z. Tyan (Allen and Unwin) ; "A Dweller in Mesopotamia," by Donald Maxwell (John Lane) ; "Leone," by K. Gauba (Heath Cranton) ; "The Pioneers of Progress : Sir Robert G. Sandman," by A. L. P. Tucker (S.P.C.K.) ; "The Trade and Administration of China," by H. B. Morse (Longmans, Green) ; "Sadhu Sundar Singh," by Mrs. A. Parker (C.L.S.) ; "Labour in Madras," by B. P. Wadia (Ganesan) ; "The Man and His Work : Josiah C. Wedgwood" (Ganesan). "My Orient Pearl" by Charles Colton, 7s. 6d. net (Lane).

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—EVENTS IN THE NEAR EAST

ARE having a worldwide repercussion. While Governments confer, peoples are perishing.

A correspondent writes a letter of jubilation concerning the assassination of Talaat Pasha. One must point out that wrong is not obliterated by the perpetration of further wrong. Under happier auspices Talaat might have been a better man. I met him first at Constantinople, early in 1910, as Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, and succeeded in inducing him to forgo the execution of some sixty Albanian villagers who had incurred his wrath. May this act of clemency stand to his credit in balancing accounts against him; for it is asserted that Talaat was the instigator of a whole series of atrocities through which thousands of Armenians lost their lives in misery and torture.

The Foreign Office, in a letter of February 11, and addressed to the Armenian Refugees (Lord Mayor's Fund), showed the urgent need for generous help. A similar letter was addressed to the Armenian Red Cross and Refugee Fund: Hon. Sec., Miss E. J. Robinson, 354, Elsham Road, London, W.

II.—ONE THOUSAND GREEK REFUGEES DIE IN 35 DAYS

The American Red Cross in Paris have received a telegram, dated March 21, stating that conditions in the refugee camps at Salonika are becoming critical. There have been 1,000 deaths in 35 days, half of which are children under three years of age. Deaths are occurring at the rate of about fifty a day, mainly due to typhus, dysentery, and influenza.

One camp has 2,500 sick. The refugees are Greek colonists from the Caucasus, who were invited to take up land in Macedonia. Nothing, however, has been heard of the scheme since the fall of Venizelos.

III.—THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP DOROTHEOS,

the *locum tenens* of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate, on the night of Friday, March 18, at the Ritz Hotel, London, came as a shock to all concerned. He came to London in the dual capacity of spiritual and national head of Hellenism, as the champion of the political rights of the Unredeemed Greeks, and to further an entente between the Eastern and Anglican Churches.

The Patriarch died a martyr to the cause of the Unredeemed Greeks, having left his bed on Tuesday to visit our Foreign Office, when much too ill to have done so. He was only sixty years of age, and was the first Patriarch of Constantinople to visit the Western world. As Metropolitan of Brussa, he always associated the Armenian cause with that of the Greeks in his efforts for the liberation of Eastern Christendom.

His tragic death has aroused interest in the great Church of which he was the head.

"Sketches of Eastern Church Life,"* with a Foreword by the Bishop of

* By Euphrosyne Kephala (*The Faith Press*, 22, Buckingham Street, W.C. 2).

London, will be read with great pleasure by such persons, showing, as the Bishop says, how the simple life of Greece centres round its Church,

"And seeks to get every part of itself blessed and sanctified by the beloved old Church which has kept the national spirit alive during long centuries of Turkish misrule."

Having been present at most of the ceremonies of the Greek Church in the Near East, I am in a position to state that the next best thing to personal participation is to read Miss Kephala's vivid and picturesque descriptions, the clearest and most informing with which I am acquainted in popular form.

IV.—GREECE TO FIGHT FOR PEACE

Just as we go to press, *The Times* (March 22) publishes, under the above heading: "Constantine's appeal for the reinforcement of the troops, whose duty it is to impose peace."—*Reuter*.

I was most favourably impressed by the personality of M. Kalogeropoulos, the new Greek Premier. Belonging on both sides to leading Greek families who took an active part in the war for Greek independence, he inherits a spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice. He passed his law examinations in Paris with distinction, and was a brilliant orator and politician under Trikoupis, the great pro-British statesman. Thus M. Kalogeropoulos is not a *post-war* ententophil, but from infancy upwards has been nurtured in a pro-entente atmosphere.

It is a thousand pities that such a man was compelled to be anti-Venizelist in his internal policy. For M. Kalogeropoulos himself, together with all the Greeks to a man, is bent upon carrying out the foreign policy of M. Venizelos to the minutest point—a striking testimony to the greatness of the statesmanship of that remarkable man. Thus, although for the time being M. Venizelos is out of power, the Greek nation still looks upon him as its great leader and patriot, the one who represents that true Greek spirit, which ever in the past has stood, and at this moment is still standing, as the bulwark of freedom and humanitarianism in the Near and Middle East.

V.—THE GREEK LABOUR LEADER

Dr. Platon Drakoules left London for Athens last December, when he spent some weeks in Paris and Rome, stating the Greek case for the non-revision of the Treaty of Sèvres in personal interviews with French and Italian statesmen, and in the European press.

In Athens he is at present engaged in what might be termed the work of reconstruction, for which his previous experiences have so admirably fitted him. Health, education, industrial and labour reforms are urgently called for in Greece as in other countries since the war. When he last wrote he was endeavouring to secure a more adequate provision for the widows of Greek soldiers and officers.

Whether the outbreak of a new war will hasten his return to England, or necessitate the extension of his mission to America, is for the moment undetermined.

EXHIBITIONS OF ORIENTAL ART

TAKE SATO

A DAY or two ago I dropped into a little Show at the Burlington Gallery by a Japanese artist—Take Sato. At once I had passed into a land of colour and beauty.

In front of me was a Kentish farm. I wandered through it in sheer delight, noting the young catkins gleaming gold against the pure violet haze and the fresh green of spring on the boughs, the birds, beasts, and humans meandering through the whole, and the fresh clear water. It is English beauty seen through Japanese eyes, and one revels in it, as in a fairy story.

There are pink sweet-peas with a vibrating violet background ; white tea-roses against shimmering blue ; violet tulips against vermillion ; dahlias with brilliant yellow as contrast. Then a small quiet snow scene of Kensington Gardens, just a dream of loveliness. A moonlight with deep still green and deep still blue. Another with hoar frost and night violet-trees.

There are peaceful scenes from Kent and bolder ones from Yorkshire, all giving the same touch of truth and beauty. One recognizes the counties and added charm in seeing them through the eyes of another nation. Pure vibrated colour runs through the whole Exhibition. Pigments all used for their beautiful colours and thrown side by side to enhance their effect.

The artist has caught the peace and exquisite colour of English landscape on a sunny day either in spring, summer, autumn, or winter.

A. W. S. G.

 THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEAR EAST

I.—THE MISSION OF THE MUSSULMANS OF INDIA NOW IN LONDON

THE Prime Minister, as is known, has summoned a representative group to place before him the point of view of the Mussulmans in India with regard to the Near Eastern question. They arrived in this country on March 9, and consisted of H.H. The Aga Khan, Mr. M. M. Chotani (who is well known in India as a merchant prince and President of the Central Khalifa Committee), Mr. Hassan Imam (ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court), Dr. Ansari (one of the most prominent Indian Nationalist leaders and President of the All-Indian Moslem League), and Mr. Kedwai, who has been resident for some time in England. Kazi-Abdul Ghaffar, an experienced journalist, is acting as secretary. H.H. The Aga Khan is staying at the Ritz Hotel, and the rest of the party are at the Kensington Palace Mansions Hotel. The party lost no time in paying a visit on March 11 to Mr. Montagu, with whom they discussed the present situation

in India, and the possible consequences if the demands put forward by the Indian Mussulmans were not properly considered.

We are given to understand that the party was very well received by the Secretary of State, who promised to do all he could to bring the wish of the Mussulmans before the Premier and the Allied statesmen meeting in London.

For the next day an interview was arranged with the Premier, who met the party at 10, Downing Street. Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Montagu were also present. Mr. Hassan Imam, as the spokesman of the party on this occasion, was asked to state the case, but he could not finish his well-reasoned statement because the time was too short, and the Premier had an appointment with the Turkish Delegation. However, the Prime Minister promised to give them another opportunity of meeting him, and in the meantime he asked them to prepare a memorandum. This memorandum is stating all the points and clauses in the Treaty of Sèvres which were held to be objectionable, and is being communicated to the Prime Minister.

The demands of the party (so the Secretary of the Mission informs us) are the same as the demands of the body over whose Central Committee Mr. M. M. Chotani presides. That body is the Khalifat Conference. Amongst its members and office-bearers are to be found Hindus, Mussulmans, and Sikhs. Its demands, he declares, divide themselves into two parts :

- (1) Those relating to the Turks.
- (2) Those relating to the Arabic-speaking population of the Turkish Empire.

Under part one fall the demands that all the lands with a Turkish majority—*i.e.*, Thrace, Asia Minor, including Smyrna—should remain under Turkish sovereignty; that within such territory no restrictions, whether military, naval, or financial, shall be placed on Turkish sovereignty; that Turkey shall not be deprived of her capital, Constantinople.

Under part two falls the demand that, subject to the religious suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, who is the supreme religious head of the Mussulmans of the world, all the Arabic-speaking lands of the Turkish Empire, which include Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and the rest of the Arabian peninsula, shall be given complete independence, any kind of mandate over this territory, which is considered as the sacred land of Islam, being unacceptable as opposed to Moslem faith.

Both these demands, they declare, they base on pledges given and principles proclaimed by Great Britain and her Allies during the war. If these demands are not conceded, they state, this would have a lamentable effect in India, and encourage boycott, thus increasing unemployment in this country.

II.—THE GREEK POINT OF VIEW

The question of the pacification of the Near East has once more been raised with a view to modifying the Treaty of Sèvres. Without entering into details, I have attempted to set out the main lines of the problem from the Greek point of view.

The restoration of Smyrna, the capital of Ionia and the birthplace of Greek civilization, was necessary to effect the peaceful settlement of Greeks in Asia Minor. The modifications proposed for this zone will not provide the desired pacifications of the various elements, but will create problems still more complex than existed in Macedonia before the Balkan Wars.

With regard to the still unsettled question of the Dodecanese, islands exclusively inhabited by Greeks, and yet held at present by a Power prepared to hold them by force, it is enough to state that such action is a disgrace to our epoch, which has struggled so valiantly for the principle of nationality. M. Sforza, interrupting M. Kalogeropoulos, the Prime Minister of Greece, is reported to have said that on this principle perhaps Greece would demand the restoration of Sicily. The answer is clear. Greece could substantiate her claim even to Sicily more easily than any other Power can justify a demand for the Dodecanese.

By the Treaty of Sèvres, Thrace was recognized as an integral part of Greece. This annexation was not merely a question of race, although the majority of inhabitants are Greeks, but because for geographical, economic, and military reasons it is impossible to divide this country. The rights of minorities were assured. Now, however, the suggestion has been made to create an autonomous state. Such a proposal is not only absurd, but criminal, in that it will provide ground favourable for the sowing of future discord between Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.

The nation most devoted to the idea of a free and independent Armenia is Greece. Her sympathy is real, based as it is on a mutual suffering. All Greeks were proud to see at the Paris Conference M. Venizelos, the champion of the cause of Armenia. The creation of a free State in the Caucasus is a vital necessity for the civilized world, to provide, as it were, a rampart against the inroad of barbarism.

Finally, all Greek people of any balanced opinion consider that King Constantine, by his obstinate attitude against the interests of his nation, has done untold harm. He was in a position after the triumphant success of the Venizelist policy to have made recognition of his faults, and to have helped to reunite the nation he had divided. Instead of that, he has continued to render much more profound the abyss into which he had pushed the nation. By his provocation of the Allies he has provided the pretext for the revision of the Treaty, in spite of repeated warnings that a result would follow disadvantageous to a large portion of his people. The greater part of Hellenism remains unchanged in its devotion to M. Venizelos, and not only is not willing to recognize King Constantine as its representative, but feels that, so long as he is allowed to remain head of the State, development is impossible.

The Great War was fought and won by men who were prepared to die for the peace of the world and the liberation of subject races. Greeks also made sacrifices to this end, relying upon the friendship of England to see that justice should be done to her claim for liberty. The Treaty of Sèvres recognized this; and the Christian races, who have suffered such bitter persecution in the past, felt that at last they would be able to live in peace as free men. That hope has been rudely shaken. The proposed modifications threaten to create more wars and worse horrors. Have, then, all the suffering and sacrifices of these last terrible years been made in vain?

C. P. SPANOUDI,

Member of the Delegation of the Unredeemed Greeks.

III.—THE ENTENTE POWERS AND ARMENIA

"I need not add that His Majesty's Government . . . are resolved that after the war there shall be a new era of liberty and redemption for this ancient people," *i.e.*, the Armenians.—(Mr. Asquith's Speech at the Guildhall, November 9, 1916.)

The pledges given to the Armenians by Mr. Asquith, by the Prime Minister and other responsible English statesmen are well known. At

various times and by different methods Armenians were encouraged by the British authorities to rise against their tyrannical Turkish taskmasters and so hamper Turkish military movements. The services rendered by Armenians on the various fronts have been acknowledged by Lord Allenby, General Dunsterville, also by French generals and Russian generals of the Czarist regime. These services have greatly facilitated our military task in Mesopotamia, Palestine, and elsewhere. When at certain moments we were hard pressed by the enemy, responsible British leaders did not hesitate to give definite pledges for the liberty and independence of Armenia, in such a way as to encourage Armenians to do their utmost in order to secure their liberty.

The solemn declarations made to this effect during the war cost the Armenians more than a million lives and all their accumulated wealth and property on both sides of the frontier. In response to these declarations, Armenian volunteers hastened from the United States and all sides to fight on the side of the Entente. Many of these were only sons of widowed mothers, who gladly laid down their promising young lives in the cause which they, and we, had been led to believe was the cause of their own country.

Two years and four months after the Armistice we may surely be permitted to examine what measures, if any, have been taken by British statesmen to give effect to the solemn pledges they made profusely during the war.

Since November, 1918, according to the best available computation, more than 300,000 Armenians have been killed in cold blood or starved to death. More than 60,000 died or were massacred while our troops were still in the Caucasus.

None here grudges the assistance rendered by our Government to France. Our large cities have been adopting towns and villages in the devastated areas of France, while the French Government is providing milliards of francs for the rehabilitation of its territory. We helped Belgium and Serbia to reconstruct their homes, to replenish their machinery and livestock; yet none has suggested the adoption of an Armenian town by a wealthy English city. If this can be arranged, by degrees a small portion of the debt we have long owed to Armenia will be repaid.

In the last fortnight we have seen the occupation of German towns by Allied troops to exact the reparations demanded from Germany by the Entente Powers. When do the Great Powers mean to exact compensation for their smallest ally for the property stolen and wantonly destroyed by the Turks during the war? Devastation in Armenia is on a far worse and much more extensive scale than anywhere in Europe.

E. J. ROBINSON.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1921

SCOUTS AND GUIDES IN INDIA

BY LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ROBERT BADEN-POWELL,
K.C.V.O., K.C.B.

I LIVED for some years in India at various intervals during the past forty years, and in the course of that time I have enjoyed with others that ever fresh sport of pulling the legs of T.G's.

(T.G's., may I explain, are Travelling Gents, such as M.P.'s, authors, and other kinds of sportsmen who visit India for a few weeks in the cool weather and return home to publish books, or to give addresses on "India as I found it," etc. By the residents they are treated as fair game for all, and the after results are watched for and thoroughly enjoyed.)

It was therefore an irony of fate that placed me in the position of a T.G. myself this winter, making a tour of India in the course of a few weeks; but I must plead that I did it in this case with a definite object in view, which was to see whether the Boy Scout training was needed by, and was applicable to, the Indian boy, and, if it were so, to put it on such a footing that the Indian boy could share its benefits equally with the European.

Furthermore, my wife, as head of the Girl Guide movement, accompanied me for the same end with regard to the girls.

India, like many other countries, has since the war shown

a legitimate ambition to be ranked as a nation among the nations.

But, unlike so many of the smaller self-contained States, where such a step is easy, India is a continent containing many races, creeds, and castes in its population of three hundred millions.

It would therefore take a bit of doing to bring these together on a common basis for self-government, and if that government were destined to be independent its ability to support itself and to defend itself would be a very necessary adjunct. Otherwise, its fate would be a case of out of the frying-pan into the fire—if membership of the commonwealth of nations under the British flag could adequately be described as a frying-pan.

But personal enquiry among a number of local representative men of various shades of opinion showed that a still more essential step towards qualifying India to stand as a nation was the education of its manhood in the elements of character.

Success of a nation depends on the character of the people, and the character of the people depends on the character of the individuals, male and female, who compose it. In India its development still leaves much to be desired.

It is here that the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements come in. Different though the conditions are in the different countries, boys and girls are much the same wherever they be.

The statesmen in each country seem to recognize that this training is what is needed to put character into the on-coming generation of citizens. In India, as also in Burma and Ceylon, Egypt and Palestine, we found Boy Scouts and Girl Guides already being raised among the youth of the country with that intention.

In India half a dozen different Scout Associations had been started among the Indians for improving their education; and similarly in Egypt we found four or five different

Scout Organizations at work. In each case these were distinct from the British or other foreign Boy Scouts Association.

In India they numbered among them some 20,000 Scouts, doing their best to run on right lines individually but without any certainty, and always in danger of overlapping or impinging on each other.

In many cases we found that they had adopted the form but not what is more important—the spirit. Fortunately the movements were still young and open to remedy.

We were everywhere most generously received, and our criticisms, instead of being resented, were wholeheartedly accepted and are now generally being acted upon; and most of these various associations have since linked themselves definitely with the parent movement.

In each country the great need is instruction on the right lines to enable Scoutmasters to imbibe the true ideals and to grasp the practical methods of the training. We are endeavouring, SO FAR AS FUNDS PERMIT, to send out trained instructors to establish schools of instruction to this end, and this is a work that may have an important influence on the future character and well-being of our fellow-subjects overseas, and on their better relations with the home country.

It is for this reason among others that we earnestly hope that success will attend the appeal which the Prince of Wales has made on behalf of the Scout movement, and which Lord Reading is so assiduously promoting on behalf of India.

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THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E., F.R.G.S.

Is the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to be renewed or has the necessity for it passed?

The time approaches when the question will have to be definitely faced. It may be desirable to take stock of some of the main issues.

Of these, at this present crisis in the history of the world, unquestionably the most important is the effect of any such renewal upon public opinion in America. In plain language, it is a comparison of values between an Anglo-American entente and an Anglo-Japanese alliance.

To show that this is no idle statement, it may be worth while to recall briefly certain pronouncements upon the subject by various public men in England and America.

One of the gravest warnings against antagonizing public opinion in America was that given not long ago by Lord Grey of Fallodon.

Speaking for publication, he said: "He was one of those who thought there would be little pleasure or interest in living on in this world if there were a war between the United States and ourselves. He believed that the cordial relations and co-operation between these two countries would do more than anything else for the benefit of the whole world.

"He regretted that in the United States they seemed to be very conscious of the effect of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and to be discussing the possibilities of it involving their own country and ours in war."

From across the Atlantic comes another warning. It is

quoted from the *Chicago Tribune* by the very able correspondent of the *London Times* at Washington.

"The *Tribune*," writes the *Times* correspondent, "is moved by the report that the Japanese Diet had rejected by 285 to 38 a resolution to negotiate for a 'naval holiday' with America and England. The paper sees in so big a vote a revelation of national feeling 'and a conscious or subconscious purpose.'"

The *Chicago Tribune* continues :

"Britain and the United States either will force a change in Japanese policy or one or both of them will be in an Asiatic war. It will be one, and that one will be the United States.

"A naval holiday agreed to by the United States and Britain, and agreed to by Japan, or forced upon her, would prevent both an alliance in one direction and a misunderstanding in the other—twin mischiefs for the white world.

"We cannot outbuild the British and Japanese Alliance. It is suicide for the white race to drive these two together. If the navies remain at their present strength we shall have an understanding with the British and Japan will come down off her high horse. If we pursue an anti-British policy, Japan will ride that horse to war."

At the George Washington Celebrations in New York on February 23 last, vent was given expression to by the Jingo element of American opinion upon the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Rear-Admiral H. McL. Hulse, the lately appointed Commandant of the New York Naval Yard, argued openly that it was necessary "for this country to construct a navy to meet the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Congress should know," he added, "against whom the navy was being built."

Fresh issues also arise out of post-war conditions in the Southern Pacific, in Australia, and in New Zealand. In these issues British Dominion opinion is involved; in the case of certain Dominions, deeply involved. The question of Chinese immigration into Northern Australia has not

moved, nor is it likely to move in the direction of Japanese longings. Neither has the handing over of the island of Yap, with its Pacific cable connections, tended to mitigate anti-Japanese feeling either in America, in Australia, or in New Zealand. It may be easy for those who wish to do so to neglect or to brush aside such expressions of opinion as the above. It is still easier to talk of war between England and America as "unthinkable and inconceivable." But, almost to the extent of an overthrow of world civilization, many things both "unthinkable and inconceivable" have happened since 1914.

There are further issues at stake which need to be carefully considered before a renewal of the Alliance is definitely confirmed. Some of these issues are entirely, some in part, novel. In the forefront of these new issues stands the naval building competition now decided on, or about to be commenced, by America, Japan, and England. In the case of the first two nations the avowed object of ~~this~~ latest building programme is for the mastery of the Pacific; in that of the first and last mentioned, according to widespread opinion in America, for the mastery of the world's high seas.

Other novel complications which have arisen and which must influence opinion for or against a renewal of the Alliance are the disappearance, for the time being at any rate, of Germany as a World Power and the downfall of a ~~stable~~ Russian Government. Bolshevism, whatever its end may be, can never furnish an enduring Government.

Intimately connected with the downfall of the Government of the late Czar are the possibilities, or the reverse, of further expansion for Japanese interests in Manchuria and East Siberia; and the increasing opposition to Japanese occupation and domination upon the part of a patriotic Korean party.

Both these last-mentioned issues involve cardinal points in the foreign policy of whatever Japanese Government may happen to be in power. They must, therefore, be

taken into account in the making of any alliance. They cannot be treated by Japan as merely matters of domestic policy.

Still more closely allied with Japanese foreign policy, therefore with the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, is the attitude, both during and since the Great War, of Japan to China.

Even if no definite Anglo-Chinese Alliance has ever been suggested, the fact that Great Britain considers it worth while to contract and renew an offensive and defensive alliance with China's masterful neighbour tends, to some extent, to lessen the value of England's well-known friendship for China. There were, too, certain phases in Sino-Japanese relations during the Great War which, so far as the attitude of England was concerned, require, to the Chinese mind, considerable explanation.

The time has come when Anglo-Chinese relations can no longer be sacrificed upon the altar of an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This is not to say that the two things are incompatible, but before sacrificing one for the other, let us be quite certain we are not grasping at the shadow and missing the substance of future Chinese friendship.

The new experiments in democratic Government which have lately been initiated in India are no doubt receiving thorough consideration at the hands of the statesmen responsible for the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. What the effect of a renewal of that alliance may be upon the minds of the new governing classes in India, it is too early yet to suggest. At the same time the possible effect in India of such a renewal cannot be ignored.

Among the original conditions perhaps the chief one instrumental in bringing about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was what was known in those days as the "Russian menace to India." That this has in one sense passed has already been stated. Whether a new Russian Bolshevist menace, not only to India, but also to Afghanistan, to Persia, and possibly to Mesopotamia, is not about to take the place of

the old menace, time alone will show. The question to be answered is : Will a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance be of any help in combating such a danger ? In other words, is the old " Russian menace to India " about to be revived in a more insidious and dangerous form ?

If the answer be in the affirmative, one of the strongest of the original reasons for the alliance still holds good ; but is the Bolshevik menace likely to last ?

Much has lately been written of the widening of the gulf which separates " East and West." A well-known American journalist, an owner of magazines, has gone so far as to endeavour to revive the cry of the " Yellow Peril." And though in the sense suggested the cry is an empty catch-word, it has now another and far deeper significance.

Owing to the appalling economic conditions brought about throughout the entire world by the Great War, Europe is at present standing on the verge of international bankruptcy. The economic crisis in Europe is tending, and will tend in future to a much greater extent than is yet dreamed of, to create new industries of all kinds in more than one Asiatic country. Particularly will this be the case in China. It is unnecessary here to labour the various points of low wages, of the millions of what may be called " factory fodder," of the unlimited raw material on the spot, and of other industrial qualifications to be found in Asiatic countries. The point to which attention is here directed is whether for economic reasons a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is advisable. No advantage that the alliance can bring will prevent the most severe economic competition between England and Japan.

One of the weightiest arguments against a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been left to the last. And this because, again, American public opinion is directly concerned.

If the League of Nations has any claim to be, or to become, a permanent support upon which a maimed and nerve-shattered world may lean during convalescence, it

must, in the first place, include all the great nations of the world. America must be among those, nor can the League exclude Germany. It must also take the place of all international alliances of the offensive and defensive type. There can be no room in the world at the same time for militant alliances and the League of Nations.

Sir Edward Carson, in the House of Commons, has lately expressed the opinion that if we are not able to make the League of Nations a reality, we have fought the war in vain. Few, if any, of the most ardent supporters of the League can say at present that it is a reality.

How can it be until America is prepared to shoulder her share of the obligations which the Great War cast upon the sorely bruised shoulders of the victors?

The new American President has clearly said that she is not yet prepared to accept this burden.

Can England not help her?

Mr. Harding emphasizes the fact that American interests do not centre in Europe. They lie, he says quite plainly, in the United States and in the twin oceans which wash her far-flung coast line. In the Pacific the now widely extended spheres of interest of America equal, if they do not exceed, those in the Atlantic. And in future the people of the United States know that the handling of their Far Eastern policy will be not the least important feature of Republican diplomacy.

LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA

BY STANLEY RICE

SINCE 1895, when the revolutionary trumpet was first sounded by the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the columns of the *Kesari*, Indian Nationalism has undergone a distinct change both in spirit and in method. The rue is the same, but it is worn with a difference. We find the same parties in the State: the fanatical Extremists, the academic Extremists, and the Moderates, represented roughly at the present time by Shaukat and Mahommed Ali, by Mrs. Besant and Bepin Chendra Pal, and by Surendranath Banerjee and his colleagues in the Councils. The ultimate goal of Swarāj, or independent self-government, is in the main the same, and the Nationalists' practice of hanging their demands, and justifying their methods, upon the pretext of some real or fancied grievance has persisted. In 1897 the administration of the Plague drew from the late Mr. Tilak, not only a denunciation of the soldiers employed on the work and of the Government who employed them, but a distinct suggestion of revolt against the British power. Sivaji had "delivered the country by establishing Swarājya." Foreigners "were taking away the wealth of the country." "Indians were striving to regain their lost independence," and "God has not conferred on the Mlenchas the grant of the kingdom of Hindustan." So it was again in 1907. If Mr. Bepin Chendra Pal on the one hand advocated Swarāj and declared in forcible but academic terms that Swarāj for him meant the expulsion of the British and that self-government within the Empire was a more impossible ideal than a complete severance with the British connection, the unbridled licence of the Press on the other became more and more marked, as the storm raged around the Partition of Bengal. That was the driving force of the agitation, and just as Mr. Tilak had used the Plague administration in order to inculcate

a general hatred of the British and all their ways, so the Press travelled far from the Partition, bewailed the slavery of Indians, and exalted in the fiercest language the effort for independence.

So it is again at the present time. If Mr. Gandhi is the high priest of the Nationalist forces, Lajpat Rai is their Minister for War and Mahommed Ali the Commander-in-Chief. Swarāj is once more the ideal—Swarāj, by severance of the British connection, though a half-hearted attempt is made to pretend that this is not absolutely necessary. Thus Mr. Gandhi says:

"If India is to make unhampered progress, we must make it clear to the British people that whilst we desire to retain the British connection, if we can rise to our full height with it, we are determined to dispense with, and even to get rid of, that connection, if that is necessary for full national development. I hold that it is not only derogatory to national dignity, but it actually impedes national progress, superstitiously to believe that our progress towards our goal is impossible without British connection." And Lajpat Rai follows in the same strain:

"What does the change in the creed aim at? A notice to the British public and the British Government that, although we do not at the present moment aim, directly aim, to go out of this British Empire . . . if we remain we shall not remain at the dictation of anybody."

And one has not far to seek for the immediate excuse—the excuse which corresponds to the Plague grievance and the Partition. In speech after speech Mr. Gandhi has harangued upon the wrong done to the Punjab by the affair of Amritsar and the insult done to Turkey by the Treaty of Sèvres. Even non-co-operation itself, though ascribed to Mr. Gandhi as the rising star of the new revolution, is not a new thing. About 1906 Mr. Bepin Chendra Pal preached the gospel of Passive Resistance, including in his programme the boycott of British goods, the boycott of Government service, and the setting up of "machinery for popular administration, and running parallel to, but independent of,

the existing administration of the Government." By these means he hoped to "make the Government impossible." A whole office might go on strike and then complications are created in every part of the country "by which means" the administration will have been brought to a deadlock—for the primary thing is the prestige of the Government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige."

Wherein, then, does the new movement differ from the old? Under the old dispensation the appeal was largely religious; it was made not to the philosophy of Hinduism but to the deities of the Shakti movement and to the mythology of the epics. "If there be any Rama amongst you, let him go forth to bring back your Sita," cries the Hind Swarajya. Or, again, the Khulnavasi laments: "Awake, O Mother who tramplest on the demons. . . . Awake, O goddess Durga! . . . Let a river of blood flow, overwhelming the hearts of the demons." Such an appeal was a direct incentive to violence, but it found a response only amongst the educated. We need not stop to enquire whether this was the result of a Press agitation, insufficiently supported by platform oratory, or of the use of metaphor and allegory too allusive to catch the ear of the multitude. Certain it is that the outbreak of 1907 was chiefly distinguished for a crop of murders, practically all of which were the work of the intelligentsia, and for conspiracies and outrages in which they took a leading part. When Mrs. Besant founded her Home Rule League in September, 1916, she declared, if I am not mistaken, that the chief weakness of the agitation lay in the want of a constructive programme. "So long as you indulge in vague generalities," she said in effect, "so long as you weary the ears of Government with your grievances and your destructive criticism, so long will Government do nothing for you, because they do not really know what you want. You must formulate your own schemes and press for them. You must show that you are a united body with a definite aim." Such an appeal took the whole case out of the category of rhapsody and also of incitement to excesses. It changed the whole current from the religious to the political,

and at the same time, by introducing organization and method, it broadened the outlook from the individualistic to the communal. Mrs. Besant appealed not to mythology but to history, at any rate as she read it; not to the gods and heroes of the epics, but to the ancestors in a bygone age. "The value of the past," she wrote, "is to remind you of what you were; the value of the past is to awaken self-respect; the value of the past is to make that feeling of national pride without which no nation can be and no national greatness can accrue." This change of attitude is reflected both in the speeches of Mr. Tilak and also in those of Mr. Lajpat Rai. "You have not been slaves since the crack of doom," cries Lajpat Rai. "There was a time when you were great and prosperous. Where have fled that greatness and prosperity?" Mr. Gandhi perhaps makes no such direct appeal to history; he has chosen another line which we shall presently consider. But his disciples build up a theory that India has been ruined by the British connection, which has emasculated her youth, crushed her industries, and turned her peasantry into slaves.

Mrs. Besant's organization had the further important effect of carrying the Nationalist flag into the villages and among the masses. Hitherto speeches had been made in large centres, and were chiefly addressed to lawyers and students; the Indian Press has a very limited circulation, even among the educated; to the uneducated it is almost unknown. But by establishing Home Rule branches all over the country she enlisted fiery young lawyers in provincial towns, malcontents in villages, dismissed Government servants, and half-educated (and it must be admitted underpaid) teachers in village schools. It is incredible that the Rowlatt Act could have had any effect upon the masses without an organization of this sort, for the masses have not been engaged in conspiracies, neither have they the slightest interest in the Press, and the Rowlatt Act was never intended to be used except in grave emergency. It is difficult, therefore, to understand, except on this hypothesis, why the agitation should have had such an effect upon the town-mobs and even upon some of the

peasantry" of the Punjab. The consequence has been to create a situation much more difficult to handle than the murders or even the conspiracies of 1907, and the years following. In those years the direct result of the campaign was murder; the direct result of non-violent non-co-operation, born of the esoteric doctrines of Satyagraha and Ahimsa, was an exceedingly violent co-operation, which resulted in extensive riots and much bloodshed, for if murder and conspiracy were the fruits of the first uprising, riots are the fruits of the second.

Mr. Gandhi based himself neither on the historical nor on the mythological line. He did not seek to arouse passion or, to use a less controversial word, enthusiasm, by an appeal to past glories nor by prayers to the gods and goddesses of Hinduism. He took his stand upon ethics, and, abandoning the principle of outrage and violence, argued with the conscientious objector, that the individual conscience overrules the social duty to the State. He surveyed the history of the British in India; he found that the course of it was preponderatingly and decisively evil. He speaks more in sorrow than in anger; his creed is "neither punitive nor vindictive, nor based on malice, ill-will, or hatred." He would be only too glad "to wean the Government from its career of crime," but he cannot serve God and Satan.

Thus there are two lines of thought, the one tracing its source to ethics and the other to history. Lajpat Rai frankly adopts the latter: "I challenge anyone that not a single decade of British rule in India has gone about without a breach of faith and breach of promises and breach of pledges." He joins hands with Gandhi in disclaiming any hostility to the British people, but like him he has lost "all faith in the justice-loving instincts of Great Britain." Either of these appeals finds a wider response than the incitements of fourteen years ago. All but a very few of the more excitable will, when the mood of exaltation has passed, shrink from cold-blooded violence deliberately planned, and the cooler heads also recognize that such deeds lead to nothing. All, however, can join in allowing themselves to be persuaded that

the British Government is an errant sinner, who must be gently coerced into mending its ways, whose crimes are of the nature of a disease to be cured; and all, again, can join in a vote of want of confidence. Repression is only an aggravation of the disease; drastic legislation is only a further proof of broken pledges, and, if after all the mob becomes unruly and outrages occur, we can always exclaim with horror that we meant no such thing: Ahimsa is our creed and we have been misunderstood.

And to this attitude, which has gripped a considerable part of India, must be added the new factor of the Hindu-Moslem rapprochement. It is absurd to treat this as if it did not exist or was at best only skin-deep. Lord Meston has blessed the compromise of 1916, but evidently thinks that before long this "spirit of reasonableness" will be strained to breaking-point. Other writers have insisted less temperately on the fundamental difference in outlook and on the constantly recurring friction between Hindu and Mussulmán. But it is the energetic minority which counts, and Mussulmán sentiment is sore on the question of the Caliphate and the Treaty of Sèvres. Not even the best of them—and we have had of the best lately among us—can realize the Western point of view that the defeated enemy must pay the penalty, and that when religion and politics conflict, a compromise is the best that can be expected. That Mussulmán should be feeling hurt on the Turkish question is only natural; it was fully recognized that their position was from the first delicate and since then there has been much sympathy for them; the remarkable phenomenon is that they should now be as insistent in their demands for Home Rule as the Hindus themselves, although in the earlier outbursts they stood aloof and eyed the proceedings with grave misgiving. It is impossible to ignore the alliance of the Congress and the Moslem League; it is foolish to be blind to the spectacle of Hindus preaching political doctrines in mosques and deaf to the cries of Hindu-Mussulmán-ki-jai. There are, of course, many Moslems who disapprove of this alliance, just as there are many Hindus who reject the extreme doctrines; that Mahom-

medans and Hindus should agree to sink their differences and to live together in sweet reasonableness is in itself to be applauded. But the situation has arisen, and must be faced; the alliance is the result not of any ethical stocktaking, based upon the common brotherhood of man or the doctrine of universal love, but upon a common hostility to the British Government. I use the word advisedly how vehemently soever the Hindu leaders may disclaim it. There are, however, two points of divergence which might at any time dissolve this alliance; the immediate objects are not the same, for the Hindu is mainly exercised by Amritsar, the Mussulmán by the Caliphate; and, again, the militant Mussulmán represented by Mahommed Ali is with difficulty restrained by Mr. Gandhi, and has consented to the creed of non-violence perhaps against his own inclination. Still, for the present the alliance stands and must be reckoned with.

During the previous outbreaks the party of revolution was supported by a small and relatively uninfluential clique in England. The war brought with it an expansion of liberalism and the opportunist cry of self-determination was quickly caught up, though the logical consequences to which it leads were not and are not even yet realized. The Labour party in England naturally adopted the latest radical doctrine and great efforts were made by Indian extremists, not without a measure of success, to enlist its sympathies. Their hopes were, however, extravagant. Labour members of Parliament have indeed toured India and have attended Congress meetings with full approval of the proceedings; Labour has sent messages of sympathy to meetings in England whose avowed purpose has been to denounce the Government and to vilify the British in India. But the adherence of the Labour party to the Indian programme has not been seriously put to the test, and indeed the non-co-operation programme has not found favour except in the Communist ranks. In order to achieve the desired object the case was astutely put forward as one between Capital and Labour, but all Nationalist writings and speeches show that this is merely a pose. The case is really one between Indian capital and

labour on the one side and British capital and labour on the other, in so far as it is economic at all; what the Indian desires is that he shall be left to finance his own work and to carry it out by the work of his own people. Perhaps when the Labour party begin to realize how such a programme would react upon British industry and so upon the very people whose interests are their first, and quite rightly their first, preoccupation, they will not find that Indian self-determination is quite so attractive as it seemed while still an abstract and spiritual proposition.

This, then, is Lord Reading's principal task in India—a far harder task than that which was imposed either upon Lord Minto or upon Lord Hardinge—to win back the confidence in British justice which has been so rudely shaken, and to dispel that hatred which, notwithstanding all disclaimers, has been so sedulously propagated, and which, among the masses, shows itself in countless ways, trivial and grave. The Nationalist movement has grown with the years; it has acquired a force and direction which it never before possessed; it has become spiritual, for it no longer asks for a more ample share of loaves and fishes as in Mr. Gokhale's time, nor is its watchword more power; rather is it the watchword of the Revolution, "*Liberté et Egalité*." It is one thing to meet a campaign of anarchy, induced by effervescent and unregulated oratory: it is quite another to overcome a doctrine which, basing itself on the ethical teachings of the Bhagavad Gita and the Sermon on the Mount, is really founded upon such teachers as Rousseau and Mazzini, and by preaching the inherent depravity of the ruling race represents every measure taken to uphold the law and to repress licence as a work proceeding from the devil. It is one thing to deal with obvious outrage and even conspiracy, which are practically confined to a single class, and which excite horror in every decent-minded person: it is quite another to control large masses which, often innocent, have become inflamed with a species of spiritual exaltation.

The unique opportunity has come with the Reforms. They have been scouted by those advanced Nationalists

who, ten-years ago, would have been incredulous of such amazing liberality. That is sufficient evidence of the change of mentality and of the growth of national consciousness and national pride, but it contains something deeper. Mr. Gandhi, who has said many things, not always consistently, has said in one place that his movement is essentially a revolt against the materialism of Europe. "Europe is to-day only nominally Christian. In reality it is worshipping Mammon. . . . The motive behind every crime is not religious or spiritual, but grossly material." The struggling people of India have "religion and honour for their motive." And Lajpat Rai in December last, and Gandhi only yesterday, have declared in the plainest terms that the people have no confidence in the word of the British people or of British statesmen. The Reform scheme is the answer to such charges, but it is an answer which will be worse than none, if the new dispensation is not worked with honesty and liberality both in letter and spirit. It is for Lord Reading to prove to Nationalist doubters that Englishmen, too, are actuated by honour, and that if the Government of India can go no farther in the matter of religion than continue on that course of religious neutrality and tolerance alike for all creeds, they no less than Mr. Gandhi are actuated by the high ideals of religious ethics. To restore the old confidence is the great enterprise to which Lord Reading has set his hand, and the surest means of doing this is to show unmistakably that the Reforms are no idle phantasm, no figment of a Liberal imagination, but a solid fact, working always more and more in sincerity and truth to the perfection of the Indian ideal of a recognized nationality.

Beside this task other considerations seem insignificant; yet in less troublous times they would be regarded as of the first magnitude. Hand in hand with the progress of India, politically and spiritually, must go her industrial reorganization, if she is to take her place among the nations of the world. The foundation-stone was laid by Lord Chelmsford's Industrial Commission and the young Department of In-

dustries has the work in hand. But it is a stupendous task. It involves not merely the setting up and nursing of new and unaccustomed enterprises and the development of those which have taken root, but the conquest of deep-seated prejudices of caste, of notions of false dignity, of ingrained habits of insanitary life, of the bigoted conservatism of the women, and finally of the apathy which is content to struggle on in the old way and seeks for nothing higher. It were mere weariness to the reader to dilate upon the ravages which the war has made upon the finance and trade of the country, upon the discontent which high prices and bad seasons have engendered among the peasantry, upon the difficulties of transport, thanks to the exigencies of the war and the activity of the German submarines, thanks in part to the industrial unrest in England which is reacting upon India, both spiritually by suggesting new modes of industrial warfare to hitherto peaceful workers, and materially by retarding the process of reconstruction upon which India's trade depends. All these and more are part of the burden—a part sufficiently grievous to be borne; yet lighter—far lighter—than that other task of promoting reconciliation and a good understanding with those who refuse to be reconciled and who persist in misinterpretation.

The glory of such a task is surely enough to stir the imagination of great statesmanship. Not Canning nor Dalhousie had a vision of more splendid achievement. To find India in a mood of hostility, of dislike of many things British, to find her still yearning for national greatness and even national recognition, to find her on the threshold of industrial progress, yet hampered by her reduced exchange and her dislocated trade, and to leave her contented and regenerate, at peace with her rulers and going forward on her course ~~hand~~ in hand with England, to leave her a nation grown to completeness, prosperous in industry, with finances and trade restored—this is, indeed, a vision for a man of the highest powers, “in passionate and devoted interest in all that concerns the well-being of India,” as Lord Morley said of Lord Curzon; “with an imagination fired by the grandeur of the

political problem that India presents." It may be that complete success is not to be had, but it is worth striving for.

" This high man aiming at a million
Misses an unit."

Above all, to adapt the famous phrase of Danton, what is most needed is " *L'imagination, et encore l'imagination, et toujours l'imagination.*"

THE FALLING OF THE PEACH-BLOSSOM

BY MADAME LO CHONG

(Rendered into verse by SYBIL BRISTOWE)

WITH the dawn of spring I laugh to the sky,
And I quiver and dance all night and day,
Whilst the breezes woo caressingly
The dew on my blossoms gay.

But when spring is over—ah! then I weep,
And droop in the light of the pallid moon,
And tremble to see my shadow creep
From my youth that died so soon.

My joy has departed, my beauty glad,
My glory is stripped and my branches bare;
In wanton waste fall my petals red,
Like raindrops everywhere.

Crimson they lie in the dust and the mud,
Or float in the peace of the pool's calm heart,
And I long for wooing,* where every bud
And flower at last find rest.

* Wooing—the flower's heaven.

THE INDIAN REFORMS IN BEING

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

THE changes in the system of administration prescribed by the Government of India Act of 1919 have now been made, and the new Councils, elected as to a majority of their members on a greatly extended franchise, have held their first sessions and dealt with their first budgets. It is now perhaps possible to form some idea of the probable effect of the Act on the welfare and security of the people of India.

The principal changes made are (1) the devolution of authority from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, and from the Government of India to Provincial Governments; (2) the large increase in the proportion of elected members of the different legislative bodies; and (3) the transfer of the control of certain departments of provincial administration to Ministers, to be chosen from among the elected members of the legislatures. Although these Ministers are to be appointed by the Governor of the Province, they will, no doubt, in practice be men who are supported by a majority of the Legislative Council, and the Act requires the Governor to be ordinarily guided, in relation to transferred subjects, by their advice. These changes must have the effect of greatly enhancing the influence of the elected members over the course of legislation and the general policy of the Government.

The number of electors has been greatly increased and is now about 6 million in the whole of British India—about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population. A considerable proportion of the new voters are men unable to read or write, who have never exercised a vote on any subject in their lives, so that it is not surprising to find that in many constituencies a large number of the electors did not take the trouble to go to the poll. In the contested constituencies of the United Provinces only 33 per cent. of the qualified electors actually

voted. In the Punjab the proportion was 32 per cent., 37 in the rural constituencies, and only 8·5 in the towns, in some of which persuasion and intimidation prevented many from exercising the franchise; but probably in the great majority of cases of non-voting, ignorance and apathy were the chief reasons. Partly owing to the policy adopted by the "non-co-operation" extremists, the members who have been elected are for the most part men of moderate views, willing to accept the reforms and to do their best to work them.

The diversity of beliefs, ideas, and aims between the Hindus and the Mohammedans everywhere, and in the south of India between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans, and the frequent attacks made by would-be reformers on vested religious interests and practices, are likely to remain a constant source of anxiety to the Government. So too will the natural antagonism between the dwellers in the towns, who are mainly consumers, and the dwellers in the villages, who are chiefly producers; and between the men of the tongue and the pen on the one side, and the men of the plough and the sword on the other. The town-dwellers, owing to their closer concentration, better education, and more thorough organization, will probably exercise an influence in the Councils greater than their comparatively small number would justify. Some of the Provincial Councils seem likely to be "lawyer-ridden," even to a greater extent than the old Councils. In the United Provinces out of 100 elected members no fewer than 44, and in the Punjab of 71 elected members 25, have had a legal education. There seems likely to be an even greater rivalry than before between the officials, of whom the vast majority are Indians, and the politically-minded non-officials, who, as the numerous questions already tabled show, will be apt to devote much of their energy to interfering with the details of the executive administration. This tendency will be increased by the introduction of the novel principle of dual government, with its division of responsibility. If the non-official Ministers, who will ultimately become practically the nominees of the elected members, lean upon their more experienced colleagues

and subordinates, things will go well ; but if they are tempted to reject such advice and assistance, and to lead an opposition to the Executive Government, there is sure to be great friction and loss of efficiency, on which, much more than in this country, the welfare and contentment of the masses depend.

Now that the powers of the Councils in regard to finance have been increased, it seems probable that the Government will have even greater difficulty than before in obtaining enough revenue to maintain and improve the present standard of administration. There will be plenty of schemes put forward for reforms, highly desirable in themselves, such as the extension of education and improved sanitation, but when the Councils are asked to find the money required to meet the expenditure involved, each section will be reluctant to consent to an increase in the taxation imposed on the class it represents, and the natural diversity of interests between producers, traders, and consumers may lead to a deadlock or to a starving of essential branches of the administration. The Act prescribes that the proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of moneys relating to certain heads of expenditure, which include Defence, are not to be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly ; but there are indications that indirect pressure, difficult to resist, will be put upon the Government to curtail expenditure upon the Army and the Executive Services, and may result in a weakening of the security of the masses of the population against external attack or internal disorder. If, on the other hand, the Councils follow the example of similar bodies in this country, and readily consent to increased taxation in order to make reforms possible, the rate of progress may be greatly accelerated. Although the great majority of the people are poor, many classes, and especially the larger landowners, the traders, and the lawyers are much more wealthy than they were a generation ago, and can easily afford to pay more than they now do for the benefit of their neighbours. One penny per head of the population of British India means one million pounds sterling.

The two branches of the all-India Legislature, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, members of which are elected by voters all over India possessing higher qualifications than the franchise for the Provincial Councils, have on the whole made a very satisfactory beginning in the performance of their new responsible duties. Perhaps the most trying task before them was that of imposing increased taxation amounting to 19 crores of rupees (about 12 million sterling at the current rate of exchange), and involving (1) increased customs duties which made the general *ad valorem* duty 11 per cent., with a 15 per cent. duty on foreign sugar, a 20 per cent. duty on luxuries such as motor-cars and umbrellas, and a 75 per cent. duty on cigarettes and cigars ; (2) a substantial increase in the rates charged on goods carried by railway ; (3) a large increase in the very low rate of postage on letters, although it will still be possible to send a letter of nearly an ounce in weight 1,200 miles for a penny ; and (4) a considerable increase of income tax and super-tax calculated to bring in an additional revenue of about 2 million sterling, the maximum income tax being made 1s. 8d. per £, as compared with 6s. per £ in this country. The Finance Member's proposals were fully discussed in both Houses, and attempts were made to reduce some of the proposed taxes, but in the end very little change was made, and the Government's demands were practically voted in full. The Council of State passed resolutions recommending that the Government of India should be granted by the Home Government full fiscal autonomy, subject to the provisions of the Government of India Act, and that the financial policy of the Government should aim at ensuring the early rehabilitation of Government securities with due regard to the necessity of the funding of the temporary debt and to the provision of capital expenditure for productive purposes. The great success of the Indian sterling loan of seven millions recently raised in London is probably partly due to the present readiness of the Indian legislative bodies to impose increased taxation and to encourage sound finance.

No doubt largely owing to the earnest appeal made by the

Duke of Connaught to let bygones be bygones, both Houses refrained from passing any resolutions likely to hamper the Executive Government in dealing with internal disorder, and rejected several motions which would have had that effect. On the other hand, the Government have appointed committees on what are called "Repressive Laws," and on the legislation specially relating to the Press. An important declaration was made by the Home Member to the effect that the policy of the Government of India was the progress of the country towards responsible government and the simultaneous preservation of public tranquillity, the suppression of disorder wherever it occurs, and the punishment of those who incite it. Instructions, he said, had been issued to Local Governments requiring them (1) to keep watch on attempts made by non-co-operators to spread disaffection among the labouring classes; (2) to initiate early legislation wherever necessary to remove agrarian and other grievances; (3) to conduct a propaganda giving the widest publicity to the intentions of Government; and (4) to prosecute rigorously under the ordinary law all persons making seditious speeches and inciting the people to violence. The Legislative Assembly, having heard this declaration, recommended that the Government should adhere to its policy as announced, as far as possible avoiding recourse to any proceedings under exceptional legislation in dealing with the non-co-operation movement.

On consideration of the Esher Report the Legislative Assembly passed resolutions recommending a gradual and prudent reduction of the ratio of British to Indian troops; the free admission of Indians to all arms of the forces in India; the grant of not less than 25 per cent. of the King's Army Commissions every year to His Majesty's Indian subjects; the fixing of the pay of all commissioned ranks in all branches of the Army on an Indian basis, with an overseas allowance in the case of British officers, and with a similar allowance for Indian officers holding the King's commission when serving overseas; the establishment of an adequate territorial force on attractive

conditions; and the appointment of a committee adequately representative of non-official Indian opinion to consider the best method of enabling the people to take an honourable part in the defence of their country, the financial capacity of India to bear the burden of military expenditure, and her claim to equality of status and treatment with the self-governing Dominions. One wonders what the Assembly will say, when the other members of the British Empire make a demand that India shall pay her fair share of the cost of the Imperial Navy, which protects her from invasion by sea.

The Provincial Councils have also, on the whole, granted the demands for funds made by their respective Governments and supported the Executive Authorities in the action taken by them to prevent the spread of internal disorder. The Bengal Council in the first instance cut down the police grant by 23 lakhs (about £150,000); but, when it was explained to them that, if this vote were maintained, it would be necessary to abandon all new schemes and immediately to reduce either the pay or numbers of the force, or both, the Council, on second thoughts, passed a supplementary grant of that amount. In Madras a motion for the separation of judicial and executive functions was rejected; but a recommendation, aimed against the Brahmans, was carried against the Government by an overwhelming majority, to the effect that recruitment to judicial offices should for the next five years be made from among non-Brahmans, Hindus, Christians, and Mohammedans, so as to secure due representation of all the different communities in the judicial services.

In the Punjab a resolution recommending the remission of the indemnity imposed on the city of Amritsar in consequence of the damage done in the riot of 1919 was carried against the Government by a large majority, although it was pointed out that this would involve the sacrifice of a number of grants affecting the various departments. The Council refused a grant asked for by Government for the maintenance of a publicity board, and recommended the appointment of Committees to consider what compensation should be paid to

persons who suffered in consequence of official action during the martial law régime, and to inquire into the grievances of cultivators as regards canal administration. They supported a motion introduced by Government that early steps be taken to introduce a Bill to amend the law relating to charitable and religious endowments, having been compelled to take up this thorny question by recent serious riots between reformers and present possessors in connection with disputes over the custody of Sikh shrines.

In consequence of the disorders of two years ago, which in the Punjab amounted to rebellion and led to the proclamation of martial law, 1,786 persons were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, but since then the sentences have been revised from time to time, and no fewer than 1,700 of them have been released, not as a result of the examination of evidence, but as an act of clemency mainly dictated from England; and there are now under detention only 86 persons, who were convicted of serious offences, and whom it is considered unsafe at present to release. This remarkable exercise of the prerogative of mercy may have had some effect in creating an atmosphere favourable to the introduction of the reforms. But it must have greatly disheartened the police, the military, the magistrates, and the judges, who ran great risks and undertook great responsibilities in the apprehension and trial of those men, who were, after enquiry, mostly held by officers of judicial experience, convicted of riotous acts or of having incited others to commit them. It must also have seriously diminished respect for the law among the criminal classes, and lessened the security of all law-abiding people. It is satisfactory therefore to note that the Executive Governments have now taken strong measures to re-establish law and order. The Government of India have definitely declared that the non-co-operation campaign has for its object the paralysis of the Government to be attained by seditious propaganda among the masses of the people, and that it is the duty of officers to counter and refute such propaganda by addressing public meetings for the purpose of removing mis-

apprehensions, correcting misstatements; and explaining and defending the policy of the Government. The Behar Government have instructed district officials to use every means in their power to combat the non-co-operative agitation as tending to lawlessness and ultimately to anarchy, informed them that Government will not hesitate to employ all lawful and reasonable means to combat the movement, and required them to impress on the local leaders of the agitation that, if it should result in disorder, they will be held responsible. The United Provinces Government have issued similar instructions, calling upon all officers to declare themselves openly and actively against the movement, and in a number of districts, with the support of the district officers, Committees are being formed, composed of both officials and non-officials, to combat revolutionary propaganda. This action has received the approval, expressed or tacit, of the Legislative Councils ; and it is to be hoped that it will soon have the effect of putting a stop to anarchical agitation, especially among the ignorant villagers, and that persons guilty of encouraging crime, whoever they be and whatever be their motives, will be prosecuted, and if convicted, left to endure the punishment inflicted upon them by the ordinary Courts without any repetition of the orgy of clemency, which has done so much to weaken the confidence of the people in the moral strength and even-handed justice of their rulers.

In his reply to the address of welcome presented to him on his landing at Bombay, Lord Reading, the new Viceroy, declared that the British reputation for justice must never be impaired during his tenure of office, a justice not confined within the statutes or law reports, but an unfettered justice which has regard to all conditions and circumstances, which should be pursued in close alliance with sympathy and understanding, and which must, above all, be regardless of distinctions and rigorously impartial. It is therefore to be hoped that, so far as in him lies, he will see that justice is done, not only to the politically-minded and the inciters of violence, but to the general body of law-abiding citizens, and to the servants of the State who are entrusted with the difficult and respon-

sible duty of maintaining law and order ; and that justice is done, not only to the large landowners, to the merchants, and to the men of education, but also to the great mass of the ignorant, illiterate, and helpless village-folk, whose interests are poorly represented by the elected members of the new legislatures.

While the changes in the powers of the Councils have excited more interest, those now being introduced into the composition of the executive authority will perhaps be found to have a still greater effect on the village population (200 millions in number), to whom the character of the officials with whom they have to deal and the spirit in which those officials exercise their powers are really of more serious importance than the laws they are required to obey. A larger proportion of Indians have been introduced into the higher executive offices, such as the Secretary of State's Council, the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the Executive Councils of the Provincial Governors, and one Indian of outstanding ability and well-trying statesmanship has been made Governor of Behar and Orissa. In making appointments to these high offices, great care has been exercised to select men of experience, good sense, and mature judgment. But the policy has also been adopted of rapidly increasing the number of Indians lower down in the Services. According to an announcement recently made by the Secretary of State the proportion of Indians recruited to the Indian Civil Service, mainly by separate competitive examination, will be gradually increased until, after ten years, the new recruits will be practically half Indian and half British, and in time half the higher posts in the general executive administration will be held by Indians. No doubt these recruits will be trained by their seniors on the lines which long experience has proved to be best suited to Indian conditions, but such a rapid Indianization of the executive body can hardly fail to have a marked effect on its general character, the result of which time alone will show. It is to be hoped that they will carry on the grand traditions of the old Service, and will consider themselves the true representatives of the masses of the

people, and especially of the weak and the ignorant, the wage-earners, and the depressed classes; and that the officials, both Indian and British, will remember that their chief duty, after the maintenance of law, order, and justice, is to "cherish the poor." His Majesty the King-Emperor, in his instructions to the Governors of Provinces, has specially required and charged them to take care that due provision shall be made for the advancement and social welfare of those classes amongst the people committed to their charge who, whether on account of the smallness of their number or their lack of educational or material advantages, or from any other cause, specially rely upon His Majesty's protection, and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action; and that such classes shall not suffer, or have cause to fear, neglect or oppression.

The rulers of India, whoever they may be, must not forget that fatal gap in the north-west corner of her mountain defences, through which fierce hordes of invaders have so often poured to ravage her rich northern plains. The danger of another such invasion seems greater now than it has been since the Punjab came under British rule. There was a warning of it two years ago, when the Afghan Army began its march upon India. That attack, and the unrest to which it gave rise among the frontier tribes, were only quelled at the cost of many precious lives and much treasure. And away farther to the north, in what was the Russian Empire, there are now many millions of fighting men who are being rendered more desperate day by day by misgovernment and civil war, and who may, like their forerunners in similar circumstances, be compelled by hunger to press forward at all costs to obtain food and plunder in the Indian towns and villages. No doubt they would, like those former invaders, suffer great losses before they crossed the Indian border, but the pressure from behind might be so great that it would require the whole might of the British Empire to save India from the horrors of massacre and destruction, with which she was so long familiar. There are, however, indications that many of the elected members of the Indian legislatures,

whose homes are far from the North-west Frontier, fail to realize this danger and use their influence towards a reduction in India's defensive forces and towards a rapid Indianization of the Army, which must weaken its fighting strength. Although Defence is a reserved subject, the Government cannot but be affected by this attitude of the elected representatives of the people, and there is a risk of their going too far in yielding to it, against their own better judgment. They have chosen this time of exceptional danger to reduce the pre-war strength of the British fighting troops by 6,000 men and of the Indian troops by 7,500. It is to be hoped that they will now stiffen their backs and insist on the maintenance of a sufficient force to render the country secure against both foreign invasion and internal disorder.

The new system of government is on its trial, and though many experienced administrators think that it involves greater risks than it was wise to incur, and that it may lead to grave evils, and especially to the oppression of the weak and ignorant by the more powerful and better-educated classes, recent experience gives ground for confidence that the officials, both British and Indian, and the British non-official community, as well as the large and influential moderate section of the educated Indian non-officials, will loyally bow to the decision of Parliament, and do their best to make this great experiment a success, and to show that India can in time become fit to be entrusted with a still greater share in the management of her own affairs. Meanwhile, the electors of the United Kingdom, on whom the ultimate responsibility for the good government of India still rests, should use what influence they possess to ensure that the helpless millions of village-folk shall continue to be justly and firmly governed, and should send out to help in the different departments of the State the very best men they can supply—men of keen intellect, stout heart, and high purpose. It is a good augury for the success of the reforms that one such man, Lord Reading, late Lord Chief Justice of England, has undertaken the heavy responsibilities of the Viceroyalty.

MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED—II

BY CAPTAIN H. BIRCH REYNARDSON

It was the occupation of Baghdad that first brought us into direct contact with the Kurds, and in the account of our relations with the Kurdish tribes it is revealed for the first time how their originally pro-British attitude was considerably modified by the bad treatment they received from our Allies, the Russians. This led to serious complications, and it proved peculiarly difficult to regain the confidence of the tribes of the south-west in Persian Kurdistan. How at length this was effected by the British private soldier is admirably told. It is such descriptions as this that go further to explain the success of the British among uncivilized people than volumes of history. "Forgetting their fears, they [the Kurds] came down from their retreats in the hills and made friends with this surprising Army, which distributed its surplus rations and paid in cash for what it took. The kindly, easy-going British soldier directed Kurdish labour parties, to the complete satisfaction of all concerned, in broken phrases of Hindustani and Arabic, mixed with English, all as incomprehensible to his hearers as their Kurdish and Persian were to him. He adopted starving orphans as willing boot-blacks and infants-of-all-work, who trotted by him on the march, and passed the night rolled up in a bit of old blanket at the tent door. And he had an insatiable appetite for eggs, apricots, apples, and such-like country produce, together with an inexhaustible supply of small coins with which to gratify it. To those who travelled in the wake of our armies in the summer of 1918, the Persian road must recall indelible pictures, such as the children's soup-kitchen at Hamadan, or the village

of Sar-i-Pul, lifting its quaint ruins, such as the Russians had left them, on one bank of the Alwand Rud, while on the other stood an incipient bazaar of ragged native tent-cloths and willow-boughs, where returned Kurdish fugitives drove a roaring trade in cigarettes imported from Baghdad, or in fruit ripening in Persian gardens, with every battalion that marched across the bridge."

And yet there are many who would withdraw our influence from these lands; many who persist that the "Empire" (which they hate) was founded upon the corpses of poor, ignorant natives, and is maintained by the bayonets of an unscrupulous soldiery.

Although Kurdistan is no part of Mesopotamia—or 'Irak—the Kurdish question is fully discussed, for, like all occupiers of the fat lands of the plain, from the Akkadian to the Turk, the British have been, and will be, involved with these truculent mountaineers. In our dealings with them so many cross-currents of politics and religion had to be taken into account that we were faced with a most difficult problem, the solution of which is not yet clear. A quotation by Colonel Nalder calls attention to the difficulty of popularizing any form of settled government among their Aghas, whose wealth depends entirely on extortion and free bootery, particularly when to this prejudice against settled conditions is added anti-Christian sentiments and Turkish propaganda. In connection with the religious question interesting accounts are given of the various local Christian sects, and also of those remarkable people, the Yazidis, living in the Jebel Sinjar, west of Mosul. Their religion is a strange mixture of Christianity, Gnosticism, Islam, and Zoroastrianism, and they are popularly supposed to worship the Devil, whom they call Malik Taus (the Peacock King), as the name Shaitan is taboo, even its pronouncement being visited with dire penalties. "Anxiety lest he should unwittingly give offence to the Devil is a constant factor in the Yazidi's daily life. A member of the sect visiting a foreign Consul in Mosul was specially struck by the spittoons in the Con-

sul's office: for, said he, it was clear that these provided against a regrettable contingency—namely, that a man spitting might inadvertently spit at Malik Taus." It must indeed be a most harassing form of religion!

It is in the last chapter, dealing with the Nationalist Movement, that we arrive at the serious outbreak of lawlessness which has recently swept over Mesopotamia, and can trace the trouble, from its earliest beginning at the end of 1919, to the conflagration which spread with such rapidity during the summer of 1920.

A summary of the political conditions and the sentiments of the people, as they obtained up to the end of the war, will seem to most readers of this review to be but the logical outcome, it may almost be said the just reward, of our administration. It is pointed out that, although there was doubtless some discontent caused by purely war measures, such as the diversion of labour and of houses and land to war purposes, the large majority of the people were resigned to the prospect of British administration, while considerable sections looked forward with satisfaction to a future of peace and order in the land. In fact, there was no expectation of, and very little demand for, anything but direct British administration, except in Baghdad, where, as is explained, an abnormal political state existed.

Two factors served to give a new turn to opinion: the publication, in October, 1919, of President Wilson's fourteen points, and, secondly, the Anglo-French declaration, made public on November 8. The first had most effect in Baghdad, where political ambition among the intelligenzia was highly developed, and there the sparks of Nationalism were soon fanned into flame. The second was variously interpreted. By some it was thought merely to betray the uncertainty of its authors as to the future; they became anxious lest any act of the Government might be interpreted as a sign of its retirement in favour of the Turk, a contingency which indicated the instant need of hedging. By others it was considered as a declaration on the part of the

Allies that they held the natives of the country already competent to embark on self-government without outside assistance or control, and that the time was ripe for an independent Arab kingdom, or Emirate, of Mesopotamia.

This led to a good deal of wild talk on the part of the hot-heads, and, for the time being, to the eclipse of the extremists. That this was so is proved by the results of the canvass as here given, which shows that, from a total of seventeen canvassed districts, seven voted for direct British administration; five for British administration for the present, with an Amir as a possibility in the near future if any person could be decided on; two were divided, townsmen and tribesmen being unable to agree. Nejef favoured a Mahommedan Amir, with a tendency to the Sherifian family, under British protection; and Baghdad, with a packed assembly from which the heads of the leading Mahommedan families, the Jews, and the Christians, were excluded, voted for an Arab State under a Mahommedan King who should be one of the sons of the Sherif of Mecca. Nothing was said about foreign protection, but it is known that this was not desired. In connection with Nejef and Baghdad's choice of the Sherifian family it may be noted that from other districts favouring an Amir the Sherifian family was specially excluded.

Whatever other conclusions may be drawn, it is plain that now, at the end of 1919, the political weather had become unsettled, and the people were thoroughly bewildered, and Government itself was none too certain of its course. But to explain this last we must go back to 1918.

In October, 1918, an independent Arab Government under the Amir Faisal had been set up from Aleppo to Damascus; among its leading men were many natives of Irak, and this fact was responsible for a rapid acceleration of Nationalist ambitions in Mesopotamia. At the date of the Armistice the frontier between Syria and Mesopotamia had not been defined, and in the settlement of this question the British, Syrian, and French interests were all involved

—and the Peace Conference in Paris did not tend to simplify a confused situation. It is necessary to examine the course of events rather carefully, as the frontier question, though not the root cause, was very much the occasion of all the trouble in Mesopotamia.

Formerly under the Turks, the Baghdad Vilayet included the Quadha of Anah, which extended up the Euphrates to a few miles above Qaim. Between Qaim and Raqqah, the southernmost town in the Aleppo Vilayet (now Syria), lay the district of Dair-es-Zor, included in neither the Baghdad nor the Aleppo Vilayets, but directly dependent on Constantinople. The district of Dair might thus be now considered debatable land: was it Syrian or was it Mesopotamian? After the retreat of the Turks a British political officer was sent to Anah, and at the end of November (1918) a request was received from the inhabitants of Dair that a British officer might be sent to them in order to preserve law and order in their district. H.M. Government agreed that, as a temporary measure only, and pending the decision of the Peace Conference at Paris, an officer should be sent to Dair in a purely military capacity. But, in the meantime, the Arab Governor of Aleppo short-circuited the Peace Conference, claimed Dair, and sent an official and gendarmes to occupy the town and district. On reference to the Governor of Aleppo, he declared that the Arab officials had proceeded to Dair contrary to instructions, and ordered their immediate withdrawal. Though the question was for the time settled amicably, it left an impression of rival ambitions, of which the "Ahd al Iraki"—or Mesopotamian League—did not fail to make use. It was destined to form the first chapter of a long and disastrous story.

Throughout 1919 the trouble simmered, and in December once more reached boiling-point. A heterogeneous force of Arabs, with one Ramadan el Shalash at the head, returned to Dair on December 11, looted and burned to their hearts' content, and "invited" the British political

officer, Captain Chamier, to leave; Ramadan el-Shalash said *he* had now been requested by the natives to "take over" Dair, just as the British had been in November, 1918—besides, Dair had been assigned to the Arab Government of Syria by the Peace Conference. Reference to Damascus was again met by assertions of that Government's ignorance as to the whole affair, and their repudiation, and the recall, of Ramadan.

But in the meantime the Peace Conference had decided on a provisional boundary, and orders were received from H.M. Government for a withdrawal to the Khabur River. This was effected, and on December 25 the British officials, until this time virtually the prisoners of Ramadan, left Dair. It was in the manner of our withdrawal that a serious blunder was made. It should have been done with all due ceremony—an affair of flags and music, and, be it added, some parade of military force and much parade of friendliness and complete accord should have marked the "handing over" of Dair by the British. Instead, it was a hole-and-corner business; we scuttled as if we had something to be ashamed of. Affairs rapidly took a turn for the worse. Ramadan defied the Amir Faisal's orders and, declaring that the British must withdraw to a line some fifty miles below Anah, which, he gave out, was the line decided on by the Peace Conference, proceeded to collect taxes wherever he could within the British boundaries, and rob and raid throughout the country. In the middle of January, 1920, he left for Aleppo, and was superseded by Maulud Pasha al Khalaf, another prominent member of the Mesopotamian League and strongly anti-British. His first action was to write to the Commander-in-Chief objecting to the Khabur line. In reply he was told that this was the boundary provisionally agreed upon in Europe, and could not be discussed except through the usual diplomatic channels. But in order to avoid unnecessary friction and bloodshed, the country up to the Khabur was not occupied by us—an example of most Christian moderation, but

probably interpreted by Maulud as merely a confession of weakness.

Maulud continued the hostile propaganda initiated by his predecessor, sending out letters to the Sheikhs as far down as Amara, inciting them to riot and rebellion, and distributing his apparently ample funds wherever he thought fit. In spite of repeated warnings and complaints to Damascus, no improvement was effected—in fact, Ramadan reappeared at Dair at the end of February, and Maulud was reinforced with regular troops from Aleppo; in face of this it was increasingly difficult to hold the Arab Government irresponsible for the troubles on the Euphrates, an assumption which we had, perhaps rather blindly, held to. While the Governments concerned exchanged compliments and expressions of “cordiality,” while Paris was weaving beautiful illusions, people in Mesopotamia were facing hard and unpleasant facts. To quote again: “Our forbearance strained the loyalty of our own supporters, who were unable to understand why the British Government did not deal summarily with an enemy as insignificant as Maulud and his handful of marauders, and why we did not extend immediate help and protection to those within our boundaries who were ready to stand by us if they were assured against reprisals.

“A conciliatory attitude was regarded as a sign of military weakness, and as such proved an incentive rather than a sedative. . . . It was said that the British Army had been turned out of Dair . . . and awaited, staggering, a last and decisive blow. . . . While the Baghdad coffee-shops echoed with these rumours, the desert took action.”

It is not proposed to follow the course of the disorders as they are tragically and ably described in this review. In the two quotations above much can be read. In the first we find a question which, indeed, may be asked of the British Empire in other quarters besides Mesopotamia; in the second, an amplification of the first, we may read a

lesson in psychology—a science which, as we have so often been told, the Germans could never apply.

As we follow the melancholy story through the remaining pages we gather that Mesopotamia but narrowly escaped the full consequences of anarchy, whose shape in Asia throughout history has been as terrible as it is familiar. Even yet the decision has not been made: it rests with our people to condemn or to relieve.

After the events of last summer we can no longer pretend to be ignorant of what independent Arab government in Irak will mean for the people and the country for many years to come. And if once more we are to adopt a "conciliatory attitude," as being for the moment less troublesome and less expensive, we may as well tear up, and do our best to forget, this "Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia." For it will be but a record of great labour wasted, the story of lives and treasure needlessly sacrificed, a monument to remind us how greatly we might have succeeded and how miserably we failed. Monuments are wasted upon a people who cannot remember.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

BY KOSAKU TAMURA

THE following is my own private opinion, hastily prepared and roughly stated, as a student of international documents, and I wonder whether any useful purpose may be served by an academic study of this description on a political and diplomatic subject of so complicated and difficult a nature.

1. For the clear understanding of the subject, it is necessary at the outset to examine the position of the Alliance Agreement *as a whole* in regard to the League. If you examine the Covenant, you will soon find that in Article 20 a principle is laid down to the effect that the Covenant has been accepted by the members of the League as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof. An exception, however, is introduced directly in the next Article. And any agreements which are intended to secure the maintenance of peace are left unaffected thereby, singling out as specimens the two kinds of international engagements known as arbitration treaties and regional understandings.

2. Can the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Agreement be regarded as a regional understanding within the meaning of the Covenant? Nobody except the League itself or the parties concerned can answer this question definitely. But in view of the joint note addressed to the League in July last by Great Britain and Japan, one may well hesitate to conclude that the two contracting parties have any intention to treat the Alliance Agreement as such. If that be the case, it is quite safe to infer that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Agreement lost its validity, from the very

moment the Covenant was ratified by both Governments and without any formal expression thereof, in so far as it comes into collision with the terms of the Covenant. But who will have the authoritative power to decide the points of inconsistency between the two documents? And how can it be adjusted, if the interpretation thereof by the parties concerned differs from that of the League? These are questions which require political consideration.

3. Among the stipulations of the Alliance Agreement, Article 2 is the only one which has a direct bearing on the Covenant. In this Article the two conditions are prescribed under which war may be waged in common by Great Britain and Japan. The first condition is that the war must be a defensive one against unprovoked attack or aggressive action on the part of any other country. There must, of course, be an agreed opinion of the two Powers as to the existence of a state of "unprovoked attack or aggressive action" in each case. And the second condition is that the war must have as its purpose the defence of the territorial rights or special interests of either Power in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India. Now compare these two conditions with the stipulations of Article 10 of the Covenant. Though differing in phraseology they are the same in substance, except in the case of the special interests with which I will deal later on. As members of the League, both Great Britain and Japan have likewise been bound by Article 10 of the Covenant to mutual assistance in case of external aggression. Their obligations under the Alliance may therefore overlap in this connection, but this fact cannot be regarded as an inconsistency. The one point on which it is necessary to reconcile the harmonious operation of both sets of machinery is that in such an emergency either Great Britain or Japan must carry out the directions of the Council of the League whose functions are to advise them of the necessary means by which their mutual obligations shall be fulfilled.

4. Now I come to the last and rather thorny question of

"special interests." What are the special interests contemplated in the provisions of the Alliance? This must be left in each case to the agreed decision of the parties concerned. It is clear that the two parties to the Alliance can wage a common war, without first submitting the case to the League, in defence of those special interests which they agree to be in jeopardy. But, under the terms of the Covenant, individual war is only admissible, beside the general war contemplated in Article 10, when the Council fails to obtain a unanimous decision on a disputed case as provided for in Clause 7, Article 15. In no other case and under no other circumstances can a member of the League resort to war without violating the provisions of the Covenant. As it is not prohibited by the terms of the Alliance to utilize the machinery of the League in such a case as the defence of special interests, it might be expected that the Allied Powers would act in conformity with the provisions of the Covenant, as well as of the Alliance in these cases. The conclusion I have been driven to, therefore, is that, in so far as the special interests are concerned, the Allied Powers are not permitted to take any independent action apart from the sphere of activities covered by the League Covenant.

THE IMPERIAL ASPECTS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM

BY F. A. MCKENZIE

(Formerly War Correspondent for the "*Daily Mail*" in the Far East.)

GREATER Britain is as directly interested as is England herself in securing the pacific and friendly settlement of the new issues in the Far East. Canada and South Africa, Australia and New Zealand are intimately affected. Should a new war come over the Pacific—and none but the most myopic denies the possibility of such a disaster—our Dominions, whether they desire it or not, would be brought sharply within the orbit of the struggle.

We want peace. We want freedom for trade. We want the establishment and maintenance of good relations with our neighbours. It is better for us frankly to face the difficulties ahead and to attempt to meet them than to find ourselves overwhelmed at a later date.

The main issue in the Far East which swallows up all others concerns the policy and purpose of Japan.

What is the policy of Japan?

On the one hand we are assured that she is essentially pacific and non-military, and is desirous of nothing so much as the maintenance of the "Open Door" and the continuance of friendly relations with the world at large. On the other hand we are told that she is deliberately and carefully pursuing the same policy in the Far East that Germany attempted in Europe.

Which is right?

There are two parties in Japan. There are the Liberals, including most intellectuals and a growing section of the commercial men, who favour a pacific and non-aggressive policy. The Premier of Japan is Liberal. The Press as a whole is Liberal. Large sections of working men and

traders are beginning to realize that aggressive war spells disaster. The journey of the Japanese Crown Prince to Europe was a great triumph for the pacifists and modernists.

But there is the strong Military group, including the heads of the dominant clans, which still has its way in foreign affairs and still really shapes the foreign policy of the country. Under the Constitution, leaders of the Militarist groups are chosen as Ministers of War and of the Navy, even under a Liberal régime. The Militarists are strong enough to defy the Liberal Government at times of crisis. No one who has closely studied recent events in Japan imagines that the recent Japanese policy in Siberia, Korea, and to some extent in China, was desired by Mr. Hara, the Premier, and his supporters.

The fact that even under a Liberal régime the Militarists really prevail is strikingly shown by the Japanese increase of military and naval expenditure. Japan to-day is spending 32 per cent. of her national income, 490,000,000 yen, on her Navy, and when the present naval programme is complete, the extraordinary expenditure will come to 800,000,000 yen. Fifteen years ago, when Japan's fleet was strong enough to defeat Russia, the annual naval expenditure was under 48,000,000 yen. The increase of military expenditure is going along on the same lines as that of the Navy.

It is even said that this avowed naval expenditure does not cover all. Months ago detailed stories of the building of a secret submarine fleet in Japan were reported in England. To-day the same stories are being openly printed in Japan. How far they are true, or if they are true at all, I have no means of knowing. But the very fact that tales such as these can be circulated illustrates the fevered atmosphere that prevails.

Japan, naturally a poor country despite her temporary accession of wealth because of the Great War, is arming to the teeth. History has shown that excessive expenditure

on armaments inevitably leads in the end to war. It is to the interest of the world to devise a means by which the suspicions and uneasiness of Japan will be placated and her military campaigns moderated. Otherwise one of two things will happen: the Military party will bring about a war of conquest on the mainland of Asia, or the working classes, finding the burden of their taxation intolerable, will rise in revolt.

The second acute problem in the Far East centres around the future of China. The root cause here is not the ambition of Japan, but the corruption and inefficiency of the ruling classes in China.

China should be one of the greatest Empires in the world. She possesses enormous national natural wealth and an industrious population of close on four hundred million. But the country is torn by internal dissensions; the provinces groan under the exactions of the Tutchuns, the Military Governors; many politicians under the Republic are showing themselves as venal and as selfish as under the Empire. There are many good men in China—reformers, enlightened statesmen, and patriots—but they are overwhelmed in the flood.

Japan has taken advantage of the situation in China to strengthen her own position. She has even encouraged some of the internal troubles which promise her so splendid a harvest. Perhaps it would be too much to expect a strong military nation with a neighbour so rich and so powerless to avoid taking advantage of her opportunities. Certainly Japan has not. The Twenty-one Demands which she put forward in the early months of the Great War would have meant the absorption of China had they been carried through. In her eagerness to reap all that she can she overlooked even her Treaty obligations to us, her Ally.

What is to become of China? Is she to drift into the position of a Japanese dependency, or is she to retain her independence?

If things are left alone, Japan will acquire dominating

control. The same process will happen to a large part of China that has already happened to Korea.

This would be disastrous to the West, politically, socially, and economically. Japanese domination of China means our final exclusion from one of the greatest and most profitable markets in the world. It means also, in the end, Japanese domination of the world.

Can the British Empire lead the way in helping to put China right? We need not try to act alone; obviously any concerted action would best be carried out by Great Britain, the United States, and Japan in co-operation. Even apart from action on a great scale, we could do much to help. We could show where we stood. We could let Japan understand in the most courteous and most diplomatic fashion that her present policy towards China should, in both her interest and ours, be modified.

The problem of Eastern Siberia has to be faced. Japan is rapidly working out her plan there of a nominally independent Eastern Siberian State, really under Japanese direction. She is making exclusive claims to natural wealth in Eastern Siberia, which will seriously hamper the enterprise of other countries.

So far as can be discovered, we have no settled policy in Eastern Siberia at all. It is time that we formulated one.

Our shipping interests in the Far East are threatened to a very great degree. Japanese shipbuilding is reaching a point that it may before long become the most serious world competitor with our own. Japanese shipping is advancing by leaps and bounds. Japanese shipping lines during the past four or five years have been opened up in all directions, and have succeeded in acquiring trade to a remarkable degree. The Japanese is a natural sailor, and the Japanese lines are supported by the State to an extent which enables them to under-cut others.

So far Japanese shipping expansion is the result of business ability and enterprise; the only way for us to

meet it is to show greater ability and enterprise. The friendly battle of trade is good for all. But it is for us to see that our shipowners have a fair chance. Under Japanese shipping laws, as under the United States shipping laws, inter-port traffic is not permitted to ships under a foreign register. Were the same laws applied to Japanese lines for inter-port trade in the British Empire some of them would not be able to continue on their present scale. It is up to us to defend our shipping firms by seeing that they obtain fair play.

The Dominions are profoundly and intimately concerned over the question of Asiatic migration. The peoples of the Far East are increasing at an amazing rate. Thirty years ago the population of Japan was under forty millions; to-day it is just on sixty millions. Twenty years ago it is doubtful if there were more than thirteen million Koreans; to-day—including the Korean emigrants to Manchuria—the nation numbers quite twenty millions. No one who has witnessed the life in China can doubt but that a similar increase is going on there.

This unique growth is largely due to the introduction of Western sanitation. The people are naturally fecund, but in olden times their population was kept down by epidemics and by lack of simple sanitary precautions. Doubtless in the course of a generation or two this amazing growth will be checked by fresh factors; Nature has a way of balancing herself in the end. But for the next thirty or forty years it is going to present an acute problem.

What is to become of these peoples? Where are they to go? Population must find an outflow.

The problem centres more particularly around Japan, because it is there associated with another. The Japanese are one of the proudest nations in the world. They demand that their people shall be treated the same as the people of European nations. They are quite willing that there should be exclusive legislation against other Asiatic

nations, but they deeply resent it when directed against themselves.

The Japanese is, from the point of view of the British Dominions, the least desirable of all Oriental immigrants. This is due in part to his very virtues. He is strong, tenacious, clannish; the Japanese stand together; they have a way of absorbing industry after industry. Whether this way is fair or not does not enter into consideration just now. The great Dominions point-blank refuse to permit an immigration of Japanese workers, save under very special limitations. Japan unwillingly consents to this perforce for the moment, but does not mean to do so permanently.

Can the surplus population of Asia be diverted to fresh lands?

There is an idea that room might be found for the surplus Japanese in Korea, Siberia, Manchuria, or Mongolia. But the Japanese are unsuited for a very cold climate, and will not go there in any numbers. The United States will not permit any Japanese absorption of Mexico, however disguised. The one open land of suitable climate that could absorb millions is Brazil.

The gradual growth of strained relations between Japan and the United States presents one of the two greatest aspects of Far Eastern affairs to-day. The real trouble between Japan and the United States is not the Californian question, but the Japanese Imperial policy on the mainland of Asia. Time after time during the last ten years America has protested against Japanese plans in Siberia, in Manchuria, and in China. The United States has shown that it does not intend to permit the Japanese absorption of China.

Here we return to our first point. The peaceful solution of the problem of the New Far East depends mainly on one factor: the success of the Liberal element in Japan.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE POLITICAL UNITY OF INDIA

BY BALACHANDRA CHINTAMAN VAIDYA, M.A.

It is my first duty to apologize for the ambiguity in the title of my paper. For a considerable time this theme has been constantly before my eyes as I was studying for my M.A. examination with History and Economics as my voluntary subjects. I thought it proper to summarize all my views on the above subject and lay them before the learned ladies and gentlemen assembled here for their consideration.

The subject has a sentimental aspect, as every question ought to have. Every Indian honestly believes that his country is a nation, and not a conglomerate of different nationalities brought together under the British rule. It is quite natural for the Indian to maintain that the differences of race, language, and religion have been unduly magnified by foreign writers, who had a strong bias against ascribing to India all the attributes of a nation. I share this sentiment in common with my fellow-countrymen, but I think there are other considerations, mainly historical and political, and my chief object in submitting this essay is its treatment from an historical and a political point of view.

Drawbacks in the study of Indian history are many. Any intelligent student interested in the study of the history of India is confronted by a lack of good authorities. It is true there are a number of good books written by various authors. The late Mr. Vincent Smith tried a systematic survey of the history of India. Mr. Taylor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Professor Jadunath Sircar, Mr. Sardesai from Baroda, are important authorities. Yet the importance

of Indian history is so great that not even one-tenth of the work has been done. As it has been aptly remarked by Lord Curzon, the history of India has always remained a mystery, and will ever remain so. It has confounded most of the astute historians, and will always do so. Everybody must pay due regard to the opinion of so high an authority as Lord Curzon. I, for my part, sincerely believe that only the paucity of adequate literature on the subject can have made the learned Earl to believe it to be a mystery. No doubt it is a mystery, but the mystery can be solved by the continuous work of several historians. We have amongst us the histories of the Moghuls, several learned writers on the history of the Marathas, such works as the "Forgotten Empire," by Mr. Sewell, or the beautiful work on the history of the Sikhs by Mr. MacCauliffe, but no systematic survey of Indian history has been completed, no principle has been evolved. The history, as it were, seems a dull cycle of ever-recurring wars, sieges, and massacres; the rise and fall of dynasties, conquests of kingdoms, and so on. The foreign historians have sneered at the history of India as showing nothing else. No doubt they have very good grounds to believe so, but it is our duty as Indians to destroy this belief. We must try to get something higher out of it.

The task of the historian of India is stupendous. He has to study separately the history of so many different dynasties each as important as the other, and this accounts for the vastness of his work. The study of the Moghul Empire is in itself a big task. The ancient period is singularly deficient in proper material. The historian has to rely on such evidences as coins, rock edicts, or the accounts left by foreigners. Among these the Greeks—such as Arrian, Curtius Rufus, or Megasthenes—and the Chinese—Hiouen Tsang, Fa Hien, and Itsing—are the most important. Although the arduous work of many antiquaries has resulted in the collection of many original materials, it can be safely said that we are still in the initial stages. To gather materials for each dynasty is enough to occupy the historian of that dynasty throughout his life. The labours of the archæological department, as well as those of

several historical associations, have resulted in the collection of much valuable material. Yet there is little attempt at the careful classification and the publication of that material. An historian whose main object is to write a systematic exposition of the history of India should have materials ready for him. He cannot possibly consider every detail of each separate dynasty, which, in fact, is the task of the historian of that dynasty. It is only after the details of each separate dynasty have been carefully investigated that the attempt to tackle the various problems of Indian history can succeed.

Another feature to be noted is that the present political divisions do not correspond to the boundaries of ancient kingdoms, nor do they represent the division of India on a linguistic principle. They are purely matters of convenience, and partly date from the old times of the East India Company. The possessions of the East India Company were roughly divided into the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, and as new Provinces were acquired they were placed under one of the Presidencies. Thus Sindh, which was conquered in 1843, was incorporated in the Bombay Presidency because it was convenient to administer the Province from Bombay. But the Province bears no similarity to the rest of the Presidency, and every reason can be shown for keeping it apart. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh show a singular anomaly. Part of it—i.e., the Benares Division—was acquired from the Emperor Shah Alum, while Sir John Shore acquired another part of it by treaty from the Vizir of Oudh. In 1800 the Marquis Wellesley acquired from the Vizir by treaty the present Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur Divisions. In 1803 Daulatrao Scindia ceded to the English the present Meerut Division and a large portion of the Allahabad Division. In 1814 the Kumaon Division was added which was ceded by the Gurkhas. In 1856 Oudh was incorporated in the British Dominions by the Marquis of Dalhousie. But originally the Province comprised the three Moghul subahs of Oudh, Allahabad, and Agra. It would be of interest to recount the previous history of the Bombay Presidency. Sindh, which was conquered by the

Arabs in the seventh century, passed through several vicissitudes, and was finally incorporated in 1843. Guzerath was a great kingdom in ancient times. It was overrun by Allahuddin Khilji, but in 1371 again became an independent Mohammedan kingdom, which was overrun by Akbar in 1572 and linked to the Moghul dominions. On the decay of the Moghuls it was overrun by the Marathas, and was shared equally by the Gaikwar and the Peshwa. On the fall of the Peshwa in 1818 his dominions in Guzerath fell to the Bombay Presidency, while the Gaikwar is still ruling over his territories. The Deccan formed part of the great kingdom of Yadavas, which was overrun by Allahuddin Khilji in 1309, and was transferred to the Bahmini kingdom. On the break-up of the kingdom it was shared between the Adilshahi and Nizamshahi dynasties. When the Nizamshahi territories were parcelled between the Moghuls and the kings of Bijapur, a large part remained to Bijapur. Shivaji extended his kingdom at the expense of Bijapur, and from 1714 practically the whole of the present Bombay Deccan belonged to the Marathas, and was incorporated in Bombay in 1818. Both Khandesh and Surat were independent kingdoms. Khandesh was incorporated by Akbar, and remained with the Moghuls until it was overrun by the Marathas. Parts of the Southern Maratha territories once belonged to Haidar and Tipu.

Again, some of the most important events in the history of India occurred in territories now held by Indian princes, and complete knowledge about the geographical and physical nature of these is not possessed by many historians. H.E.H. the Nizam's territories contain many places of historical interest. In it are situated Daulatabad, Warrangal, Kalyani, and Malkhed, seats of ancient Hindu kingdoms; Bidar, Gulburga, and Golconda, seats of Mohammedan dynasties, as well as Aurangabad, for a long time the capital of the Moghul territories in the Deccan. Many places of importance during the mediæval period of Indian history belong to Central India, which is not much frequented by travellers. We have Ujjain, Bhilsa, Dhar, and Mandu in these parts. Kashmir, Nepal,

and Rajputana would furnish valuable information that is little utilized. Kathiawar, which is full of states, formed in ancient times part of the ancient kingdom of Vallabhi, and was an important province under the Mauryas. Mysore would be very useful for an historian, while Travancore and Cochin would exhibit true specimens of Hindu society, as well as the earliest seats of Christianity in India.

“The old order changes, giving place to new.” Old routes have been forgotten ; old languages have become corrupted, old cities deserted. Among these we have Bijapur, Surat, Jaunpur, and Gaur, once big cities, each containing more than a million men. Vijayanagar, Kanauj, and Taxila also were among the most flourishing cities. Old harbours have given place to new ; Calicut, Masulipatam, Goa, Surat, Hughli, and Broach have given way before Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Karachi. Many cities of ancient and mediæval times were situated in the middle of the country, but now the most flourishing are the seaports. This contrasts very unfavourably with the cities and capitals of Europe. London was famous as a port even in Roman times. Cadiz and Marseilles were frequented even by the Phœnicians ; Paris, Rome, Vienna, and Constantinople have been political capitals for a very long time. Hamburg and Antwerp were famous as trade centres even in the Middle Ages. The only modern cities of Europe are Berlin and Petrograd. Delhi and Patna are perhaps the only examples of Indian cities famous for a long time.

Finally, we have the inevitable decay that has befallen the various parts of the country when they ceased to be political centres. Many parts of India which once were very fertile, prosperous, and populous, are among the least prosperous now. Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Provinces were much better populated in the times of Darius than at the present time. He drew one-third of his revenue from his Indian provinces, but there is no evidence that he ever held Sindh and the Eastern Punjab, which are now very fertile and well populated. We must bear in mind that Darius ruled over a rich kingdom, and his satrapies of Ionia, Persia, Chaldea, Assyria,

Babylon, and Media, which, owing to want of good government, are almost barren at p^resent, were among the best regions the world ever knew. If his Indian domains surpassed all these in prosperity we can only imagine the contrast with the present times. The population of his territories which form the present Persia was nearly 50,000,000, while it is only 7,000,000 to-day. Alexander found India very fertile and prosperous, yet he never crossed the Ganges. Central India was very rich during the mediæval period. Telingana was once a rich territory. The Deccan, especially the tracts around Aurangabad and Bidar, was a very rich garden in ancient times. Another big tract, comprising Khandesh, the Western Central Provinces, including the Nerbudda Division and the southern portion of Central India, was a rich land, with its centre round Burhanpur. Bellary and Anantapur Districts of Madras Presidency, with the adjoining Raichur Doab from the Nizam's dominions, were the centre of the Vizianagar kingdom, and even now form one of the best cotton tracts in India.

It is proper to begin by inquiring what the ancient writers thought to be the limits of India. In "Bhishmaparva of the Mahabharat" an elaborate list of the tribes that came to fight in the big battle is given, with a substantial description of the countries from which they came, but I do not know enough of it. In the Canto IV. of Raghuvamsa a good description of the progress of the king Raghu is given, and in Canto VI. another account of the kings from various countries in India. I do not mean that the events described did actually happen, but it gives a good idea of the territories included in India. Raghu goes to Anga and Sumha, then turns to the south. Conquering the Kalingas and the Pandyas, he turns to the west coast, and, overrunning the kingdoms there, encounters the Persians on the Indus. Then he conquered the Kambojas, which I think means Balkh, and Marulas, which I think is modern Badakshan. Then he conquered the mountainous tribes of the Himalayas, and finally returned to Ayodhya, where he received the submission of the kings of Assam and Upper Burma. In Canto VI., kings from Shurasen (Muttra and the country west),

Avanti—which, of course, is Central Malwa—also a king from the Mahismati on the River Nerbudda, another from the east coast, and a chieftain from Pandya—*i.e.*, the extreme south, are mentioned. The Greek writers include a large territory west of the River Indus in India. Of course, there is every evidence for Afghanistan being included in ancient India. The country was famous for its Buddhistic monasteries, and in the ninth century A.D. there were Hindu kings at Kabul. Seleucus ceded Aria, Arachosia, and Gedrosia to Chandragupta. We can conclude that the geographical limit of India must include a large part of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The rest we need not discuss. I have to say one thing about the Provinces in the west. They were often held by kings from India, and as often lost. They were held by the Mauryas, but after them we have Greek kings again ruling them. In the first century the Kushan dynasty established itself in this Province, with its capital at Purushapura, which is identified with Peshawar. They were then conquered by the Sassanian monarchs, and, going through various vicissitudes, were again united to the Moghul Empire under Babar. They were held to the death of Bahadurshah.

Next we are to consider the question whether the whole of India, or the greater part of it, has ever been held by a single power. The greatest empire in ancient times was that of Asoka, who held almost the whole of India, including the south and Afghanistan. Asoka himself was one of the greatest monarchs the world has ever seen, holding a saintly reputation equal to that of Marcus Aurelius and St. Louis. Then follows a period in which there were strong kingdoms both in the north and the south. The Guptas held practically the whole of North India; Harsha's dominions also extended through the north to an equal extent. In the south we have the Chalukya kings and their successors, the Rashtrakutas, who were supreme in the south down from the Vindhyas to the ocean. During this period we find the rivalry between the north and the south for domination in India as a whole. Samudragupta made a successful invasion of the south, and his campaign lasted three years.

The attempt of Harsha to conquer the south was not successful. He was beaten by King Pulikesin on the banks of the River Nerbudda. However, a succession of strong kingdoms in the south prevented the entry of North Indians into the south. Both the people from the north and the south contended for the mastery. The attempts from the north were to overrun the south, while those from the south were intended to beat back these invasions, and if possible, conquer the north itself. Each claimed the other as its rightful field. However, all these kingdoms were much stronger than is probably believed. But the rulers of the north could not think themselves safe when they had dangers from the north-west, and were also threatened by the kingdoms of the south, who many times conquered Malwa and Guzerath. The north gradually weakened, probably because the south always showed a bold front. The result of the perpetual strife between the north and the south was that the strong monarchies were gradually split up into small kingdoms, and when the Mohammedans invaded India they found few kingdoms strong enough to resist their onslaught. Step by step they again conquered, and became masters of practically the whole of India. They were followed by the Moghuls, and later by the Marathas, who wielded no less influence. They have been succeeded by the British, who have again unified the whole country.

What is the cause of all these occurrences? If you look to the history of other countries you cannot find such a course of events. What, then, made India come so often under the rule of one emperor? and, again, what led to the downfall of these empires and the splitting up of the country into several kingdoms? No other empire has shown such powers of resuscitation. The Roman Empire when once destroyed never revived. The same was the case with the Macedonian, Persian, and Spanish Empires, or, in more recent times, with the Russian, Turkish, and Austrian Empires. What features were present in the Indian Empire that these empires did not exhibit? Russia originally was not any greater than the Great and Little Russia. We have there the monarchy of Rurik split up into

little principalities and such republics as Novgorod, Tchernigrov, Tver, Pskoff, and the holy city of Kieff. The whole of it was swept away by the Tartar invasion of 1224, and it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that the country was cleared of Tartars. To achieve it a strong monarchy had to be got up which gradually absorbed more and more Provinces until it grew into a mighty empire at the end of the nineteenth century. But it did not increase the boundaries of Russia proper because the Russians had much to learn from and little to teach their subjects.

The most influential community in the Empire was the German. Next came the Jews, Armenians, and Poles. Russians proper were less advanced than these, and the Empire was purely the creation of the Czars. But the country has one disadvantage. The boundaries of Russia proper—*i.e.*, the Great and Little Russia—are so undefined that she would run a great risk of extirpation if not well protected and highly organized. Nor did the rule of the Czars bring harmony to their territories. The Czars were not personally to blame; they could only do so by Germanizing the country, which to the head of the Slavs and the Greek Church was impossible. All other empires had very ill-defined boundaries. They were only held by a conquering race.

India has this advantage: its boundaries are tolerably well defined; Nature, as it were, demands that the territories within those boundaries should be under one rule, and this has happened many times. A nation is also held to have well-defined boundaries. India in this respect nearly approaches a nation.

Then, how are we to classify India? Are we to call it a nation, or an empire, or a country, or a mere geographical unit? For the solution of those problems it is necessary to take instances from the history of other countries.

For the examples we have England, France, Germany, and the United States. England was a land of independent kingdoms in the Anglo-Saxon period. The Norman Conquest unified England, and both the Norman and Angevin kings strove steadily for her unification and consolidation. A series

of able monarchs—notably, William I., Henry I., Henry II., Edward I., and Edward III.—did much for this work, and by the reign of the Tudors the country was made thoroughly uniform. Again, in France, from Hugh Capet down to Louis XI., we find the same process. France originally was divided into several dukedoms, each inhabited by people speaking different languages, of different race and different sympathies. The kings steadily strove to unify France, and now France is one of the best instances of a nation. Germany has not a well-defined boundary, and she had no national unity until the time of the Franco-Prussian War. Even the crash of the recent war has not disunited Germany, and this must go to the credit of the founders of the new German Empire, notably Bismarck and Moltke. The United States of America are peopled by different races, yet the people very readily take to American habits; their aim is to secure uniformity. They have similar ideas and similar sentiments; they have similar political aims. This can very well be copied by Indians. If we strive to make ourselves equal in every respect we are sure to do so.

Then we have to turn to the great empires of the past—the Spanish, Russian, Austrian, and Turkish Empires. They lasted for a considerable time. They owed their origin to the conquering races, and they retained their empires as long as they maintained their vigour. In all these empires the conquerors did not try to spread their own civilization over their subjects, who were little inferior except in military organization.

Then we must also consider the great empires of ancient times—the Roman and the Macedonian Empires. The Roman Empire is the most remarkable. Under the wise rule of the Flavian emperors and the equally prosperous reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, the consolidation of the empire went on apace. The Emperor Caracalla made citizenship universal, and Constantine made Christianity the universal religion. The empire became a nation, all people having the same laws and the same language, the same privileges and the same religion. With all this the empire was decaying, because

when all equalization was achieved there was no stimulus left with the populace. The weight of taxation was getting more and more oppressive, the luxury of the emperors and the populace was increasing by leaps and bounds, and the people were losing the martial spirit. No systematic defence could be organized. The army and the Prætorian guards were full of barbarians. Macaulay in his essay on the War of the Spanish Succession writes that empires gain by timely pruning, and he seconds his argument by saying that the Roman Empire gained by the abandonment of Germany. True, the empire gained for a time, but it lost the stimulus of spreading the Roman civilization. The rule that the empire was not to extend beyond the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates was rigidly followed, except by Trajan, who overran both Dacia and Parthia. The task of unification was achieved in the third century. The unity swept away all local distinctions. The inhabitants of Gaul and Asia called themselves Romans. Even the emperors hailed from different provinces and different classes.

In the fourth century nothing remained to be done. All force was spent, and the empire fell a helpless prey to the barbarians.

If one looks to the Macedonian Empire, the empire itself was shortlived, but the results outlived the empire for nearly a thousand years. The Greeks ought to have done the work of hellenizing the East, but they lacked cohesion, unity, and force of character, and could never make common cause among themselves. This was done by the Macedonians, who were only half Greeks, but were possessed of greater force of character and were superior in military organization. Alexander planned a great hellenization of the East, and kept his capital at Babylon in the heart of this empire. Egypt thoroughly took the Greek civilization, and under the Ptolemies was a great centre of Greek learning. The untimely death of Alexander and the quarrels of his successors left his task half done. Greeks were not fitted for this task, which required higher civic virtues, greater force of character, and a bold conception. The Greeks could never appreciate Alexander's high ideals, and kept

quarrelling with each other until they were swamped by the Romans ; yet the East retained its Greek culture until the conquest of all those parts by the Arabs, who copied not a little of Greek civilization and kept the flame of knowledge burning.

An empire represents something higher than a nation. A nation has everything achieved beforehand. It has a tolerably well-defined frontier, one language for at least a large majority of the population, the identity of political ideal, if possible one religion, and a common bond of sympathy. It is also necessary that the majority should be at least equal to the minority in every respect, and should constitute the ruling power. The empire is just the opposite. The ruling class must be in a minority, but is generally exceptionally strong and vastly better developed. Their aim is to make the ruled their equals in every respect, to elevate, to educate, and to assimilate them. In such an empire the backward communities benefit by their contact with their superiors. The empire is a drift, whether conscious or unconscious, toward equality, civilization, and elevation. So long as this aim is kept by those who guide its policy, the empire's foundation is firm. Of course, there have been empires whose only aim was domination. Such empires necessarily lead a precarious existence, because they are not answering their purpose. They become purely matters of jealousy both on the part of the ruled and the foreigners. Empires when their aims are achieved run a serious risk of decay, which, of course, is natural to any country that is too old.

Here we must again make clear the distinction between an empire and a federal State. The aims of a federal State are somewhat different. Various States combine with each other for their own safety, the chief aim in view being the integrity of the component parts. The individuality between different States is kept up. A citizen is a citizen of his State, and he claims his federal citizenship as the citizen of a particular State. The most important thing in a federal State is the articles of bond or the federal constitution.

India does not fall under any of these categories. It stands by itself. The political problems of India are peculiar

to her. Of course, the histories of other countries throw much light on the problems of Indian history. Why did not India obtain that political unity which was achieved by several countries? What retarded her growth into a nation? And what led to the downfall of so many dynasties which we find successfully coming after each other at Delhi? These are very difficult problems, and we ought again to look to European history.

Fortunately, for our guidance we have one historical episode in deliberating these peculiar problems. It is the history of the Holy Roman Empire. Happily we have two very good books written on this subject—the “Holy Roman Empire,” by Viscount Bryce, and the “Mediæval Empire,” by the Right Hon. Herbert Fisher, President of the Board of Education. The Holy Roman Empire is held as a kind of ideal to be aimed at; and only when the emperor was exceptionally strong, as in the case of Otto, or Henry III., or Frederick I. (Barbarossa), or Frederick II., was he able to carve out something real from the theory.

Both Viscount Bryce and Dr. Fisher have treated the question with great ability. Both of these authors admit that the task was so heavy that it was bound to fail. The emperor was always elected, and the principle of election brought in elements of weakness. But it always brought a very able emperor on the throne. Every emperor from Otto down to Frederick II. was a man of very great abilities, and in every way superior to the monarchs of other countries. Why could not such a long line of emperors give permanence to the Empire?

Dr. Fisher points to the extent of territories. In this respect the kings of England had a great advantage, because their territories were small and compact, easily managed and consolidated. If it was so difficult for a king to consolidate such a country as England, what must have been the task of the Holy Roman Emperor, whose territories were many times as big as England? Theoretically the empire included the whole of Christendom and actually most of present Germany, both Holland and Belgium, Switzerland, a large part of Eastern France, the present Austria and Bohemia, as well as modern

Italy. No wonder that the mighty emperors failed in their task ! We are not to suppose from their failure that they were not true to their work. No monarch of the Middle Ages worked so hard for the subjects as the Holy Roman Emperor. The emperors were perpetually travelling through the dominions, administering justice, redressing wrong, and destroying robber dens, and knew no rest. They worked hard for the civilization of Germany. In these emperors we find everything that is desired from a monarch.

Writers are divided about the advantages and disadvantages that accrued to Germany and Italy from accepting the title of the Holy Roman Emperor by the king of the Germans. Many writers are of opinion that this connection in the end proved disastrous to both. Both Viscount Bryce and Dr. Fisher admit that Germany secured many advantages from it. By associating the king of the Germans with the exalted office of the Holy Roman Emperor, the Pope conferred an immense benefit on Europe. Europe was saved from the Saracens, the Northmen, the Moghuls, and finally the Turks. Something was kept up of the old Roman civilization, and fresh impetus was given to Christianity. The Romanization of territories east of the Elbe is entirely due to the efforts of the emperors. The prosperity of Italy in the Middle Ages was greatly facilitated by the protection afforded by the emperors. It would have been impossible to carry on trade if the Saracens had conquered Italy. The benefits conferred upon Germany, though not unanimously approved, are none the less apparent. Germany emerged from barbarism. In the Middle Ages she was as civilized and as prosperous as Italy. Trade and industry developed, as was amply shown by the Hanseatic League. All this is admitted by all authors, but there is no agreement about the political effect, and here I offer my own explanation. By associating their emperor with a noble cause, they saved themselves from the fate that overtook the conquering races. The Romans, Greeks, and Persians are lost altogether, but it is an historical fact that the Germans did not share this fate. The empire was unsuccessful, but this ideal

spurred many others to do a noble work. Such frontier marches as Brandenburg, Meissen, and Austria (I believe the name is Middle March), grew into the powerful kingdoms of Prussia, Saxony, and Bohemia, and when the old kingdoms of Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Lombardy decayed, they sprang forward and kept up the German tradition. The ideal might have prevented the Germans from achieving political unity, but it saved them. We know that from A.D. 410 onwards the Germans speedily overran a large portion of Western Europe and North Africa. It was quite likely that their kingdom would have been destroyed after the death of Ludwig and the partition of Verdun. But this did not happen. The wars of religion devastated Germany, which did not recover until the nineteenth century.

Here we have a strange instance of the Middle Ages. Germany had an homogeneous population, a vigorous race, a unity of religion, great rulers, and noble ideals, but failed to achieve national unity. On the other hand, England and France, which had none of these, could attain it. In England the Normans, and in France the Franks, were the ruling race. They were the most capable, vigorous, and enterprising of all the population in the country. They did their work resolutely, and succeeded in making the country homogeneous. In Germany a Saxon was not superior to a Swabian or a Bavarian, and there was no ruling race different from the people. Of course there were barons and peasants, but they were of the same stock. And rule was only possible by an appeal to higher motives. Both in England and France the rulers had no need of high motives.

We infer from these facts that unity of race, religion, and language does not necessarily bring about political unity, but sometimes even prevents it. There are many men of the same language, religion, and race both in England and America, but there is more likelihood of jealousy than better feeling. Political unity is due to different causes.

Now we come to our final question, Why did not India attain political unity, why could not the emperors of Delhi con-

solidate and unify the country? Our first answer is that this task was impossible. If the Holy Roman Emperor with the Pope at his back could not unify Germany, it is no wonder that the emperors of Delhi failed, since his dominions were thrice as big as the Holy Roman Empire. We must also take into account the physical conditions of India. For nearly seven months (April to October) no movements of an army were possible in those days. During the summer the heat is too great for vigorous exertion, and during the rains it was impossible to cross flooded rivers. Transport was very difficult, and though the Moghuls built some good roads, they are in no way to be compared with the roads built by the Romans. India excelled in decorative architecture, not in useful engineering.

The climate of India has affected the energies of the people. We have had very few men with both the head to plan and hands to execute. We had such men as Chāndragupta, Asoka, and Harsha in ancient times—Babar, Akbar, and Aurangzib among the Moghuls, Sivaji and Bajiravi among the Marathas. But men showing remarkable powers of mind and at the same time possessed of great strength and endurance are few. The physical configuration of India is much varied, and the climate also changes accordingly. In summer-time Rajputana, the Punjab, Central India, and the West Coast are very hot and enervating. During some parts of the year Nature revels in riotous abundance, while at other times everything is barren.

This state of affairs reacts on the habits of man. If a man gets wealthy he is very prone to luxuries in India; wealth rarely acted as a stimulus. We find comparatively few instances of kings who, having succeeded to a prosperous kingdom, did not indulge in luxuries, but spent their time in devotion to their duties. The same might be said of provincial governors. They seldom acquitted themselves well, but were either rebellious or culpably lax, and this prevented the emperors of Delhi from having a firm hold over the south. The governor either so disorganized the south that it was practically of no use to his master, or if he was an able man he organized it with a view of becoming independent. The communications were bad, and

it was never possible to maintain proper supervision. The Bahmini kingdom was originally founded by a governor of the south who had rebelled against his master at Delhi. In turn this kingdom was parcelled among its governors. Indian kings were generally ill served. The only Emperor who was well served was Akbar. He always chose good men and thoroughly relied on them, and he was rewarded with a powerful kingdom. Neither Jehangir nor Shah Jehan can be compared to Akbar. Historians have blamed Aurangzib for having ruined the empire. In my opinion the two former were more responsible than he. When Aurangzib ascended the throne he found that the empire was already becoming a colossus stuffed with clouts. The luxury of Jehangir and Shah Jehan had started a rot. Everybody was becoming luxurious. Provincial governors were becoming lax; the Rajputs lost all their admiration for emperors; everybody was thinking of his own private ends rather than of the empire. Aurangzib tried to stop all this, and perhaps he might have thought that the only way to do it was to give a vigorous impetus to Islam. He thought he would regenerate the spirit of his Mohammedan followers, which could not possibly be done. The only result of Aurangzib's policy was that he turned the Rajputs and Marathas into his inveterate enemies. I believe Aurangzib only made a last desperate attempt to save his empire from decay. Had he succeeded in the prime of his youth he would have done something more, but he ascended the throne when he was forty-one, and even then was not free to do as he pleased as long as his father was alive. The attempts of the Marathas failed because they were not unanimous after the battle of Paniput. Their empire was rather a loose confederacy.

It is a result of its geographical position that the North-West of India is peculiarly vulnerable. From October to March Northern India is peculiarly favourable for warfare. The land is generally dry, the rivers resume their normal course, the climate is delightful and very favourable to vigorous exertion. The country itself is the least capable of defence. After the Indus there is no position that cannot be outflanked, no fortress

that can be defended. Supplies both for horses and men are easily procured, because there is plenty at that time. Any conqueror emerging from the north-west could go straight to Bengal. Perhaps it was for this reason that we find the military art not well developed. Personally the Indian had plenty of courage, but he did not use it with shrewdness. The results of a single battle were enough to seal the fate of big kingdoms. No attempts were made to take advantage of good positions, to cut off the enemy's supply, to attack him in the rear, or to outflank his positions. A soldier knew how to fight, but there were no officers to lead, no able generals to command, no tactics or strategy. There was no great organization of the military department, with its adjuncts of supply and transport.

I do not want to magnify these defects. I only say that we ought to know these and try to remove them. Nor is this task impossible. If we are serious about it, we can get rid of them in a reasonable time. We had big and strong men in ancient times. Alexander was greatly struck with the magnificent form of Porus. Many Greek authors write about Indians as tall, strong, and brave. If it was possible for India to have such men in ancient times, why not at present? The climate, certainly, was not cooler in ancient times. We had Chandragupta, who measured swords with Seleucus and gave him a sound beating. Seleucus was trained in the campaigns of Alexander, and most of his soldiers had received Macedonian training. This fact reflects great credit on Chandragupta, who must have been a great general and strategist. His military administration was perfect. Akbar and Shivaji, also, were very good strategists. The British Government has now classed the men from Bengal and Madras as unwarlike. But the earlier troops of the East India Company were recruited from these provinces. They bore the brunt of the fighting against the Marathas, and were very faithful and true to their officers. The troops with which Sir Arthur Wellesley made his famous march on Poona in 1802, a distance of sixty miles in one day, were composed of men from Madras and Mysore. We remember the famous march of Lord Roberts from Kabul

to Kandahar, but let nobody forget the famous march of Wellesley. I believe with proper care any community can furnish suitable military material.

I believe that the idea that India was one country must have been familiar to us for a long time. The man in possession of Delhi was held to be in theoretical possession of India. Every conqueror first turned his eyes to Delhi. We have an interesting conversation at the Court of King Shahu between two rival ministers ; Shripatrao, the Pratinidhi (Chief Secretary), maintained that the Marathas ought to turn their attention to the south and consolidate it. Bajirao I., the Peshwa, maintained that they ought to look north and capture Delhi. Until they had done that the Marathas would not be honoured as the masters of India. This is quite enough to show that a vague idea of political unity must always have been before statesmen. Why is not Paris or London, or Berlin or Vienna, termed the capital of Europe ? No conqueror would think himself master of Europe simply because he held Paris or Berlin. This is because the idea that Europe is a single country is unthinkable.

High ideals are the mainstay of big nations, without which nations are sure to decay. India was under one rule when its rulers were actuated by high ideals. The empire of Asoka was in no small degree due to his zeal for Buddhism. Those of the Guptas and the Chalukyas in the south mark the revival of Hinduism. When the Mohammedans conquered India their zeal for Islam was at the bottom of it. That of the Moghuls was based on the principles of toleration and amity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. Again, the Maratha Empire marked a revival of Hinduism. Before the birth of Shivaji there was a very great literary and religious activity in Maharashtra.

I have hitherto dealt with the causes why India, although there are many reasons for it to have political unity, did not substantially get it. We know what has prevented it in the past, and our duty is to try to avoid committing mistakes in the future. We have now a common Government, we are united in sympathy. The Government, although not coming up to

our ideals, is tolerably efficient. Property and life are as safe and public services are as good as in any other country. About the political aim I need not say anything. Everybody admits that Dominion Home Rule is the ideal, although there may be a difference of opinion about the time and ways in which it is to be attained. But in my opinion the political development will be of no use if it is not accompanied with social, economical, and intellectual progress. We must keep our eye on all these, and should not neglect any of them. During the past thirty years much progress has been made, and our only duty is to accelerate it as much as possible.

Everybody knows that India in ancient times was one of the seats of civilization. The country has a fascination for foreigners, who have tried to reach it by various ways. We kept up the glory so long as we were teaching others. India was famous for its learning in ancient times. The Persian monarchs always entertained Indian scholars. Haroun-al-Reshid and his son Mamoon had many Indian scholars at their Court. One who reads the story of "Sindbad the Sailor" would remember that Sindbad in one of his wanderings came to an island where he had the good fortune of conversing with learned men from India. During the Buddhistic era the country swarmed with devout Buddhists from all parts of the world. We had famous pilgrims like Hiouen-Tsang, Fa Hien, and Itsing. Hiouen-Tsang undertook a perilous journey from the North of China through the Desert of Gobi to Chinese Turkestan. Then, passing through the land of Seven Rivers, he came through Balkh and Kaffiristan (which was a part of Gandhara) to the North-Western Frontier Provinces. The very fact that Hiouen-Tsang was willing to undertake such a perilous journey for the sake of gratifying his desire to see India must be enough to show the admiration felt by foreigners about it.

India has a very good geographical position, favourably situated for commerce. Its north touches the Pamirs, with a likelihood of good trade with Central Asia. On the north-east we have Chinese Turkestan and Tibet, and good commerce can

be developed with these countries. All these countries are extraordinarily rich in minerals, which only await communication and exploitation. Bhamo is well situated for trade with Western China, and both Moulmein and Tenasserim can be made good centres of trade with Siam and French Indo-China. On the west coast we have Karachi, with unrivalled facilities for trade with the countries round the Persian Gulf, Mesopotamia, and Baluchistan. Colombo and Bombay are well situated for trade with Europe, Australia, and all countries on the African coast of the Indian Ocean, comprising the very rich lands from the Cape to Somaliland. A great future awaits our trade and industries. We have only to persevere and we shall surely be rewarded. Let us not forget this commercial and economic factor.

We must be guided by high ideals. We have to play our part in civilization. It is a very uphill task, but the heaviness of the task must not be made a plea for inaction. Let us not suppose that everything will be done for us by the Government. We must put our own shoulder to the wheel, and it would be well if we can work in harmony with the Government. We have to spread education, alleviate misery, and drive out superstition, and the help of Government would certainly be welcome. The task is so important that no help should be refused. Rome was not built in a day. If we proceed by sure steps our success is sure. Let us not be narrow-minded or conceited, and let us adopt a liberal view. Some writers have stigmatized Western civilization as materialistic, but I believe it is wrong to take such a view. Civilization means progress—intellectual, physical, moral, and economical—and there can be no civilization that omits any of these. Our path should be recognized, and there should be no hesitation, no flinching. If we have firm determination, we can successfully go through with it.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, March 21, 1921, at 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W., when a paper was read by Bhalachandra Chintaman Vaidya, Esq., M.A., entitled "An Historical View of the Political Unity of India." The Right. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Colonel C. L. Swaine, Major A. E. Hay, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, the Rev. Frank Penny, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Dr. S. S. Bhagval, Mr. P. J. Thomas, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Sayal, Mr. S. Arumugam, Miss M. Sorabji, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mrs. Drury, Mrs. De Monte, Miss Ashworth, Mrs. Collis, Madame Leo Gabrici, Mr. V. N. Palekar, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The paper having been read,

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think, having heard the paper which has been read by Mr. Vaidya, you will agree with me that he has supplied us with a wealth of information which will stimulate our thoughts for some time to come, and will give us a great deal to think about when we get home. He has taken a great deal of trouble to provide us with so many facts, and in furnishing an historical account in regard to this subject in India, particularly in the Middle Ages. The main theme of the paper is that India cannot be regarded as a nation. That is the theme on which the whole of the paper is practically based. Some time ago I remember there was a very erudite paper read before the Royal Geographical Society dealing with what constituted a nation, and as far as I remember it was stated that a nation implied more a geographical entity than a racial entity; it was a matter more connected with physical boundaries than the people, and I think that is a great deal borne out by some of the remarks that are contained in Mr. Vaidya's paper. I confess it is somewhat difficult to follow his reasoning, because he starts with the axiom that India is a nation, but then he helps to destroy the value of the axiom by proving that India had internecine wars, like almost every other part of the world, up to a comparatively short time ago. Therefore I do not think India can any more claim to be one nation in the past than Europe or China. We are all accustomed to think of the Chinese as one people, but they are nothing of the sort. They are all Mongols,

but China is really a great aggregate of peoples. A land containing a great variety of peoples, differing in language and custom, can only be held together by a supreme power based on military power like the Roman Empire. Western civilization has recognized the rights of those living under an overlordship, and encourages them to manage their own affairs. To my mind the great test of what constitutes a nation is the agreement amongst the inhabitants to combine for the defence of their country. We know that in this small island of Britain up to the seventeenth century there was nothing but fighting going on between England and Scotland, and before that time Scotland was divided by internal factions. Therefore a country must become internally consolidated before it can claim to be a nation, and by this test it is rather difficult to claim any definite nationality for India at all until, perhaps, during the last hundred years, when it has come under British rule. How far it is going to develop into one great Indian nation it is not for me to say, and I do not think anybody would like to give an opinion. It depends entirely upon the Indians themselves. As I say, the paper teems with various points of interest, but I am not going to say any more at the moment, unless some other ideas are ventilated that I should like to make some remarks upon. I am very glad indeed that Mr. Vaidya has been good enough to prepare and read his paper, and I hope his example may be followed by other Indian gentlemen, who may bring their own views for our consideration, and deal with subjects which the ordinary Briton would not think of touching on. (Applause.)

Mr. SAYAL agreed with the chairman that the paper was a very interesting one. The lecturer had put many difficulties in the way of regarding India as a nation, but he had offered no remedies to remove them. As regards the climate, he did not believe that any climate could be enervating to the people of the country. For instance, the climate of the Punjab was not enervating to the Punjabis themselves. He had seen people working during hot days without their health suffering in any way. The great difficulty in the way of unification in India was the hugeness of the country. Another difficulty was caste. As long as the system of caste existed it would be very difficult for India to become one nation. Then there was the difficulty of the language. Indians had to speak among themselves in foreign and semi-foreign languages. They had no common Indian language. They had to speak either in English or Hindustani. In order to bring about unification people who came to live in India ought to be treated as Indians. If a man came to England, and was anglicized, he was regarded as an Englishman, whereas Hindus of India looked upon non-Hindus of India as foreigners. There would never be political unity in India under Hinduism; if it ever came about it would be under Buddhism, or Islam, or the British Empire, under which Hindu habits of isolation and semi-religious customs of caste are disappearing fast.

Mr. CHANNING thought it was the feeling of nationality that constituted a nation. The growth of a nation was a very long and difficult process. In the various nations of Europe the idea had only been partially attained.

Even in Scotland and Ireland there were people who did not know English. He once knew a Welsh missionary who came to India who at first could only communicate with Englishmen in Hindustani, because he did not speak English. Even in Spain the people looked upon themselves as belonging to the provinces rather than to Spain as a whole. The same was true of Italy. The unification of Italy was quite a recent thing, and even now there was a great deal of difference between the North and the South. He had been to the German University of Bonn, and had ascertained from his fellow-students their feelings towards the Prussian Government. The Rhine Province had then been under Prussian rule since 1815, some seventy years, but he found that one man considered himself a Rhinelander and another a Hanoverian, and so forth. As time went on, in a country where people had a common way of looking at things, the tendency to unification overcame the tendency to diversity. There were great influences in India making for unification. Under Akbar there was a great unification, which was more like that of the Romans. In the case of the Romans, the Emperors came from all parts of the Empire. In order to have successful unification the ruler must treat himself as being equally bound to all his subjects. He thought there was a great possibility of building up unification in India. He had served in the Punjab, and there the Sikhs had a very great feeling of unity amongst themselves, which had grown up gradually, but they would not find that the Sikhs had much in common with Madras. No doubt they would find unity among the educated classes, who would build up a strong feeling of unity in India, and for the benefit of India.

Mr. S. S. BHAGVAL thought that non-co-operation would make for the unification of India.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE, M.P., said that he heard the last speaker's remark that non-co-operation was making for a united India with amazement. If there was anything that was disuniting India more than that he had never heard of it. It was a movement led by a few denationalized Indians who had come over to Europe and had got in touch with various Socialistic societies there, a great many of them affiliated to the Third International of Moscow, which had been working in America, in India, in Egypt, in Ireland, in Germany, and in every part of the world, against the British Empire. The people of India were a loyal and friendly people, but they were suffering greatly at the present time owing to the terror that was put upon them by these few men. Like the Sinn Feiners in Ireland, these non-co-operators in India were under the influence of this revolutionary organization that was working against the British Empire throughout the world. They had started a system of terror in Ireland by murder, and the same thing was going on in India under a similar system of boycott and persecution. Such a system as that would never unite India. He looked upon India as a great continent, with just as diverse races as were found on the Continent of Europe. There was no more affinity between the Bengali on the east and the Baluchi on the west, or between the Punjabi on the north and the Tamil on the south of India, than there was between the Scotsman on the north and the Greek

on the south of Europe. Nobody could say that India was a united nation : it was a continent of nations, and each of those nations ought to be treated separately. The *Pax Britannica*, that had been introduced into India in the last one hundred years, had done its best to unite the people of India, and had succeeded to a great extent. To say they were being united at present under the influence of non-co-operation was one of the greatest libels on India that he had ever heard. (Applause.)

MR. PARAKUNNEL J. THOMAS said : I have nothing to say about the question of current politics dragged in by the two last speakers. If, as I understand, a calm and disinterested study of Indian questions is the object of this Society, violent expressions of opinion on recent political controversies are the least calculated to further this aim. Even apart from politics, I cannot see eye to eye with the last two speakers. While I agree that caste in some form is inevitable in every society, I consider caste of a rigidly hereditary type, as it is in India, as highly detrimental to national unity and cohesion. Still less can I agree with Sir Charles Yates that India is merely a continent of nations. The history of India shows, on the contrary, that India has been a cohesive *cultural* unit from the earliest times.

It is true that the whole of India had never come under one political suzerainty before British times ; yet the Mauryas, the Guptas, Harsha, the Turks, the Moghuls, and even the Marathas, attempted to unify India, and achieved it to a great extent. All these empires, except the Maratha, originated in the north, and were confined more or less to Hindustan proper or the Indo-Gangetic Plain. Even under Asoka, South India was independent. Under powerful rulers like Asoka, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II., Harsha, Alla-ud-din, Akbar, and Aurangzeb, the unity at least of Hindustan proper was real, but during the reigns of their predecessors and successors the country was split up into small principalities.

The real unity of India in the past has been in her common civilization. Common cults and worships, common shrines and holy places, common sacred books and heroes, a common art and architecture, social customs more or less common—all these worked always for the unification of the whole country. These influences, however, reacted on political unity, and there was always a strong feeling of solidarity throughout the country, rather like the unity of Hellas or that of medieval Christendom than that of a modern nation. Religion was the greatest influence that worked in this direction. One may study its work, first in the early Aryan cult, which gradually spread everywhere ; then in Buddhism ; and next in the Brahmanical reaction that rejuvenated Hinduism under the ægis of the Guptas. Finally came the most interesting Vaishnava movement, which, starting again in the South with the Alvars and Ramanuja, culminated in the great outburst of Bhakthi associated with the venerable names of Tukaram, Ramananda, Chaithanyu, and others. They fought against caste and superstition, and preached charity between Hindus and Muhammadans ; their great aim was the unification of the peoples of all castes and creeds. Kabir was followed both by

Muhammadans as well as Hindus, and on his death his body, curiously enough, had to be partitioned between the two parties. The Maratha movement was a great national outburst, and worked for unification until the confederacy split up into warring principalities, trying to dominate over each other and levying chantry over the whole country.

Under British sovereignty now, the whole country is united, not merely in culture, but in political life. A common administrative organization, common law; a network of railways and telegraphs, a common language and literature, and, above all, common ideas—all these have linked up the various regions of India into a united whole animated by common interests and aspirations.

Now, is this unity of the *national* type? As the chairman remarked, it is difficult to express a decided opinion on this point. To my mind, the essence of nationality is the community of *interests* and of *political experience*. Looked at from this standpoint, India is certainly in the very throes of nationhood. But I wish to add that, owing to the vast diversities of our country, India cannot become a nation of the type of England or France, but rather like the U.S.A. or Germany. The aim of India ought to be, therefore, towards a "federal" nationality (if I may use such a term), with considerable local autonomy granted even to villages and petty "States."

Why has India delayed so long to attain national unity? The explanation I would offer is this. Biology tells us that small organisms mature rapidly and decay as rapidly; but the bigger ones cannot have such a rapid course. The Greek city-States were small entities, and took only a short time to develop and decay. Vast territories like China and India must necessarily take even greater time to come to complete self-consciousness, but when once they come to that state they are bound to have a long period of vitality. India has, through successive ages of efflorescence and decadence, kept the vitality of her culture intact in a unique degree, not paralleled by her sister-civilizations of antiquity. We are now at the threshold of a new efflorescence, which is due greatly to the influence of the West, as the earlier renaissance was due to the impact of Islam.

Again, nationalism is a European development suited to European temperament and European environments. Even in Europe it arose only recently, both its practice and its theory. It has been an ideal in the last century, but as an ideal it is now passing away. The conditions of India are different from those of Europe, and it is no wonder we did not evolve a nation of the European type. India may ultimately evolve something different from greedy nationalism—a form of State more approaching the high Indian ideal of *Dharma*. To my mind, the goal of India is a federal "State"—a unit in the British Imperial Federation, taking her place with the sister-federations of Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

Mr. RICE thought that there had been some confusion of ideas with regard to the terms "political unity" and "nationality." Political unity and nationality were two different things. The chairman had mentioned the case of Scotland. In his opinion the Union of Scotland and

England in the early part of the eighteenth century was a very different thing from the solidarity of Britain at the present time. They were no doubt united under one Crown, but they were not then fused as a nation, as they were at present. Some of the speakers had approached the subject of Indian nationality as if the question was simply whether India was or was not a nation. But the true issue was whether India was capable of realizing nationality. India was geographically a single country; it was cut off from the rest of Asia by the Himalayas on the north and on the other sides by the sea. There were interests in common between the different parts of India which there were not between the Britons, the Greeks, the Scandinavians, and the Italians. The most important factor in nationality was the unity of interest among the people of the country. He quite agreed with Sir Charles Yate that non-co-operation was certainly working against the unification of India. India had already been given a measure of Home Rule, but the non-co-operators were working against the Government. There was a large number of Indians working with the Government, and how non-co-operation could unify those who were working with the Government and those who were working against it he could not see.

Miss SCATCHERD read the following letter which she had received from Dr. Pollen :

"I see Mr. Gandhi demands 'a partnership on terms of *absolute* equality in theory and practice.' But *absolute equality* is a thing unknown to Nature! No two blades of grass are equal, and certainly no two partners are equal—even though they chance to be husband and wife, and one flesh! Compared with Providence we are each and all *equal* to *nothing*! But compared with one another we are just as unequal as He has been pleased to create us. Thus (as Lord Carmichael has pointed out) nothing can make a Bengali a Scotsman, or a Scotsman a Bengali. They are different types of the same brotherhood or family, and they are each, alternately, in different yet most essential aspects stronger and weaker, lower and higher than the other. And in the cordial recognition of this fact lies the best hope of essential unity and cordial co-operation. This Mr. Vaidya seems to realize in his very creditable and well-written paper. There is a certain unity—political unity—amongst the many-millioned nations and races of India, although our friend Mr. J. B. Pennington contends that 'it is only the English language and English railways that have given India such semblance of a nation as she possesses'; and that 'the whole of Europe minus Russia would make a more manageable "nation" than India.'

"I think he is wrong about the 'English language,' for I remember that only *two million* of the 350 millions of India are English literates—that is, can talk or read English—but the railways have certainly helped to bind the Peninsula together and *unite* 'the kingdom of Bombay' (as we used to call it in my day) with the 'kingdom of Bengal' and other sister-kingdoms; and Mr. Vaidya is right in holding that 'the boundaries of India' (or the Peninsula) are so well defined that Nature, as it were,

demands that the territories within these boundaries should be under one rule. They were more or less under one rule at one time, but the difficulties of communication (now obviated by railways !) certainly operated (as pointed out by Mr. Vaidya) in preventing the consolidation and permanence of the union. The British Government has certainly striven to make India one, and it is nice to be assured that, 'though it does not come up to Indian ideals, it is tolerably efficient.' Of course, it was silly 'to class men from Bengal and Madras as unwarlike.' Had I gone to Bengal as Lieutenant-Governor when my junior Sir Andrew Fraser went I should have had no hesitation in surrounding myself with a bodyguard of Bengalis, and this bomb-throwing would never have come into being. Hoping you will have a very successful meeting.

"(Signed) J. POLLEN."

On the motion of Mr. DUNN, a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer was carried by acclamation.

The chairman and lecturer having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

EARLY HINDU POLITY IN KASHMIR

BY E. A. MOLONY, C.B.E., I.C.S. (RETD.)

KALHANA, the Hindu historian of Kashmir, writing in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., gives in the pages of his "Rajatarangini" many interesting facts from which a vivid picture of Hindu society in his times may be drawn.

As an introduction I will give a short historical sketch of Kashmir, as it is necessary for the proper illumination of the picture for which Kalhana has supplied the materials.

The first really historical fact about Kashmir of which we have any knowledge is that the renowned Buddhist Emperor of India, Asoka, held it and founded the capital town of Srinagar, the city of the sun.

The next famous ruler of Kashmir was Kanishka, the Kusan King of Gandhara, who ruled about the commencement of the Christian era, and who, according to Buddhist tradition, held in Kashmir the Church Council which fixed and expounded the sacred canon. Kanishka's successor, Huviska, also ruled Kashmir, and founded a town, still called Uskur, two miles to the south-east of Baramula, where Lalitaditya subsequently erected a monastery and stupa. It was probably in the time of these Kings that the Greek influence, so evident in the architecture of the ancient temples, reached Kashmir.

After the Kusan Kings there was no really historical personage connected with Kashmir for about five hundred years, when the infamous Mihirakula, the White Hun, held the country in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Kalhana describes him as a terrible enemy of mankind, who had no pity for children, no compassion for women, and no respect for the

aged. He, however, supported the worship of Siva. Kalhana is contemptuous of the brahmanes who accepted lands from him. At the end of this century came Pravarasena the Second, who moved his capital to the present Srinagar. He was the first to build a bridge of boats across the Jhelum.

Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, is the next historical figure to flit across the stage. Out of the sixteen years which he spent in India, two—namely, A.D. 631-633—were spent in Kashmir. He entered Kashmir by Baramula, and spent the first night at Huskapura, the modern Uskur, which, as before mentioned, was founded by the Kusan king who succeeded Kanishka.

He stopped during the greater portion of his stay in Kashmir, in Srinagar, at the Jayendra Monastery, which had been erected by Pravarasena's uncle.

Early in the eighth century came a great ruler named Lalitaditya Muktapida. He was a great warrior, and made wars in India and against the Tibetans, and seems to have lost his life in some military expedition in the north. He built a new capital, containing magnificent temples, at Parihasapura, near Shadipore, and also the wonderful Temple of the Sun at Martand. He also sent a mission to China, of which mention is found in the Chinese annals. Though a Hindu, he was sympathetic to Buddhism, and built a monastery and stupa at Huskapur, as well as a monastery and a colossal image of Buddha at his capital. His minister seems to have been a Buddhist of Turkish race.

After Lalitaditya there is no ruler worthy of mention till Avantivarman, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century. This ruler appears to have devoted himself to the improvement of the state of his country, and not to have exhausted his resources by unnecessary wars. He built a new capital at Avantipur, halfway between Srinagar and Islamabad. This contained two magnificent temples, the lower portions of which have recently been laid bare by excavations carried out by the Archæological Department.

But Avantivarman's chief title to fame is in the great

engineering works carried out by him through his engineer Suya. Suya, though of low birth, appears to have had a marvellous aptitude for engineering. He first lowered the water-level of the Jhelum by removing obstructions in the river-bed below Baramula. He then altered the course of the river from Shadipore to the Wular Lake, moving the confluence of the Jhelum and Sindh Rivers about three miles north of its old position. He also made dykes and new channels where necessary, and reclaimed a vast area of the Wular Lake and along the course of the Jhelum. On the land so reclaimed many new villages were built, the chief of which is Suyyapur (now Sopor), where the river leaves the Wular Lake. In addition to these works he introduced a proper system of irrigation into many parts. Kalhana records that the result of his operations was such that the price of rice was reduced from 200 dinnaras to 36 dinnaras per kharwar.

After Avantivarman the hands that held the sceptre were weak and the land was torn by internal dissensions ; but even so the attempted invasions of the redoubtable Mahmud of Ghazni were rolled back early in the eleventh century.

This completes the historical sketch necessary to illuminate the picture for which Kalhana has supplied the materials. I purpose to treat it under the headings of religion, caste, the institutions of Government, finance and, finally, the customs and habits of the people.

RELIGION

Kashmir history begins with the reign of Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor. The country at that time was Buddhist, but Hindu worship seems to have gone on side by side with Buddhism ; and there seems to have been a complete absence of real religious antipathy leading to persecution. Asoka's son, Jalauka, is said to have been a worshipper of Siva. Buddhism was still the State religion at the period of the Kusan Kings, Huska, Juska, and Kanishka, who ruled about the commencement of the Christian era. Subsequently the Hindu revival set in, and the temples founded then seem to have been

mostly dedicated to Siva. Mihirakula, the terrible ruler of the White Huns, appears to have favoured the worship of Siva.

Afterwards Meghavahana, who was brought in from Gandhara to rule, appears to have been a Buddhist (III. 2). His son, however, worshipped Siva (III. 99).

The first notice of any king who worshipped Vishnu is in connection with the foundation of the present city of Srinagar by Pravarasena (III. 350). The minister of his successor founded monasteries and chaityas (III. 380). The worship of Siva and Vishnu and the Buddhist cult seem to have gone on side by side for hundreds of years. In the time of the Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang (631 A.D.), Buddhism was tolerated, but not popular. Lalitaditya, who reigned about the beginning of the eighth century, built several great temples of Vishnu, including that of Martand, but also built a large monastery, with a chaitya and large image of Buddha (IV. 200). His grandson, Jayapida, set up three images of Buddha (IV. 507). He, moreover, oppressed brahmans by his fiscal exactions.

The great King Avantivarman built some great temples to Siva, though secretly he was a worshipper of Vishnu—a fact which he concealed from his Prime Minister, who was a worshipper of Siva, till about to die (V. 124). His grandson, Samkarvarman, built temples to Siva (V. 158).

It is to be noticed that the only images spared by the sacrilegious Harsha at the end of the eleventh century were images of Vishnu (VII. 1096), and two statues of Buddha (VII. 1098). Jayasimha (middle of the twelfth century) was an ardent worshipper of Siva (VIII. 2391).

The number of temples built and of grants of land to temples, brahmans, monasteries, and the like, was immense; and unless there had been some counteracting influence, nearly the whole resources of the country would have been devoted to religious purposes; but there are recorded numerous instances in which such grants were either diverted from their original purposes or resumed or confiscated, or in which the riches of the temples were plundered (IV. 395, V. 52, V. 170, VI. 175, VII. 106, VII. 43, VII. 570, VII. 696, 1344, VIII. 2756).

There are indications that there must have been at times a very considerable number of persons who held atheistic ideas, and were not afraid to show them. For instance, Kalhana narrates how the King's cousin came to the King with a grievance against his own son, who wanted to oust him and was very vicious, and who, with impious mind, had given the names of certain Bhagavatas whom his father honoured to dogs which he invested with the brahminical thread (VII. 252).

Again, the wholesale spoliation of Harsa narrated by Kalhana (VII. 1090) would never have been possible had there been a really unanimous adverse public opinion. Kalhana narrates how the greedy-minded King Harsha plundered from all the temples the wonderful treasures which former Kings had bestowed upon them, and that when the treasures had been carried off, he, in order to get hold of the statues of the gods, appointed Udayaraya "prefect for the overthrow of divine images." Before breaking up the images they were systematically polluted and desecrated. As a result, out of all the images in the country only two, the images of Vishnu Ranasvamin in Srinagar, and of Martanda, escaped destruction. Two colossal statues of Buddha were also saved at the express request of Court favourites (VII. 1081 to 1098). A sect of atheists is also mentioned in Lalitaditya's political testament.

CASTE

At the time when Kashmir was held by Buddhist rulers, Asoka, Kaniska, Juska, and Huska, it seems clear that caste could hardly have been recognized, especially as the last three were of Turuska (*i.e.*, Mongolian) race (I. 170).

All through the early part of the period it would seem that caste distinctions, even if they existed at all, were very much less rigid than at present.

In the earlier books of the "*Rajataranginī*" there are very few references to caste. Asoka's son is said, after having conquered the world, to have settled all four castes in his own land (I. 117). In Book II. there is a punning comparison of

the various castes (varna) in the land to the various colours (varna) of the rainbow.

Brahmans, however, seem to have existed as a distinct caste at a very early period, as we read (I. 342) that Gopaditiya interned brahman who had eaten garlic or broken their rules of conduct. They were also exempt from capital punishment (IV. 96). A brahman is styled twice-born in the time of Lalitaditya's grandson (IV. 645).

It is not till the time of Chandrapida, the brother of the great Lalitaditya (eighth century), that we begin to get more frequent references to caste. It is not, however, certain whether at that time caste or occupation is meant.

The great Lalitaditya's mother had been the wife of a foreign merchant before she was married to the King (IV. 37). A tanner who wished for an interview with the King about the compulsory acquisition of his hut for a temple doubted whether it was proper for him to come into the audience-hall (IV. 62), and calls himself a pariah (IV. 76). Lalitaditya's Prime Minister was a Mongolian and a Buddhist (IV. 211). Kayasthas are first mentioned in the time of Jayapida, Lalitaditya's grandson (IV. 621); but it is clear that by kayastha is meant any man who is a petty official, as we find a brahman called a kayastha (VIII. 2383). Again, we see that of a certain low-born mean kayastha it is recorded that his proper hereditary occupation as a gardener had been to trade in night soil, act as a butcher, and sell fuel, etc. (VII. 38).

Chandalas.—Chandalas—i.e., men of impure caste—are first mentioned in Jayapida's time (IV. 475). They were watchmen (VI. 76), classed with doms as untouchable (VI. 192) and scavengers (V. 74). Their touch defiled (V. 77).

Vaishyas are first mentioned in the eleventh century. The son of a vaishya who was watchman in a temple ultimately became Prime Minister (VII. 207).

The engineer of King Avantivarman (ninth century) was a man of low birth; at any rate he is represented as a foundling (V. 73).

The mother of King Cippata Jayapida (ninth century) was the daughter of a spirit-distiller (IV. 678) and a concubine. Her brother Utpala was the first of the kings of the Utpala dynasty. The illustrious Avantivarman was therefore descended from a spirit-distiller (VIII. 3424, 3429). Jayamati, who was King Uccala's chief queen (twelfth century), had been a dancing-girl and subsequently the concubine of the Governor Ananda (VII. 1460). On King Uccala's death she committed suttee, apparently under compulsion (VIII. 363).

A dom woman was made the chief queen of Chakravarman—tenth century (V. 389).

Later on the number of separate castes seems to have multiplied, as a Prime Minister of Jayasimha (twelfth century) treated sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast (VIII. 2407).

Rajputs.—Rajputs or kshattryas are not mentioned in the first three books of the "Rajatarangini." When Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya, was meeting with some knight-errant's adventures in the plains of India, he gave himself out to be a rajput named Kallata, and won a beautiful bride.

Neither rajputs nor kshattryas are again mentioned till the eleventh century—*i.e.*, till after the union of the Kashmir and Lohara thrones and the downfall of the Sahi kingdom of Kabul. Lohara is not in Kashmir proper, being to the south of the Pir Panjal range, and its people are of a different race from the people of Kashmir.

The references to rajputs or kshattryas in the "Rajatarangini" give an impression that there were no rajputs in Kashmir till after the rise of the Lohara dynasty. In the eleventh century Kashmir sent an army to help the Hindu Sahi King Tirlokapala against Mahmud of Ghazni. In this army there were many rajaputras (VII. 48). In this campaign the Sahi kingdom was completely destroyed, and many of the leading men must have escaped and emigrated. At the end of the eleventh century we find "four arrogant princes" (rajaputra) of the Sahi family favourites at the court of the Kashmir king (VII. 274). One of them, Bijja, behaved as a rajput

should (VII. 325). There are mentioned rajaputras, horse-men, soldiers, and petty chieftains (VII. 360), from which it may be inferred that the rajput was different from the others. Kalasa is recorded to have got together an infantry force and marched, accompanied with a band of rajaputras, like Bijja (VII. 368).

King Harsa was deserted "even by those rajaputras, Anantapala and the rest, who claim descent from the thirty-six families, and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the Sun himself" (VII. 1617). One Somapala is mentioned as a rajaputra from Campa, which is a hill principality at the head of the Ravi (VIII. 323). Nona, a learned brahman who came in the way of some assassins, was murdered by them because they mistook him for a rajaputra on account of his appearance, which was like that of a foreigner (VIII. 1328).

From the above references we may conclude that by rajaputras Kalhana always indicates men who were not Kashmiris by origin.

The word *kshattriya* first appears as applied to King Harsha of Kashmir (eleventh century), who is addressed as the son of a *kshattriya* woman (VII. 661). Harsha's son Bhoja is also described as a *kshattriya* (VII. 1655). Harsha's mother was named Bappika, but we do not know from what family she came. At any rate, Harsha's great-grandfather was the first king of the Lohara dynasty, which was not Kashmirian, and Harsha's father may very probably have married into a rajput family from India.

Another Bhoja, a very distant relation (fifth cousin) of King Harsha, and whose father, Salhana, had once been crowned king (VIII. 376), is spoken of as born in a *kshattriya* family (VIII. 3031). With reference to the Sahi dynasty, it is recorded that "to this day the appellation Sahi throws its lustre on a numberless host of *kshattriyas* abroad who trace their origin to that royal family" (VIII. 3230). Prince Sangiya was born from a race of *kshattriyas*, who, owing to their native place being within the territory of the Turuskas, had found employ-

ment in Kashmir (VIII. 3348). His grandfather Bhijja had done some famous patriotic service in fighting the musalmans (VIII. 1190), and his father Lavaraja ruled in the Takka country, which was, apparently, somewhere south of the Pir Panjal range (VIII. 1901). Thus we find that all, or nearly all, the men referred to as kshatryas are of foreign origin.

After passing under review all the references relating to caste, the impression left in our minds is that in Kashmir from the beginning of the historical period, or at any rate from a very early date, the brahmans were a distinct caste ; that men whose hereditary occupation was of a dirty or unpleasant character became untouchable ; but that the great mass of the population was not divided by any very rigid lines of demarcation into separate castes. The process of differentiation had evidently begun before Kalhana's time ; but it never reached anything like the rigidity of the caste system as displayed in modern India.

For instance, Bhima Sahi of Kabul, who must certainly be considered a rajput, married his daughter to Simharaja of Lohara. Their daughter, Didda, was married to Ksemagupta, King of Kashmir, though he was a man of low birth, his great-grandfather having been a clerk (VI. 130).

INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT

We can gather some interesting details as to the Government. Up to Asoka's time there were seven main State officials—the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the Envoy, the Priest, and the Astrologer ; but Asoka's successor established the traditional eighteen offices (I. 118). Lalitaditya appears to have placed five princes to supervise these officials (IV. 141) ; but, as only one of these offices is ever again referred to, and as that office (Chief Chamberlain) was given to the queen as a polite attention (IV. 485), it may be assumed that the posts very rapidly degenerated into sinecures and atrophied. There does not appear to have been any tendency for the important posts to become hereditary, as in some other parts of India, the

probable reason being that prominent men were so frequently assassinated.

Kalhana says (VIII. 2187): "In truth, the service of kings is more dangerous than the raising of a vetala (demon), the leap over a precipice, the chewing of poison, or the fondling of a snake."

There were regular law cases. Sometimes the King tried cases himself (VI. 14, VIII. 123). People dissatisfied with decisions in the law courts or with executive actions used to go out on hunger-strike, just as in Japan such persons used to commit suicide.

The King kept regular spies or informers to give him all news of interest (V. 81, VII. 511). There was an officer to watch cases of hunger-striking (IV. 82, VI. 14), apparently because such indicated complaints of injustice.

Hunger-strikes were very serious matters indeed, as the sin of causing death was incurred by the unjust judge. Brahmans often did it; and apparently whole corporations of them did it simultaneously, and in public (VIII. 939), and in the presence of images of the gods (IV. 99, VIII. 900). Sometimes they completed the job by immolating themselves in the fire (VIII. 658, 2224 and 2225). Some hard-hearted kings did not worry over such trifles.

In one case, a thief having died from an over-severe beating, the kind-hearted minister resigned and went off on pilgrimage (VII. 602).

King Uccala hit on a novel method of keeping his judges honest. He took a vow that if anyone killed himself by hunger-striking he would himself commit suicide (VIII. 51).

The state of the country from the time of Samkaravarman onwards (tenth century) must have been such as to prevent any proper administration of justice, except in a few intervals. The record of constant insurrection, treachery, and assassination is depressing reading.

Deeds of sale were in writing (VI. 30), and were recorded by official recorders (VI. 38). On one occasion, when the King detected a forgery by secretly sending for the merchant's

account-books, he acted with vigour, banishing the merchant and confiscating his property, which he made over to the wronged party (VI. 41).

Merchants accepted deposits and charged interest on overdrafts ; but sometimes did not relish paying interest on deposits, showing themselves in this way not unlike the bankers of the twentieth century (VIII. 155).

One of the vexatious imposts mentioned is a fine levied on the head of a family in case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman (VIII. 3336).

Sanskrit learning seems generally to have flourished, and students were attracted also from the plains of India. The foundation of a math or religious house for students from Aryadesa is recorded (VI. 87). Doubtless students were taught by gurus just in the same way as at present.

There is no mention of any other system of education.

There is only one mention of a hospital (III. 461), but this is in the earlier period, when Buddhism still was an influence.

There were one or more city prefects, who in the time of a mean king amassed money themselves and made some of it over to the King (VI. 70). Some prefects, however, are recorded to have made some useful reforms (VIII. 3335 and 3336).

Samkaravarman is said to have "introduced the system of forced carriage of loads, which is the harbinger of misery for the villages, and which is of thirteen kinds" (V. 174). Again, in the twelfth century, in a successful military campaign, "the wailing of the villagers who were oppressed by the forced carriage of loads served as a kind of expiatory oblation" (VIII. 2513). On one occasion even members of the local purohita corporations of brahmans had to resort to a solemn fast to get exemption from the forced carriage of loads (VII. 1088).

Samkaravarman is said to have started also the levy of contributions for the monthly pay of village clerks, represented, probably, by the patwari of the present day (V. 175).

The land revenue was collected in kind, and does not appear

to have been fixed at any definite amount. Lalitaditya's grandson, Jayapida, "went so far in cruelty that for three years he took the whole harvest, including the cultivator's share" (IV. 628).

In Lalitaditya's political testament he enjoins that great care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food-supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields (IV. 347).

Several kings have been recorded as particularly avaricious and as expert in robbing the people. Among them may be mentioned Lalitaditya's grandson, who only desisted from confiscating brahmans' grants after ninety-nine brahmans had perished in the water of the Chandrbhaga, though even then he made no restoration (IV. 639). Harsha was another oppressor (VII. 1107).

There were, however, benevolent rulers who issued grain at cheap rates from the State granaries to relieve distress (VIII. 61).

FINANCE

The finances of the country must often have been in a state of great disorder. We have seen how often religious grants were resumed and how often exactions were practised. There were, apparently, more regular methods of raising money. On one occasion when Lalitaditya was proceeding on a big campaign he took one crore from the shrine of Bhutesa, but, on return, victorious, he presented eleven crores as an expiatory offering (IV. 189). At one period the use of cash in commercial transactions had fallen into abeyance through abuses, but a capable city prefect set matters straight (VIII. 3335).

Tolls were levied on the bridges (VIII. 136) and customs were collected at the fortified frontier posts. Goods which had paid customs were stamped with the King's name in red lead (VIII. 2010).

Lalitaditya's political testament throws much light on the condition of the ordinary folk and on the spirit of the government. It is either genuinely the testament of a great king, or, more probably, it represents the views of the historian as to

the principles of government suitable to his time and to his country. It deserves quotation at some length.

IV. 345. "Those who wish to be powerful in this land must always guard against internal dissension. Because of foreign enemies they are as little in fear as Cārvākas (materialists) are of the world beyond."

346. "Those who dwell in the mountains, difficult of access, should be punished, even if they give no offence; because, sheltered by their fastnesses, they are difficult to break up if they have once accumulated wealth."

347. "Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food-supply than required for one year's consumption, or more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields."

348. "Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Damaras (petty chieftains), and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king."

349-352. "When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, houses, such as are fit for the town; when the kings in madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded; when their servants show want of determination; when the keep of the troops is raised from a single district; when the officials are closely drawn together by the bonds of intermarriage; and when the kings look into the offices as if they were clerks—then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain."

A policy such as this may have been necessary at the time to prevent worse disorders; but it is clear that it cannot have been popular with the great majority of the king's subjects—namely, the villagers. In the subsequent history, when the central authority of the king was much weakened, the Damaras proved a very turbulent and troublesome element in the population; and we can hardly feel surprised that their general policy seems to have been to encourage insurrections and pretenders to the throne in order to prevent the king getting enough power to reduce them to helplessness and poverty.

ARMY

A standing army, or rather a bodyguard of infantry (Tantrins), is first mentioned at the beginning of the tenth century (V. 248). They often made and unmade kings. The other elements of the army consisted of rajputs, mounted men who generally seem to have been men of importance, like the knights in Europe and the levies of the Damaras, or petty chieftains.

One of the most important military appointments was that of Dwarapatti, or warden of the marches. All the passes leading out of the country were fortified, and these were jealously guarded. These fortified gates were also useful as customs posts, and for the scrutiny of travellers into or out of the country.

CUSTOMS AND HABITS

A certain amount of information is obtainable as to the customs and habits of the people.

There is no trace of the seclusion of women as practised in India in modern times.

Morality does not seem to have reached a very high standard. Kalhana constantly laments the frailty of women, but displays a naive unconsciousness that the moral standard of the men left much room for improvement. The story of the marriage of Lalitaditya's mother contains several points of interest (IV. 10-38). It is thus narrated by Kalhana : The king had been invited to the house of a rich merchant from the Rauhita country, and he remained in his house as an honoured guest. There he saw Narendraprabha, the beautiful wife of the merchant. The King fell in love with her, and she returned his affection. The King returned to his palace and pined away and became very sick. He reflected that if the King were to take away the wives of his subjects there would be no one left to punish breaches of the law. The merchant, however, heard of the King's serious case, and endeavoured to persuade him to take the lady. He adduced various arguments, such as that to save life anything was justifiable ; that many other famous wise men had done the same ; that posthumous glory was of

small value to a dead king ; and, finally, he said that if the King was not convinced by these arguments he could take her from a temple as a dancing-girl put there by him on account of her skill in dancing. Finally the King reluctantly accepted the lady. Kalhana evidently does not quite approve this conduct, as he says that she removed the levity of such conduct by noble works, and built the illustrious shrine of Narendresvara.

King Utkarsa's wife had also been a temple dancing-girl (VII. 858), and there is another reference to such girls in the time of Lalitaditya (IV. 269).

Suttee.—Suttee was quite common in the reigning family. The first case recorded which can be regarded as historical is at the death of Samkaravarman (end of ninth century) (V. 226), when three queens and a courtier and two servants were burned. A sister committed suttee (VIII. 448). Four women-servants and a cook killed themselves on a queen's death (VIII. 1223-1224).

A concubine committed suttee (VII. 858); a mother (VII. 1380); a daughter-in-law (VII. 103); a wife, three men and three maid servants (VII. 481). Other cases of wives are narrated—VII. 724, 478, 1486 (ten women); 1579 (seventeen women); VI. 107; VIII. 445; VIII. 1441.

There are two interesting cases. Didda, the widow of King Ksemagupta (tenth century), indicated to the Prime Minister that she wished to commit suttee, but this was only when she saw that the other wives were ready to immolate themselves. The Prime Minister, out of malice, gave a quick assent. The Queen, when confronted with the funeral pyre, felt regret. Another minister, Naravahana, moved to compassion, prevented her by persistent remonstrances from seeking death (VI. 196).

In a somewhat similar case the widow's hesitation did not prevent her death.

On King Uccala's death his queen, "the cunning Jayamati, who was eager to live, gave her treasure to her brother Garga in order to raise compassion in him, and spoke to him, 'Brother, make an arrangement with me.' He, however, in his honest

nature, took these words to be merely conventional, and prepared her funeral pyre. While she, proceeding in a litter, was delaying on the road, Bijjala got in front of her and entered the pyre. Then, as she (Jayamati) was ascending the pyre, her limbs were hurt by the pilferers, who robbed her in eager desire of her ornaments." Reading between the lines of this account, we may picture to ourselves a horrible occurrence (VIII. 363-368). There is no instance recorded in which a brahman woman committed suttee, though there is the story of one who sought justice against her husband's murderer, and who gave her desire for revenge as the reason why she had not followed him; but she threatened to starve herself to death if she did not get revenge (IV. 98).

The practice of suttee seems to have been confined to those of royal birth. One case of a Damara's wife immolating herself is mentioned with approval by Kalhana (VIII. 2334); but he mentions that she was herself of noble descent, and did not cherish the customs of Damara widows, who remarried even village officials and householders.

Drinking spirits evidently was not considered quite respectable among better-class people; but must have been common, as we have seen that one king married the daughter of a spirit-distiller. Her brother founded a dynasty one of whose kings was Avantivarman. Again, it is recorded of Somapala that the wretched khasa prince used to get drunk with liquors and otherwise behave as a rustic (VIII. 1466). Lalitaditya got drunk (IV. 310). Other references are made to drink (V. 206, VI. 10, 150, VII. 285, VIII. 868, 1866).

Cats and dogs were kept as pets. We have already seen how a vicious young man invested his dogs with the sacred thread. As for cats, we find a charge in a merchant's account for "mice and fish-juice to feed tenderly the kittens of a cat" (VIII. 139). Again, Rilhana had a monastery erected in honour of his deceased wife, but it was commonly called after the name of her cat, which showed her unusual affection, as it kept with her like a friend and starved itself to death when its mistress set off on her death pilgrimage (VIII. 2413).

Famines are recorded. They were, of course, inevitable in a small country so isolated as Kashmir, and in which internal commotions were so frequent.

There are several references to a dangerous and infectious disease called the luta disease, which was evidently much dreaded, and a few references to fever.

The amusements of the people seem to have been exhibitions of singing and dancing, religious festivals and pilgrimages (VII. 515). Kings sometimes went jackal-hunting; throwing-spears were used (VI. 181). Dogs and nets were also used. Doms were the netters (VI. 182). Falcons were kept (VII. 1046).

We find an interesting reference to a superstition not yet extinct. Kalhana narrates that people used to bow to the new moon in the hope of getting new clothes (VIII. 798).

With the exception of architecture and the making of images, there are few references to artistic work, but the art of gold-plating on copper seems to have been introduced from the territory of the Turuskas (Musalmans) in the latter half of the eleventh century (VII. 529, VIII. 3364).

This completes the picture. I trust that it has been found interesting. To Kalhana, who wrote that most valuable history; to the Kashmiri brahmans, who preserved the precious manuscript through so many centuries; and, finally, to Sir Aurel Stein, who rescued it from oblivion, and who by his translation rendered it accessible to the world, a deep debt of gratitude is due.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, April 25, 1921, at the rooms of the Association, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W. 1, at which a paper was read by E. E. Molony, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., entitled "Early Hindu Polity in Kashmir." Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., General Chamier, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Colonel C. L. Swaine, Lady Arnold, Mrs. Drury, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. A. Nell, Mr. J. S. Dhunji-bhoy, Mrs. Wright, Mr. C. W. Dixon, The Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mrs. F. N. Ogilvy, Mrs. Patrick Villiers Stuart, Mr. S. S. Gnana Viran, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. Bates, Miss Nina Corner, Mr. R. C. Master, Mr. N. J. Shah, Mr. B. Krishna, Colonel Wright, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Madame Vallot, Mr. Headley Storey, Mrs. Meyer, Mr. F. M. Sayal, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Molony, who, I can assure you, from a study I have made of his paper, has devoted very great care and attention to the subject upon which he is going to discourse to us this afternoon. Mr. Molony has spent many years in India. He has not spent as many years in Kashmir as he would have liked, but I hope perhaps I shall be able to supply his deficiencies there at the end of the lecture. I will ask Mr. Molony to kindly give us his address.

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure we are quite ready to acknowledge the debt to Sir Aurel Stein, to the Brahmins who preserved this invaluable history of Kashmir, and to Mr. Molony for his concise and interesting résumé of this history. I must say that during all the years that I lived in Kashmir—my first visit was in 1887—I have always been struck by the reflection that nothing very great has come out of that remarkable country. Kashmir is, I think, about the most beautiful country in the world. I have been in a good many countries, and the only one that I found really approaching it was California; but when I was in California I stuck to Kashmir as the most beautiful country. It also has a wonderful climate, neither too hot nor too cold; there is ample sunshine and just a sufficient amount of refreshing rain. The sun shines pretty nearly all the year round, except perhaps in January and February. Those are the only two really gloomy months. The rest of the year, even during the monsoon, is fairly sunny. With all those advantages, and with

a rich soil, ample vegetation, and everything that one could desire, one would expect that Kashmir would have had a great history; but, as a matter of fact, one looks in vain for any great man emerging from Kashmir. We have heard of a few great names to-day—Asoka and Kanishka and Lalitaditya—but those were from outside Kashmir.

The LECTURER : Lalitaditya was a native, but Asoka was not.

The CHAIRMAN : Lalitaditya is the one glory of Kashmir, and he certainly was a very great man. He did a very wise thing. He founded a city, not on the site of the present Srinagar, which is about the worst site in the valley—it is constantly liable to flood. Lalitaditya founded a city about Shadipore, on high ground, well clear of the floods, and in a very healthy situation ; but, apparently because it was not so easily accessible to boats as Srinagar is, the city gradually left this high ground and settled down in its present position. He certainly was a very great man. Then there is Suyu the Engineer. He also must have been a great man, but I do not know whether he was an inhabitant of Kashmir or not.

The LECTURER : Yes, he was.

The CHAIRMAN : He was the second great man. To the present day, the Kashmiri is exceedingly clever in this engineering way—in making ducts for water, in bringing the streams which come down from the mountains on to the fields. But with the exception of those one goes through century after century of the history of Kashmir and finds a great barren expanse of chaos, one chief succeeding another at very short intervals, either through being assassinated or deposed, or some other reason, but, anyhow, staying a very small time on the throne, and making an exceedingly small mark in the history of the country.

Nor do we find very much coming from Kashmir in the way of the arts. One would have expected that, as in Greece, great poets or painters would have arisen ; but so far as we can make out, and I think the Lecturer said there was no mention of art in Kalhana's history, Kashmir is very deficient in that connection. Well, I have often tried to account for this, and understand why it is that Kashmir has not aroused great men, and I have observed that Pathans and Sikhs who have settled in Kashmir for about a century—there are a number of settlements of these Pathans and Sikhs—have certainly deteriorated. They are not the same sturdy men as the Pathans and Sikhs one finds on the Indian frontier and upon the plains of the Punjab. I find also that Englishmen are inclined to deteriorate in Kashmir. I do not know what it is, but I think life there must be too easy—there must be something in this exceptionally favoured land that does have a sort of debilitating effect on human beings.

Well, those are the chief observations I have to make upon this extremely interesting paper. There are one or two little details I should like to add. It is a remarkable circumstance that the one class of building which has remained from ancient times is the religious building. Evidently those great men, when they did appear, put all their weight and power and influence into the construction of a building of religious import. We have this magnificent Temple of Martand, in one of the most beautiful situations

in the world, a magnificent ruin, and there are other temples in the country. What survives from those ancient days are not forts or palaces, or factories, but places of worship. That is a point which is worth considering.

Then as regards caste, it is extremely interesting to hear from a study of the history of the country that caste was not so rigid in those days as it is now, and that in ancient times it seems to have been referred to more as an occupational than as a social distinction. I am inclined to think that really in its origin caste was occupational. There is a very interesting study of this subject in "The Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces," by Mr. Russell, making the point that caste is in its origin occupational. I was struck by that remark in the Lecturer's paper, that originally in the Kalhana it is referred to as occupational.

Now the only other point I have to remark upon is that the posts of Prime Minister and other high positions do not appear to have been hereditary. I have been in a State in Rajputana, where nearly every post was hereditary. The post of Prime Minister and of most of the Governors were hereditary; but the post which one was least likely to think would be so was also hereditary, and that was the post of Poet Laureate. It saves much trouble. The Chief has not to be thinking about who shall succeed, and who shall be the next Prime Minister, etc. The whole thing goes from father to son. But apparently in Kashmir these posts were not considered altogether desirable—those gentlemen seem to have had a rather risky time of it.

Those are all the observations I have to make myself, but I understand it is the custom here to invite discussion, and I shall be very glad if any gentlemen will take part in the discussion, limiting themselves to five minutes.

Mr. KRISHNA said he was sorry he had not had an opportunity of reading the paper beforehand, because he would have liked to look up some of the details for the purpose of suggestion and criticism. One got the impression that the Lecturer had written his review from the exclusive point of view of the "Rajatarangini" alone, which exclusive study led to a certain amount of misconception. For instance, Mr. Molony had tried to point out how the "Kshattriyas," Rajputs, and the caste system had come into existence in Kashmir as shown in the book. They had been told that the first mention of "Rajputs" was in the eleventh century, whereas they all knew that the Rajputs existed earlier than that: even when the Mahommedans invaded Afghanistan in the seventh century they were the ruling Princes there. It should be understood that only very important events in the history of the country would be mentioned in the "Rajatarangini," and therefore any reference to Rajputs or to caste should not lead one to the conclusion that they only came into existence at the time shown therein.

Similarly with regard to the statement on page 458 as to the Vaisyas, it does not follow they did not exist before then. The mention of the Vaisyas only in the eleventh century should not be taken to imply that they made their appearance in Kashmir so late as that, and the same argu-

ment applies to the case of the Kshattriyas. Another important point was that the hunger-strikes observed by the Brahmans used as weapons against the tyranny of kings should not be treated lightly.

The Brahmans had always been a bar to oppression in ancient India. The ancient Hindu polity recognized no system of caste of the kind which now exists; it was not crystallized in the same way as it is now, and the kings could not oppress their subjects without arousing the wrath of the Brahmans, which was a terrible thing in its consequences.

It was also stated that there were few signs of artistic work in Kashmir; but, on the contrary, we knew there were many references to woollen manufacture, which has been a great industry from earliest times. Kashmir was also famous for its woodwork. Unfortunately, off-hand one could not cite instances definitely; but there was one thing he would like to mention—namely, that in the description of a certain temple in the country of the Amazons there is mention of an idol left hanging without any support at all, simply hanging by means of magnetic attraction of magnets fixed in the roof and floor of the hall. In that case there must have been an advanced knowledge of magnetism, otherwise that could not have been done.

Another point he would like to refer to was the statement with regard to the paucity of poets and historians in Kashmir. There had been great historians and teachers, and very famous schools and colleges which were attended by students from distant parts of India. In the "Jatakas," Buddhistic works of very early date, there was a mention of students from Benares going to Kashmir to study—a distance of many hundreds of miles; so that there must have been great teachers, otherwise their fame would not have attracted students from so great a distance.

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen, who, she was glad to say, was getting better and better in health, had written as follows:

"I have just read Mr. Molony's paper. It is an interesting and valuable record and throws much needed light on the dark places of old Cashmere (Kashmir).

"Strange that the malcontents of the Happy Valley understood 'hunger-striking' and used it for political purposes just as skilfully as the Suffragettes and Irish of our time. But there is nothing new under the sun, and 'sitting *dharna*' is an old Indian practice.

"But the Cashmere Brahmans seem to have been very clever in organizing simultaneous corporation hunger strikes; and what a clever device that was on the part of King Uccala to make his judges swear to commit suicide should anyone aggrieved by their judgment kill himself by hunger-striking. On this principle we should have lost our Chief Priest "L. G." when the Mayor of Cork did himself to death, should we not?

"I note that drinking intoxicating drinks or spirits was as common in Cashmere as it was in ancient India long long before the 'Feringhi' appeared, although I once heard the late Mr. Tilak tell a temperance audience in Caxton Hall that it was the English who first introduced drinking into Hindustan! In the same way, it must be somewhat disconcerting to those who would fain persuade the ignorant masses in India

that it was the British who first brought famines into the land to find that famines were, long ago recorded in Cashmere.

"But this perhaps is not to be wondered at when tyrants like King Jayapade confiscated for three years the whole of the harvest of the kingdom, including the cultivators' share, and did not cease from confiscating Brahmans' grants until ninety-nine Brahmans drowned themselves in the royal lake.

"It is interesting to note that the Irish custom of bowing to the new moon in the hope of getting new clothes prevailed in old times in the valley celebrated by Tommy Moore."

Mrs. VILLIERS STUART said, with regard to the point made that Kashmir was not particularly an artistic country, she would like to draw attention to the Kashmir taste for gardening, and she would like to know if there was any reference to that art in the old histories, or whether the Lecturer thought it was brought in in Mogul times. They would all, no doubt, remember it was a Kashmiri who laid out the wonderful Taj gardens, and she had an idea that the Buddhist paradise garden was originally visualized from the lotus-covered lakes of Kashmir. She would like to know if there was any Hindu reference to the gardens of Kashmir.

The CHAIRMAN: Perhaps the Lecturer will now kindly reply.

The LECTURER in reply said: I must plead guilty to the first criticism that Mr. Krishna made. The early Hindu polity in Kashmir is treated entirely from the point of view of Kalhana. I may say that originally I had proposed quite a different title to the lecture: "The Early Hindu Polity in Kashmir up to the Middle of the Twelfth Century, as depicted in Kalhana," but the Association thought it was rather too long a title and suggested the present title; but it did not occur to me that it might give too ambitious a scope to the paper, so I assented to it, but, as a matter of fact, it is simply intended to be a view of Kashmir as seen in the pages of Kalhana. To that extent Mr. Krishna spoke correctly. I do not pretend to treat the subject of the castes or the Rajputs, or any other subject under consideration, except from the point of view of Kalhana. No doubt the Rajputs did exist before the eleventh century, but what I meant to say was that, as far as we can see, there was no definite reference to them as existing in Kashmir before a certain date.

With regard to the Brahmans in old times being a bar to oppression, I have no doubt they did occupy that important position. If the Brahmans put up an emphatic protest by going on hunger-strike, it would have a great effect on the policy of the authorities. If the Brahmans were not in a position to do it, no one else would be, and probably the fear of the opinion of the Brahmans influenced the kings a good deal.

With reference to the instance of the idol suspended in mid-air, and to the question of artistic woodwork, I, of course, may possibly have omitted seeing such references in Kalhana, but, as far as I know, I do not think there is any reference to them.

Mr. KRISHNA pointed out that in Book IV., paragraph 185, would be found the reference to the suspended idol, and asked the Lecturer to read the parts referred to.

The LECTURER (after reading the paragraph in question) said : Yes, you are quite right.

Then, as Mr. Krishna says, Kalhana admittedly took the details of his history from previous historians, whose books are not now extant, so that there must have been historians before Kalhana's time.

As to the fact that students are reported to have gone to Kashmir from Benares, I stated that Sanscrit learning flourished. There were clearly students going to Kashmir from India, as shown by the reference to the establishment of a math for students from Aryadesa, and it is only a good school that could have attracted them to such a distant place.

As to the reference to art, it is quite probable that an historian might write a history of a country and yet make no reference to artistic work, so that, although there are few references to artistic work, it does not necessarily follow that there were no arts. In view of the fact that the present race is exceedingly artistic, it is reasonable to suppose that those artistic tendencies have come down by inheritance from past members of the race. When the country was converted to Islam by Shah Hamadan there must have been at that time a considerable connection with Persia, and the son of the iconoclast, who destroyed the temples, was a man of very enlightened views, and he is supposed to have done a great deal to introduce Persian ideas of art into the country.

With reference to what Mrs. Villiers Stuart said, there is only one reference directly to the beauties of the flowers in the "*Rajatarangini*," but it is possible that the science of gardening may have come into the country from Persia ; but that is merely a supposition of my own.

Mr. CHANNING, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman, said they were glad to have him presiding over their meeting that afternoon ; he belonged to a family which had done a great deal for India. As a matter of fact, he had never heard of a Younghusband who had not deserved great credit for whatever he had undertaken.

The proposition, on being seconded, was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN : Thank you very much for those very kind remarks. I thought the chief duty was to render thanks to the Lecturer, so may I, on your behalf, offer our very special thanks to Mr. Molony for his lecture this afternoon. (Hear, hear, and loud applause.)

The proceedings then terminated.

THE EAST AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM

BY H. S. L. POLAK

It is doubtful if any problems with which humanity is faced are more difficult of solution than those arising out of the real or apparent conflict of interests between peoples of different colours and civilizations. At the same time, perhaps none are so dangerous to leave unsolved, and the duty of statesmen and national leaders is to seek unceasingly, and if possible to find speedily, a solution that will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the peoples presently engaged in the most acute racial strife and controversy.

The conflict of interests between Indians and Europeans in the outer regions of the British Commonwealth has ordinarily been one of the most characteristic legacies of the systems of Indian labour emigration stimulated by, or on behalf of, various tropical and sub-tropical British Colonies and Dependencies during a period of about eighty-five years, and, if not encouraged, at least treated with friendly toleration, by the Government of India, with a view to the economic and industrial development of those parts of the Empire; until, by reason of the gross and incurable abuses inherent in such systems of artificially fostered emigration, Indian public opinion has at least compelled its cessation in the form of indentured labour. That this is the origin of the history of events in such distant places as South Africa and Fiji is well known to those who are familiar with them in detail. Nevertheless, at all events in principle, the policy laid down by His Majesty's Government with regard to the Indian emigrants in the Colonies in which they and their descendants have settled has been one of equality of treatment and oppor-

tunity, even though practice has often widely differed from theory. For this reason we find the Imperial Government in the past protesting in unambiguous and emphatic language against differential legislation and the racial spirit in administration in South Africa. A perusal of Blue Books and White Papers dealing with various phases of the Indian question in South Africa makes this quite clear. The Imperial Government have persistently maintained the thesis that in principle there should be no distinctions of race among the civilized inhabitants of British lands, and that any racial distinctions that might be necessitated by the uncivilized condition and habits of the aboriginal natives of these lands should be of a temporary character, disappearing with the adoption by the native peoples of the habits and customs of civilized communities. It comes, therefore, as a shock to find that a policy has now been enforced in another part of the British Commonwealth, upon the instructions of the Colonial Office, which, if adopted by the Cabinet in spite of Indian protests, must inevitably destroy the moral authority of the Home Government and the very fabric of the Commonwealth; for it will not only make impossible and ineffective protests by His Majesty's Government against unfair and inequitable legislation and methods of administration in the self-governing Dominions, but it will imply the definite adoption in Imperial affairs of a policy of racial differentiation, guided by arbitrary standards of racial intolerance.

The case of Indians in East Africa is regarded in India as the acid test of the sincerity of the protestations by statesmen and politicians of the value to an Indian of British citizenship. Indians have suffered so much and for so long in the various Colonies and Dominions that they are now gravely alarmed at the situation that has gradually emerged with growing distinctness, and they are asking, with increasing insistency, to be convinced that where there is a conflict of interests between Indians and Europeans in the British overseas territories, it shall not

invariably happen that Indian interests suffer and European demands are acceded to. In practically all other parts of the Empire in which Indians have settled, although they have enormously contributed to the prosperity of these lands and have often, indeed, saved them from threatened bankruptcy, they have, nevertheless, not been first-comers. In East Africa, on the other hand, Indians were pioneers. The historical connection of India with East Africa was long antecedent to the arrival of European settlers in the country or the establishment of British power. The foundations of the prosperity of the territories concerned were laid centuries ago by the enterprise of Indian traders and settlers who have been the chief contributors by their industry and wealth to the development of that prosperity in its present high state. It may not unfairly be claimed that to the resources of India and the enterprise, capacity, industry, and personal sacrifice of Indians the East African territories owe not only their existence, but even their preservation during the late war, as fertile and prosperous provinces under the British Crown. During the long period before the British era, the Indian traders and settlers had, by their efficiency, sympathy, and conduct, gained the confidence of the Arab rulers and the native populations, and had carried their trade along the caravan routes far into the interior; so that, in fact, civilization came to the native peoples of these lands first from Asia and not from Europe.

The trade relations between East Africa and India can be traced back for at least three centuries, and many Indian families at present settled in East Africa are the descendants in the third and fourth generations of the original settlers. Since the time of Lord Canning, at least, India has been active in extending British influence in East Africa. Sir John Kirk, with an unrivalled knowledge of the early history of the British connection with East Africa, testified before the Sanderson Inter-departmental Committee for the promotion of Indian emigration to the Crown Colonies

and Dependencies, in 1910, that "but for the Indians we (the British) should not be there now. It was entirely through being in possession of the influence of these Indian merchants that we were enabled to build up the influence that eventually resulted in our position." When the Royal Charter was granted to the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 by Queen Victoria, it was advanced, as one of the chief grounds for doing so, that it was calculated to be advantageous to the "commercial and other interests" of the British Indians, and that "the possession by a British Company of the East African coastline" would "protect British Indian subjects from being compelled to reside and trade under the Government and protection of Alien Powers." Indian soldiers played a leading part in the early days of the conquest and pacification of the then Protectorate, and, as is now well known, Indian soldiers, as well as Indian money and material, again largely helped to save the country for the British Empire and to subjugate the enemy in the neighbouring German territory, in the late war. Though British capital and engineering skill were engaged in the building of the Uganda Railway, which opened up the interior to fuller development, it was made possible only by Indian organization, enterprise, and labour, under great difficulties and attended by considerable loss of life. Among its main purposes was the assistance of Indian emigration and expansion, as is clear from the following statement by Mr. Sandbach Baker, one of the oldest British settlers in East Africa, in a communication to the leader of the Indian deputation that visited this country last year: "When the Uganda Railway was made, the principal idea of this was that it would create in East Africa a very fine country for the surplus populations from the congested districts of India. May I tell you why I know this? When the Government was approached to make the railway they were rather reluctant to do so on account of the cost, so Sir F. Freegard, General McDonald, and Mr. Gerald Portal were asked to see the Manchester

Chamber of Commerce, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. They came to Manchester first. Mr. Arthur Hutton, Chairman of the Cotton Growers' Association, and myself, as representing the Chamber, were deputed to meet them. . . . This resulted in recommending the Government to make the railway almost solely on account of releasing the congested districts of India, otherwise it would not have been proposed by us. Liverpool, Glasgow, and Birmingham Chambers said the same. British East Africa was at that time under the Foreign Office."

Contemporary administrators bear unanimous testimony to the important part played in the early development of the Protectorates of East Africa and Uganda by the Indian population. In those days the Protectorates were administered by the Foreign Office, and there were no complaints. When, in the middle of the first decade of the present century, the Colonial Office became responsible for the administration, the function of the Indian settler had not diminished in importance. We find, for example, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, in describing his tour in East Africa shortly after he became Under-Secretary, writing in his book, "My African Journey," as follows: "It is the Indian trader who, penetrating and maintaining himself in all sorts of places to which no white man could go, or in which no white man could earn a living, has, more than anyone else, developed the early beginnings of trade, and opened up the first slender means of communication." And that the economic importance of the Indian in East Africa has undergone no change since then is evident from the special correspondence to *The Times*, last year, by Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, who says: "The retail trade is almost wholly in the hands of the Greeks as far as the Sudan, and, farther to the south, of Indians. Indian and Japanese products are ousting British. . . . The goods are adapted for local European and native

requirements. . . . Indians are rapidly gaining control of the ivory, hides, and other markets. There are branches of Indian banks in every centre." Dr. Chalmers Mitchell, however, being a stranger in that country, apparently did not know that Indian trade existed in these lands long before any British goods were introduced, and that British goods were themselves first introduced by Indian and not by British traders.

As a matter of fact, the Indians outnumber the European settlers by some four to one. They control by far the greater part of the trade of the country and pay the bulk of the taxes. With slight modifications, the Indian system of law prevails, and until quite recently the local currency was Indian, the rise and fall of the exchange being based on trade and financial relations with India. The clerical staffs of the public services and the railways are manned by Indians, as is the mechanical staff of the railway workshops. The building and allied trades are almost entirely carried on by Indian contractors and skilled artisans. Thus, in population, trade, industry, and commerce the predominance of Indian interests is overwhelming; and it is safe to say that were the Indian element to be suddenly withdrawn, these territories would speedily become derelict and revert to barbarism; for, climatically, they are far more suited to an Indian than to a European population.

Despite their strong claims to special consideration, due to their pioneer work in carrying the products of modern civilization to the barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples of the country (with whom they have always had the friendliest relations), and the vital and trading risks incidental thereto, as well as their subsequent enormous contribution to the development and prosperity of these lands, the Indian population have never adopted a selfish attitude, or a policy of exclusion in regard to other communities. They have not asked, nor do they now ask, for preferential treatment. They welcomed all comers, with whom they were willing to co-operate on a basis of equality. Prominent members

of the Indian community, indeed, went out of their way to recommend the country for European, as well as Indian, settlement, and in the early days under the Foreign Office, which fully recognized and appreciated the valuable and, indeed, indispensable character of the services rendered by India and the Indian settlers, the relations of the Indian community with the Administration were of a friendly character.

But the advent of malcontent Dutch settlers from South Africa shortly after the Boer War (dissatisfied with the conditions in the neighbouring German Colony), who migrated to the Protectorate and settled in the Highlands, introduced a new and discordant element. Bringing with them the notoriously bitter South African race and colour prejudice, and reinforced later by British settlers with experience only of the South African and Dominions' outlook upon coloured peoples in general, and Indians in particular, but ignorant of Indian traditions and customs, and of the earlier history of the Protectorate, they commenced an agitation against the Indians, with the object of reducing them to the position of racial inferiority occupied by their compatriots in South Africa. So long as the Foreign Office remained responsible for the administration of the territory this agitation met with little success, but with the advent of the Colonial Office régime, there has been a distinct, progressive, and entire change of attitude and policy towards Indians on the part of the local Administration, who appear to have capitulated to the European settlers. An artificial predominance has been accorded to European interests and influence. Preferential treatment in every sphere has been given to the European settlers, and the Indian community has been more and more relegated to a position of political, social, and, so far as possible, economic subordination. To-day, the Indian settlers are political helots, enjoying no important civic rights and placed under numerous humiliating and invidious disabilities. That this is by no means an exaggerated

statement of the position is clear from two positive declarations of the local Administration as recently as the middle of 1919. In an official memorandum of an interview between the Governor and an Indian deputation at Nairobi, the following extract appears: "A general discussion then ensued on the various points, His Excellency saying that this country was primarily for European development; and, whereas the interests of Indians would not be lost sight of in all respects, the Europeans must predominate." In a letter of about the same date, the Chief Secretary to the Government writes: "His Excellency believes that, though the Indian interests should not be lost sight of, European interests must be paramount throughout the Protectorate." This is a very long stage from the first breach in the policy of equal treatment when, in 1908, Lord Elgin, to whom Indians owe the most serious blow to their status in South Africa, wrote that "while it was not in consonance with the views of His Majesty's Government to impose legal restrictions on any section of the Indian community, as a matter of administrative convenience grants (of land) should not be made to Indians in the upland areas." Great results have small beginnings, and the follies and weaknesses of administrators and statesmen bear evil and dangerous consequences. The nature of these in the present instance will be seen from what follows, and it is no wonder that last October, in a powerful and energetic despatch to the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India say, with pointed emphasis: "We cannot agree to inequality of treatment in a Crown colony, more especially in a colony in which India has always had a peculiar interest. . . . There is in practice unfair discrimination against Indians in East Africa. . . . It seems to us to be an impossible position that British Indians in a British colony should be subjected to disabilities to which they cannot be subjected in an adjoining mandated territory."

For many years the relations of the Indian community with the European population, which has secured an ever-

increasing influence with the local Administration, have become steadily worse. About six years ago, with a view to improve the civic amenities of the town of Nairobi, the Colonial Office invited Professor Simpson to visit the Protectorate and draw up a report. The Professor appears to have entirely ignored the Indian leaders, and to have allowed himself to become the mouthpiece of the European settlers; for his report, far from being a document of scientific value from the point of view of municipal sanitation, is in the nature of a political manifesto. He says, for example: "Unless measures of this kind (segregation) be taken for Nairobi, it will lose the opportunity of becoming mainly a European town, which, as the centre of a European district, and as the capital of the country, it by right and destiny ought to possess." In other words, the "sanitation" plea was only a means to an end. Commenting upon this, Mr. C. F. Andrews, after an examination *in loco* on behalf of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, of Bombay, says:

"I do not think that, when all the facts are finally and fully considered, the only solution of the sanitary problem will be found to consist in the complete segregation of races. I have read Professor Simpson's Sanitation Report twice over very carefully indeed. If he had taken the position purely of an expert, what he has advised would be more convincing. But his political bias is evident throughout, and he has often written, not as a sanitarian, but as a politician. Furthermore, he appears to me to have missed out of count the very large and increasing number of Indians who are adopting in their completeness modern sanitary methods. It is not segregation which will increase the number of these, but close association. The 'segregation' policy, therefore, if run to the extreme, is as short-sighted as the 'exclusion' policy with regard to immigration. Both policies have got all the character of panic legislation. Both policies owe their popular support to racial dislike."

And he pithily summarizes the effect of Professor Simpson's recommendations as follows:

"The scheme he proposes, on sanitary grounds, is simply to give the Europeans all the centre of the town which the Indians had a share in previously. He would bodily remove the Indians across a steep *nullah* with a river running through it, away from central Nairobi altogether. To give some slight analogy. Suppose Indians originally possessed all Cheapside and Ludgate Circus and the Strand, and Europeans possessed all Charing Cross and Westminster and Bloomsbury. Then Indians are bodily removed to the 'Elephant and Castle' and Walworth, and the Europeans are given Cheapside, Ludgate Circus, and the Strand, as well as Westminster and Charing Cross. To add to the Indians' difficulties, you must imagine a very deep creek, or *nullah*, between north and south of the Thames."

That Mr. Andrews was correct in his diagnosis is clear from the report of Sir Benjamin Robertson to the Government of India, who say in their dispatch :

"It must be admitted that the plans of Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu, facing pages 24, 45, and 59 of Professor Simpson's report, are sufficient cause for anxiety. In Nairobi, Professor Simpson proposed that the whole of the present business quarter between the railway station and the river should be preserved for Europeans, and Indians were to be relegated to the other side of the river. In Mombasa, again, the whole of the area adjoining the harbour of Kilindini was to be the European business area, and Indians were to be kept on the other side of the Island. And in Kisumu, where practically the whole of the trade is in the hands of Indians, one short street was allotted for the Indian bazaar, while an extensive block was to be laid out as the European business quarters."

But the mischief wrought by Professor Simpson in his recommendations as to racial segregation has become widespread. In 1919 the Protectorate Government appointed an Economic Commission, comprising official and non-official Europeans but no Indians, which went out of its way, without hearing Indian evidence or referring in any way to the history of Indian pioneer enterprise and the services of the Indian population in promoting the welfare

and prosperity of the country, to malign and slander it in the most offensive and provocative language. It is noteworthy that the Protectorate Government did not immediately rebuke the Commission for the extravagant immoderation of this part of its report, and it was not until more than a year later that the condemnation of it by the Secretary of State for the Colonies was formally conveyed to the offending officials and non-officials by the medium of a Colonial Office dispatch. The Commission's slanders, however, were repeated within a few months by the European Convention of Associations, of which the five non-official Commissioners were prominent members, which passed a series of resolutions on Indian immigration, franchise, segregation, ownership of land, and other Indian interests borrowing almost the very language of the Commission, whose official chairman, without remonstrance by the Governor, protested in the Legislative Council only a few weeks ago against Lord Milner's repudiation of the offensive pages in the Commission's report.

From 1911, when Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee ceased to be a member of the nominated Legislative Council, until 1919, when European members were for the first time elected in considerable numbers, whilst the preponderant Indian population was represented only by two nominated members, Indians were totally unrepresented in the Council. During this period a whole series of statutes depriving Indians of rights has been passed by the European members. The Mining Ordinance (1912) expressly excludes all Indians from the mining industry, only Europeans being granted the right to obtain prospecting licences. The Crown Lands Ordinance (1915) has been adroitly administered so as effectually to exclude Indians from the farming industry, power having been given to the Governor to veto all transfers of lands between persons of different races. This power, given at a time when the country was in the grip of war and all sections of His Majesty's subjects were enjoined not to raise any con-

controversial issues, has invariably been exercised to prevent Indians from buying land from Europeans. The Segregation of Races Ordinance (1919), a measure which was subsequently dropped, only to be replaced by the Public Health Ordinance (1921), had for its object the promotion of the policy of racial segregation both in urban and in rural areas, for commercial as well as for residential purposes; and it provided for the prohibition even of ownership of land by each race in the areas set apart for the other. The Municipal Corporations Ordinance (1919) provided for the over-representation of the European minority in Nairobi by election and the wholly disproportionate under-representation of the Indian majority by nomination. A similar disparity, as regards both numbers of representatives and methods of representation, was established in the Legislative Council, where there is still an official majority, by the Electoral Representation and Nomination Ordinance (1919). For all practical purposes, it will be seen, Indians have neither municipal nor political representation, and the nominated Indian members have resigned, mainly because they felt that, by reason of the circumstances of their appointment, the inadequacy of the Indian representation, and the adoption by the Colonial Office and the enforcement by the local administration of the segregation policy their continued presence in the Municipal and Legislative Councils was quite unhelpful and even prejudicial to Indian interests. By way of further illustration of the preferential treatment of the European population, reference may here be made to the post-war rewards to Europeans, to the complete neglect of and indifference to Indian claims.

Early last year, without any consultation with the Indian leaders, and under pressure from European financial interests, the Colonial Office authorized the immediate change of currency from the old-established rupee to a British sterling basis, resulting in the complete unsettlement of the Indian exchange and grave loss to Indian

mercantile firms in East Africa and India. The change has resulted in financial chaos in Kenya.

At the outbreak of the war, many local Indian residents offered themselves for military service. Some were formed into combatant companies and sent on active service. Many more joined the military departmental services along with Europeans. Even compulsion was applied to Indian motor-drivers, many being sent into the field. But when the time came to distribute benefits, Indians were forcibly reminded that the motto of the Protectorate was "Europeans first, and Indians nowhere." The Europeans received war bonus, gratuity, occupation allowance (even when not occupying enemy country), and other advantages. Indians, however, serving in the same offices and doing exactly the same work, were denied all participation in these benefits, in spite of repeated application to the Governor and the Secretary of State.

Perhaps the most flagrant case of inequitable treatment was that meted out to Indians in connection with the soldier settlement scheme. Generals in the field, as well as His Majesty's Government, have paid a tribute to the important and decisive part played by the Indian troops during the East African campaign. But when this scheme came to be formulated, it was learnt that it was to be confined entirely to European ex-soldiers, for whom 1,500 farms, comprising, I understand, over a million acres of the best remaining land in the country, were set aside and have since been taken up. When a request was made that Indian ex-soldiers should be given land, the official reply was that any land available would be given to European applicants, and if there were any residue it would go to the natives of the country. Sir Edward Northey, the Governor, added insult to injury by making the preposterous suggestion that the big Indian landowners at the Coast should provide land for the Indian ex-soldiers. No such suggestion had been made, regarding the European ex-soldiers, to the European resident and absentee land-owners who have acquired several millions of acres of land

in the most fertile parts of the country, which they can never hope to develop, whilst, as the dispatch of the Government of India shows, the Indian land-holding is a very small proportion of the whole.

As may be readily surmised from the foregoing catalogue of disabilities, Indians are not represented upon the Governor's Executive Council.

Dismayed by the growing antipathy towards them expressed by their European fellow-colonists, and alarmed at the attitude of the authorities, clearly expressed in the hostile legislation and administration above referred to, the Indian community last year sent here a deputation, which, under the auspices of the Indians Overseas Association and the leadership of Lord Islington, waited upon Lord Milner at the Colonial Office and placed the Indian grievances fully before him. Lord Milner promised careful consideration, to the exclusion of racial prejudice of any kind. The results of that consideration were announced by him in the House of Lords on July 14 last, when he publicly defended the segregation policy, not solely upon sanitary grounds (which he evidently felt to be an insufficient as well as an insecure basis for so reactionary a policy, in complete conflict with all that His Majesty's Government had hitherto stood for), but upon the vague and indeterminate grounds of social amenity (as though the standards of the Transvaal at its worst or of the Southern United States had been adopted by the Cabinet), and expressed his determination to extend the segregation and differential policy to all the neighbouring territories so far as possible. Article 7 of the Tanganyika Mandate appears to forbid its extension to the mandated area (though, as the Government of India have pointed out in a more recent dispatch, even this is far from certain so far as political rights are concerned); but attempts to enforce it in Zanzibar and Uganda, where European and Indian relations have hitherto been of the friendliest, have already commenced, and the latest development of the policy of racial inequality is that the Indian

nominated member of the Uganda Legislative Council has refused to take his seat, being hopelessly outnumbered by his European colleagues, official and non-official, representing a minority of the population.

The situation in Kenya Colony, as the East Africa Protectorate is now officially designated, having grown so acute owing to the Colonial Office attitude, the Government of India sent Sir Benjamin Robertson last year to investigate it independently. The results of his investigations may be seen in the Government of India's dispatch first referred to, in which the Government challenge the very basis of Lord Milner's contentions and submit to a searching criticism the policy underlying the virtual disfranchisement of the Indian population, racial segregation, and the restrictions placed upon the freedom of ownership of land. I do not propose to place their arguments before you to-day, though I could quote at considerable length. But I would strongly recommend a perusal of this dispatch, as well as that on Tanganyika, by all who realize the importance of the subject and can, therefore, appreciate the dangerous disservice to the Empire of the Colonial Office attitude. At the present time, though it is an open secret that its policy is being challenged by the India Office and is under reconsideration by the Cabinet, and although the Colonial Office gave an undertaking in Parliament last December that meanwhile the policy would not be persisted in, the Kenya Government have continued to give effect to it in many ways, with the result that all Indians holding public offices have resigned. The most recent case was the passing of the Public Health Bill in February, upon the urgent representations of the Governor, with the inclusion of the segregation clauses, though the Select Committee had urged their omission as unnecessary, and in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Principal Health Officer, who also held that their retention was unnecessary for health purposes, and who gave figures completely destroying some of Professor Simpson's

strongest arguments in favour of general racial segregation. It would thus seem that not only has the Colonial Office sought to subvert the basic principles of Imperial policy as regards the treatment of His Majesty's subjects in British territories directly administered by the Crown, but that, by what has every appearance of being a disingenuous breach of faith, it has sought to present the Cabinet with a *fait accompli* when it comes to reconsider the whole question now that Mr. Churchill has resumed charge of affairs in Downing Street.

Briefly, the Indian claims, as set forth in an official representation of recent date to the Prime Minister by the Eastern Africa Indian National Congress, are as follows :

(1) *Legislative Council*.—Common franchise and common register preferably, or, as a step towards it, the same number of elected Indian members as of elected Europeans.

(2) *Executive Council*.—At least two Indian members.

(3) *Municipal Councils*.—Election on the same principle as in the case of the Legislative Council.

(4) Complete reversal of the policy of segregation in every sense, with guarantees against its reintroduction in any form.

(5) No special reservations of land for European development and the throwing open of all non-native lands to development and acquisition by Europeans and Indians alike.

(6) The repeal and reversal of all preferential and differential legislation and methods of administration.

In other words, Indians demand complete equality of status and treatment, and will be satisfied with nothing less. That they are justified in their demand is clear from Lord Chelmsford's claim on their behalf in the Imperial Legislative Council last year. He said : " I do not admit that there is any justification in a Crown Colony or a Protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects." How closely the Government of India are

concerned in effecting a settlement is evidenced by the concluding words of their dispatch : "We cannot admit that we are not directly concerned. To quote once more Lord Milner's reply to Lord Islington's deputation, 'We will cease to be an Empire if any portion of the Empire is entirely relieved from the responsibility for what happens in another.' The Government of India cannot and will not disclaim responsibility for the welfare of the Indians who are settled in East Africa." It is urgently necessary that this controversy should be brought to a speedy end, and that the Colonial Office should at once conform to the principles affecting the status of India in the Empire embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, thereby restoring the already forfeited confidence of the people of India in the fair play and goodwill of that Department. The maintenance of the present differential policy can but breed bad blood between component parts of a common Empire and weaken its very fabric. At the present time, so far as East Africa is concerned, the policy enforced in the name of His Majesty's Government is such as to reduce Indians in the British territories to a position inferior to that enjoyed by their compatriots in the adjoining mandated territory, not only now, but as compared with their lot as aliens during the German régime, a most unflattering reflection ; whilst it effectively impedes the negotiations of the Home Government with the Governments of the self-governing Dominions for the removal of the disabilities of Indians resident therein. Any expression of opinion that will help to solve this grave Imperial problem will be a service to the Commonwealth of the utmost value.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, May 23, 1921, at which a paper was read by Mr. H. S. L. Polak, entitled "The East African Indian Problem." The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., occupied the chair.

The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir George Roos-Keppel, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Ovens Clark, Major-General F. Chamier, C.B., C.I.E., General H. A. Iggulden, C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel M. W. Douglas, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. T. Summers, C.I.E., Miss F. R. Scatterd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. I. Thakor, Mr. J. S. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. A. L. Emanuel, I.C.S., Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. S. Arumugam, Mr. S. Sen, Mr. S. Polak, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. M. Ali, Miss M. Sorabji, Thakur Shri Jessrajsinghji Seesodia, Mr. A. Lewis, Mrs. Drury, Mr. Colman P. Hyman, Mr. M. Davis, Colonel F. S. Terry, Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, I.M.S. (ret'd.), Mr. Robert Sewell, Mr. J. P. Collins, Mrs. Singh, Mr. N. Chaudhuri, Mr. F. H. Grubb, Mr. B. R. Ambedkar, Mr. R. C. Vakil, Mrs. Meyer, Miss Nina Corner, Mrs. E. F. Kinnier-Tarte, Dr. H. C. Hocken, Mr. E. R. Pezzani, Mr. Gnanavolivu Alfred, Mr. A. Ramamurti, Mr. S. S. Gnana Rao, Mr. M. H. Malik, Mr. S. R. Dube, Mr. M. O. Abbasi, Mr. B. L. Rao, Mr. G. N. R. Ali, Mr. M. Allah, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My lord, ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasing duty this afternoon to introduce to you Mr. Polak, who will read to you a paper on "The East African Indian Problem."

I would remind you that this is part of a very much bigger problem—namely, the position and status of Indian emigrants in all parts of the British Empire. During the whole five years of my viceroyalty I have been up against this question in other portions of the world, and to my mind it is the outstanding problem which requires a solution at the present moment; but I should like to remind you that by it the racial issue is raised in its most acute form, and I would urge upon all—I refer, of course, to those who really wish to find an honourable and equitable settlement—to say and do nothing which would exacerbate the situation.

Flamboyant speeches may titillate the emotions, but they will not bring us one hand's breadth nearer a settlement—indeed, they will retard it; and so throughout my tenure of office I have been at pains not to raise this question publicly, but to endeavour to obtain a settlement by quiet

negotiation between the authorities concerned. I did, however, on one occasion find it necessary to make my position and that of my Government quite clear, and in January, 1920, in addressing the Imperial Legislative Council, I said that "there was no justification in a Crown colony or protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects."

I regard the principle embodied in this statement as fundamental, and I would regard any solution which violated it as unsatisfactory and strongly to be deprecated.

I will not stand any longer between you and the Lecturer, but I thought it might be well at the outset to define my own attitude towards the issue in clear and unmistakable terms. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN : I would remind those who wish to speak that they are limited to five minutes in the length of their speeches. I will now call upon Mr. Malik to speak.

MR. MALIK then addressed the meeting, asking permission to read a written paper which would occupy him for about fifteen minutes, but he was reminded by the Chairman that he must rigidly insist on the five minutes limit.

After speaking for some time, Mr. Malik was informed by the Chairman that his time was up, and that, as notice had been given of the five minutes limit, he must stick rigidly to the rule, but if the speaker would give his written paper to the Secretary, it would be included in the Report.*

SIR CHARLES YATE said the Chairman had told them that this East African Indian problem was the great outstanding issue at the present time, and no doubt they all realized the importance of it. He also had told them that they should beware of "flamboyant speeches," but he could not help thinking the address they had just listened to from the Lecturer was one of those flamboyant speeches they ought to guard themselves against. He himself thought some of the Lecturer's premises were incorrect, and therefore the conclusions he had drawn from them must also be incorrect. As an instance, the Lecturer said on page 2 of his lecture : "Indians have suffered so much and for so long in the various colonies and dominions that they are now gravely alarmed at the situation," etc. Well, as a matter of fact, he himself had just recently read in the *Times of India* an account of how several hundreds of Indians had, at the instigation of various Indian political organizations, recently left Fiji and Trinidad, and had arrived in Calcutta. These men had been tempted to sell all they possessed and to go back to India with great promises of what would be done for them on arrival there, and yet when they arrived in Calcutta there was no one to welcome them ; the political organizations to which they had been referred refused to have any dealings with them ; they were left absolutely destitute, and were now trying to earn enough money to get back again to the colonies they had deserted. The most remarkable thing amongst them, it was said, was the

* See end of discussion.

bitterness which they felt against the political agitators who had induced them to leave their homes in the Colonies. That sort of thing was what they ought to warn Indians against in all the colonies belonging to the British Empire, and he hoped that Indians in future would not have to go back again impoverished under the deception practised upon them by political agitators.

Then, again, on page 3 the Lecturer talked of "the historical connection of India with East Africa." No doubt a number of Indians had been trading there for a long time, but he could not agree that it was owing "to the enterprise, capacity, industry, and personal sacrifice of Indians that the East African territories owed their existence." That was a statement he did not think was correct. Then the Lecturer went on to say: "During the long period before the British era the Indian traders and settlers had, by their efficiency, sympathy, and conduct, gained the confidence of the Arab rulers and native populations, and had carried their trade along the caravan routes far into the interior." Well, if they read the travels of Livingstone, Moffat, and others of the early days in Africa, the only caravans they heard of were the Arab slave caravans, which went far into the interior and brought back ivory on the shoulders of those identical slaves, but that the Indians carried on their trade far into the interior, so far as he knew, was absolutely incorrect. No doubt the Arab traders sold the slaves on arrival at the coast, and the Indian traders may have sold the ivory, but the Lecturer's claim that "civilization came to the native peoples of these lands first from Asia" appeared to him to be far removed from fact.

When they started with a lecture of that sort they should see that the statements were really facts and not pure imagination. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN here intimated that the five minutes time limit was up.

Sir THOMAS BENNETT said that he would like to suggest to the gentlemen who were somewhat disappointed when the closure was put, that they would have an opportunity of reading Mr. Malik's statement in full—and he felt sure that it would be well worth reading—in the next issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW, which he hoped they all subscribed to. With regard to the question at issue, although one could hardly touch even the fringe of it in five minutes, he felt in complete agreement with Mr. Polak's paper. It dealt with a subject to which he had devoted a good deal of attention, and he had practically come to the same conclusions as the Lecturer. In the last sentence of the paper he had struck what must be regarded as the keynote of the subject when he said: "Any expression of opinion that will help to solve this grave Imperial problem will be a service to the Commonwealth of the utmost value." It was undoubtedly a service to the Commonwealth they were trying to do in redressing the grievances of their fellow-subjects in East Africa. It was not merely local injustices and local grievances—about which a good deal could be said; but it was because those injustices and grievances—he would rather say inequalities—gave to the people of India as a whole a sense of their not being treated on a footing of equality with the other subjects of the Empire, that the question became one of vast Imperial importance. They wanted to keep

India within the Empire, and they wanted the people of India to feel that wherever they went they should be treated in the spirit of the declaration of Lord Chelmsford's Government.

He should like to give a word of warning. Only the other day a resolution was passed by a meeting of Indians in East Africa, that unless certain grievances were redressed taxation would be withheld, and he would like the warning to go forth from that meeting—a meeting of people who were warmly in sympathy with the general claims of the Indians in East Africa—that that was not the way in which their grievances would be redressed. (Hear, hear.) The people of England and Parliament were not going to be bullied or threatened; they would deal with the matter on its merits, and in no other way, and politicians in East Africa who thought to advance the cause of their countrymen in that way were making the greatest mistake they ever made. They ought to remember that they had powerful forces acting for them at this end, and they would hinder and tie the hands of their best friends if they carried on the agitation in that spirit. Let them put their claims before the Government fairly, and they would find they would get redress in due time. At the present moment there was a discussion going on between the Colonial Office and the India Office; the case for the Indians was being fought strenuously by the Secretary of State for India, who would see that the case for India was put before the Colonial Office in the most effective way. They ought to carry on the agitation on constitutional lines. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. H. E. A. COTTON said that as he listened to Sir Charles Yate, he was reminded of the story of the escaped slave who appeared before a judge in one of the North American States, when the judge asked him, "Why have you come here? You had a comfortable home down south, and a good master, and everything was done for you." "Well, judge," the man replied, "if you think it is all so splendid down there, why don't you go and take a turn?" He did not propose to be flamboyant at all, but he could not help feeling that if Sir Charles were an Indian, and had come straight from East Africa, he would not have made the speech that he had made. On the other hand, he would beg of his Indian friends who were present to take to heart the wise words of Sir Thomas Bennett. It was very easy to say, and it was quite true to say, that the problem had been for a long time under discussion, and that results did not appear to be very evident. But what they had to remember was that their own point of view, however right it might be, and however convinced they might be of its justice, was not the only point of view. The main difficulty lay in trying to persuade the other man that he was wrong and that you were right, and that was the reason for the delay that was taking place. It was a delay that must occur in every controversy, and he hoped it would be borne in mind. (A Voice: Why didn't you do that with Germany?) Mr. Cotton said that he did not see the relevancy of that observation, and in any case he was not going to be drawn into any discussion of that kind. Indians would do well to remember that their friends were more numerous than some of them perhaps imagined, and that they were doing

their utmost. What was the use of spoiling their efforts and spoiling their own cause by impatient language? Surely a complete victory was worth waiting for. He hoped that Sir Thomas Bennett's wise words would be taken to heart. After all, the Indian problem in East Africa was only one of the many which were bound up in the question of Asiatics and Europeans all over the world. The Japanese had the same difficulty, and even although the Japanese were a sovereign nation they had not yet succeeded. A problem of such magnitude could not be solved at a moment's notice.

Lord LAMINGTON said that he had no new ideas to put before the meeting with regard to such a vexed question, but as he and the Lecturer years ago used to meet on a common platform in regard to the Indian question, he would like to say how he appreciated the address he had heard, which he thought to a large extent had convinced him. However, he was a Scotsman by birth, with sixty years of life behind him, and he had learned the necessity of hearing the other side before coming to a final decision, and it was with that reservation that he expressed general sympathy with Mr. Polak's views. He thought now and again he laid too great a stress on the disabilities of Indians. For instance, he pointed out that the Indians in East Africa had gained the confidence of the native population. Well, in talking in a casual way with people concerned, he gathered that was hardly the case, and that there was a feeling entertained by the native population against the Indians. He did not know whether that was so or not. (A member said that he could give his lordship chapter and verse against that statement.) Lord Lamington continued that he only mentioned that to show that personally he would like more complete information before he finally decided. He thought the last two speakers had put before them in concise form the spirit in which this great question should be treated, and he thought anyone who had read the history of the British Empire could rely on the fairmindedness of the British people towards all people. (Laughter.) If that was the kind of spirit shown by some of those concerned, then he was afraid those people had not studied the action and spirit of British rule as compared with other nations. He maintained that any student of human affairs would agree that British rule had been built up on justice, and he felt no doubt that with the strong line taken by the Secretary of State for India and by the Chairman of the meeting, Lord Chelmsford, this important question would be capable of being satisfactorily solved in the near future.

Miss SCATCERD said she would just like to read to the meeting a letter she had received from Dr. Pollen, in which he expressed his personal appreciation of the Chairman :

"I am so glad to hear that the East India Association have been able to secure Lord Chelmsford as Chairman for Mr. Polak's paper, for few know the facts and feelings connected with the 'East African Indian Problem' better than our late Viceroy.

"Personally, I have never felt the racial bar, nor have I ever experienced any difficulty in working with or under my Aryan brothers, and from the early days of my service I have insisted that a British Indian

subject is a fellow-subject, and entitled to all the privileges and consideration of a British citizen, no matter what his caste, colour, or creed. So, although it must be admitted (*pace* the American Declaration of Independence) that there is no such thing as perfect equality between man and man, I cannot for the life of me understand how there can be any justification in a Crown colony or a protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects; nor can I see how the Government of India can disclaim responsibility for the welfare of Indians who were the first to settle in East Africa. As the earliest settlers they have a preferential claim to consideration, and are entitled to a fair field and all the favour their European fellow-subjects can afford to give. Certainly, in all sanitary, housing, and other local government matters and arrangements they should be consulted freely as fellow-citizens under equal laws, and particularly in the matter of segregation. They are firstcomers and should have their convenience consulted first.

"As to this question of living together, or intermixed, my own experience, both in Bombay and Bengal, is that Indians themselves prefer caste or race or class segregation wherever possible, and have no wish at all to be mixed up with the houses or domiciles of Europeans; and I remember how in the old days I used to declare that had Malabar Hill, for instance, been reserved in early times for Europeans, and Camballa Hill or other parts for Indians, no objection of any kind would ever have been urged by or on behalf of the Indians themselves.

"With a little goodwill and generous give and take on both sides it ought to be possible to solve the problem described by Mr. Polak to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, without resort to unfair or inequitable legislation or 'top-dog' administration.

"I hope your meeting will arrive at this conclusion, and that the nebulous mind and conscience of the 'Colonial Office' may be cleared a little, and their blinds raised to let in the Indian sun and with it a sounder knowledge of their fellow-citizens from the East."

In conclusion she would like to congratulate the East India Association on having such a live subject brought before it for discussion. (Hear, hear.)

The LECTURER, in reply, said: Lord Chelmsford, ladies and gentlemen, I find that there is not very much adverse criticism for me to reply to; in fact, I believe the only really hostile critic was Sir Charles Yate, and I am sure in his heart of hearts he is not nearly so hostile as he sounded. He suggested that my address was at least in parts good, even if in parts it was not quite so good. He also suggested, in the parts which were not so good, that I was somewhat flamboyant and slightly inaccurate, and possibly in some degree that I had exaggerated. If Sir Charles really wants to see something flamboyant, exaggerated, and inaccurate I would recommend to him a perusal of the Economic Commission's Report, published by the Kenya Government; he will get all he wants there, and it will enable him to exercise the imagination suggested by Mr. Cotton, and it will enable him, further, to get into the

skin of East African Indians, and to realize what they have to go through. I have had some first-hand experiences of Indians in the Colonies—I think unlike Sir Charles—and I could give him chapter and verse for every statement I have made here, and if I have failed in that very unpleasant duty, no doubt in private conversation your Lordship will be able to supply him with the parts I have left out.

Lord Lamington said, and I think quite naturally, that before finally making up his mind, he would like to hear the other side. I usually find where there is a live controversy that I am just as likely to be convinced by hearing the other side, and I would therefore recommend Lord Lamington also to read that Report of the East African Economic Commission and contrast it with the Report of the Economic Commission of the Protectorate of Uganda. He will find they are written in entirely different spirits, but I think the first one will convince him that on the whole we are right.

With regard to the question of the native population and the relations between natives and Indians, I think Mr. Malik was going to refer to the same thing as I am about to refer to now. When Mr. Andrews was in East Africa he saw two of the principal native leaders of Uganda, and from them he got a written certificate as to the most friendly relations between natives and Indians, and in Kenya the Chief Native Commissioner has stated that he knows nothing whatever officially about the allegation made by Lord Winterton the other day in the House which has possibly remained in Lord Lamington's mind. (Lord Lamington: No, I have not seen it.) Anyhow, he contradicts it. And finally, in conversation, the Resident of Zanzibar spoke in the highest terms of the relations between the two communities. All things considered, I think Lord Lamington will find upon examination of that particular aspect that the statements which have been made to him have not been well founded. Of course, I am not saying that every single native loves every single Indian, or *vice versa*, but I venture to think that on the whole the Indo-native relations are of a friendlier character than the European-native relations in East Africa.

Finally, I would like to say, in regard to the remarks of Dr. Pollen, that I think he was referring not to the compulsory segregation suggested by the Colonial Office, but to the natural voluntary segregation resulting from the fact that people looking at life from a particular view naturally wish to live together and away from people living in another way. There is nothing extraordinary in that. I think Dr. Pollen is obviously referring to this natural voluntary segregation, and not at all to the compulsory segregation which is the basis of the Milner-Simpson policy.

Now I think I have exhausted my reply to criticism, but it would not be proper if I were not to make two other remarks, one of which I want to address to my Indian friends here, and perhaps they will take it from me in a friendly spirit. It is that some of us—those with whom in this matter I am associated, and those whom they hold in the highest regard—are doing our utmost to arrive at a solution of a most difficult problem, and I should like to urge my friends to deal with it in a most responsible way,

in a self-restrained way. I entirely appreciate the sense of irritation under which they suffer, but it does not help one; I have seen it does not help one, and I know it does not help, and I would ask them to take it from me that it does not help. Another thing is that those of us who are unofficially engaged in endeavouring to reach a solution of this problem owe a great debt of gratitude to Lord Chelmsford and his Government. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I repeat that we owe a great debt to Lord Chelmsford and his Government for the way in which they have persistently put forward the Indian point of view in regard to Indians overseas, and it would be entirely wrong for me to go away from this meeting and not to insist upon and emphasize that point. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said he would like to thank Mr. Polak on behalf of those present for the admirable paper he had read. He was quite right in what he said, that he and his Government had fought the case of the Indians overseas for five years, and there was no despatch which put the case of the Indians overseas more strongly than the one which was published the other day, in which they were careful to prune out every epithet, because they wanted the moderation with which the case was stated to prevail with those who disagreed with them, and he thought anybody who dispassionately read that despatch would find that the facts set out there would be bound to convince even the strongest opponents, in sentiment and theory, of the contentions made in the despatch. He would also like to say that he was afraid he could not agree with Sir Charles Yate in describing the Lecturer's paper as flamboyant. (Hear, hear.) He thought it was almost as moderate in its tone and temper as the despatch of his own Government of October last. Of course, they must allow a little for the writer of the paper; he was bound to put it somewhat picturesquely, but that was not expected in a despatch.

He felt certain, at all events, that it would be with their entire approval that he expressed on behalf of them all their warm thanks to Mr. Polak for the admirable paper which he had read. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

The SECRETARY, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, said they were extremely fortunate in having been able to persuade him to come, with his great knowledge of the question under discussion.

The proposal was then put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

NOTE ON THE LECTURE BY MR. M. H. MALIK.

I am intervening in this discussion, because so far as I know I am the only Indian present in this assembly who can speak of the Indian community in East Africa from first-hand knowledge. I came from East Africa about six months ago, after living there more than six years, during which time I was at first in Government service and later a farmer, and I have a little property there.

As is acknowledged by all, into the making of East Africa has gone Indian enterprise, Indian grit, Indian thrift, and Indian blood.

It is a plain, historical fact that Indians discovered East Africa, traded with it, and settled there even before England discovered and traded with India. The then Commissioner of Lands in 1907, when transmitting the resolution of the Land Board to the Secretary of State, said: "The claims of the Indian community could not be lightly disregarded, seeing that they were in the country long before Europeans had settled there, that but for Indian labour the Uganda Railway would never have been constructed, that most of the trading wealth of the country was in the hands of the Indians, and finally that Indians were British subjects."

Some of you may have read "The Man-Eaters of Tsavo," in which Mr. Patterson, an engineer engaged in the construction of the Uganda Railway, makes it clear that hardly a night passed without at least one Indian being devoured by lions.

In 1914, when the war broke out, the life and property of the handful of white settlers were protected by troops from India.

I was personally present in Nairobi when they first arrived there. Most of them fell in the sanguinary battles fought in the thick jungles of East Africa.

The Europeans were apparently very grateful to Indians, at the time, for saving the country at that critical juncture, and some of their prominent men actually acknowledged from the public platforms their deep debt of gratitude. As soon, however, as the danger was averted gratitude evaporated. In spite of their indefeasible rights, their immense sacrifices, and their large vested interests in the country, Indians in East Africa never asked for preferential treatment. They did not say to the white man, "This is not a white man's country, but an Indian colony," as in fact it is.

Indians, however, are being denied equal opportunities. They are being humiliated, deprived of their rights, and forced out of the country.

Take the question of franchise. What we Indians ask for is equality of treatment. We do not desire to overwhelm the white population, even though numerically and economically we are immensely superior to the European community. We only ask that our community shall be given at least the same proportion of representation on the Legislature as the Europeans, and that for that purpose we shall be given franchise on equal terms.

There are at present only two seats on the Legislative Council earmarked for Indians as against sixteen elected European members, excluding a number of European official nominated members. Both the nominated Indian members on the Legislative Council have resigned their seats as a protest against the passing of the so-called Public Health Bill. There is not a single Indian on the Executive Council.

There is not a single Indian on the Nairobi Municipal Council, which is the most important one. It is proposed, however, to give three seats by election to Indians against twelve European memberships.

Europeans in Nairobi number about 2,000 and pay about Rs. 70,000 in taxes, whereas Indians there number about 5,000 persons, and pay Rs. 120,000 in taxes. This means that Indians, who contribute the greater part of the taxes, have got no say at all in the matter of expen-

diture. While most of the municipal funds are lavished upon the European section, the Indian quarter is almost entirely neglected.

This fact is ignored even by an expert like Professor Simpson, who, in his report recommending segregation, gives the impression that Indians are responsible for the insanitary conditions of their location.

The underlying object in denying effective representation to Indians on the Legislative and Municipal Councils is to repress them in every possible way, and to force them eventually to leave the country.

It is often asserted that to grant Indians equal representation on a common electoral roll would enable them to dominate the Legislative and Municipal Councils, and that that would be incompatible with the responsibility of the Government, particularly to the native population. That objection is untenable. Indians, as I have already said, do not desire to dominate the Councils, and, I am sure, machinery could be devised whereby the interests of the white settlers could be safeguarded.

No one takes seriously the white settlers who affect concern for the African native. Anyone who has been in East Africa can cite instances of inhuman cruelty inflicted by European settlers upon Africans.

Indians in East Africa naturally feel sympathetic towards the Africans, for both are fellow-sufferers. The natives of Africa, as a matter of fact, like the Indians, and realize the immense good that they have derived from Indians. Sir Apollo Kagan told me in the plainest possible words, "We do want Indians to remain in the country; they have done so much to improve our country," etc.

This statement is remarkable, in view of the fact that most of the Europeans in East Africa, especially the farming class, seek to poison the minds of the natives against Indians. I personally heard a responsible European say to a native, in a public place, "Sahindi mbaya sana," which means, "Indians are very bad."

The system of segregation is based, not upon sanitary requirements, but upon colour prejudice, trade jealousy, and fear of economic competition. That is manifest from the demand made by the white settlers that it should apply both to commercial and residential areas. Some Europeans have, however, realized the weakness of their position, and have now practically abandoned the cry for segregation in commercial areas.

The chief reason why there is so much fuss made about segregation is that if Indians are given equal opportunities of purchasing properties in the area which the Europeans want to reserve for themselves, the latter will not be able to buy them at so cheap a price as at present.

Were sanitation the real object, it would not be difficult to secure it by an equitable administration of the municipal revenues and by strict enforcement of sanitary laws. As a responsible official of the Nairobi Municipality said in March last, "there is no man more willing than the Indian to conform to sanitary regulations."

Indians will not tolerate segregation in any form. It hurts their racial pride and does them incalculable harm economically.

As an instance of how Indians are being squeezed out of East Africa, let me recall what Mr. Winston Churchill announced in the House of

Commons in 1907. "Indians would be invited," he said, "to emigrate into the country lying between the coast and Kiu and from Fort Ternan to the Victoria Nyanza on the village community system." In spite of that pronouncement the position now is that even in this area which was held as being unsuitable for European occupation, and reserved for Indians by way of compensation for excluding them from the highlands (reserved for Europeans on the plea of administrative convenience), there is more land given to Europeans than to Indians.

Muhoroni and Kibos are entirely within the lowland area, as defined by Mr. Winston Churchill, but in this particular area a large acreage has been given to Europeans in spite of the willingness of Indians to purchase it. About 1,900 square miles in the so-called lowland area have already been granted to European settlers, whereas Indians hold in this area only about 30 square miles, of which 20 square miles have been purchased from Europeans, and the remaining 10 square miles have been obtained from the Government. The Europeans buy these lands very cheap from the Government and sell them to Indians at a profit of 100 per cent. or more, at a price which no European would pay. But for the Governor's veto on transfers a large portion of the highland area at present owned by Europeans would have thus found its way into the hands of Indians.

If the "administrative convenience" is not interfered with by shuffling a European farmer right into the heart of the Indian farming area, how does it then interfere with this policy if Indians are allowed to purchase lands in the highlands?

An auction sale of agricultural land is advertised to take place on June 6 next of about 24,732 acres at Kericho, Kyambu, Machakos, and other places. But, as usual, the advertisement contains a clause that "European British subjects will be permitted to bid and purchase. Non-British subjects will require the consent in writing of H.H. the Governor." This means that "no Indians need apply." Since the sale does not take place till June 6 next, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has time to act. Delay will be fatal, as in the meantime the Government is alienating these lands to Europeans to the total exclusion of Indians. The Colonial authorities must not be able to plead that all the land has already been alienated to Europeans who cannot be dispossessed. All alienation of land must be stopped pending the settlement of the question.

Indians expect much from Mr. Winston Churchill, for did he not ask some years ago: "Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealings between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from the region in which he has established himself under every security of good faith? Most of all we ask: Is such a policy possible to the Government which bears sway over three hundred millions of our Indian Empire?"

FINANCE

THE INDIAN CURRENCY POLICY

By A. F. Cox, C.S.I.

Comptroller-General of India, 1894-1906

IN January, and again in April, Sir James Wilson has contributed to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* articles upon the Indian currency question in which he expresses very pessimistic views about the success of the Government policy. In the earlier article, after giving a mass of statistics apt to bewilder rather than enlighten ordinary readers, he stated that "the rupee is now as closely linked with silver as it was before the closing of the Indian mints." At that time silver and the rupee were absolutely tied together, because anyone could get silver turned into rupees by the mints on payment of a small seignorage; but there is no such connection now. In January, when the price of silver was 40d. per oz., the rupee was worth between 17d. and 18d. instead of 15d., and in the almost daily fluctuations of the coin and metal they often moved in opposite directions. It seems clear, therefore, that Sir James's link was wholly imaginary, and in his second article he almost admits this in saying that the rupee has again become unlinked with silver; but he gives no reason for the sudden release. He proposes the abandonment now, once for all, of the new currency policy, and a reversion to a 16d. sterling rate, though he expresses strong doubts as to whether even that rate can be permanently maintained.

It is strange that in neither of his articles has Sir James referred to the confusion into which the currencies of the world have been thrown by the war. Our paper sovereign

has lost a fifth of its gold value, and the French franc has lost more than twice as much, while the Austrian crown has hardly any value at all. Is it, then, surprising that India's currency should have been affected? Indian trade has passed through strange vicissitudes during and since the war, which created an enormous demand for almost every commodity which India produces, and at the same time reduced the quantities of the commodities which Europe had to offer for sale, because European factories were mostly engaged in war work. The result was that India, exporting much and importing little, acquired an enormous balance of trade in her favour—as much as 119 crores in 1919-20—and took payment largely in silver. China was much in the same position, and bought heavily, so that the price rose from less than 50d. in April, 1919, to nearly 90d. in February, 1920. The rupee then virtually became linked with silver, for no scheme can be devised by which the exchange value of a coin can be kept below its intrinsic value. There was bound to be a reaction, and it came sooner, and was greater than anyone expected. Investors in rupee securities hastened to take advantage of the high rate of exchange (2s. 10d. in February) to transfer their capital, amounting to many millions, to England. And India, deprived for so long of European goods which she sorely needed, began to satisfy her hunger by ordering large quantities of locomotives, rails, motor-cars, and all sorts of machinery. At the same time her exports fell off, for it was forbidden to send some sorts of food out of the country, and Europe was too poor to buy much of the raw produce which she needed. The demand for remittance, therefore, changed its direction, and it was sterling bills on London that were wanted. A time of great confusion ensued, with much speculation. The Government of India tried to maintain exchange by selling Reverse Councils, based, up to June, on a 2s. *gold* ratio, and after that, up to the end of September, on a 2s. *sterling* ratio. A considerable loss was incurred by these operations and the attempt

was at last abandoned, exchange being allowed to drift. It must continue to do so until India has once more a normal balance of trade, and when that will happen none can tell, though there are now some signs of improvement.

There is no speedy remedy for the temporary failure of the currency scheme, though Sir James Wilson thinks that he has found one. He proposes to reduce the volume of money in circulation by closing the mints, "as was done in 1893," and by buying up and cancelling currency notes. He must know that the mints are still closed against public coinage, but he probably refers to the fact that for some years after their closure they were not used, though the banks badly need new coinage. The reason for this inaction was the belief that the value of the rupee could be raised by making it scarce. During the years 1891-93 more than thirty crores had been coined, and the rupee was supposed to have become redundant. To help in curing this redundancy even light-weight rupees were ordered to be recoined as half-rupees, and in 1898 the Secretary of State was asked to sanction the melting down of rupees, which is one of the measures which Sir James Wilson suggests. That proposal was turned down by the Fowler Committee, yet new coinage was still refused to the banks, who with difficulty had been able to tempt rupees out of hoards by selling gold and what seemed cheap silver bullion. Large quantities of coin bearing the dates 1835 and 1840 were received at Currency Offices, tarnished, but showing no signs of wear. This source of supply grew yearly more scanty, and the Currency Department itself found it difficult to get together sufficient rupees for cashing notes. The crisis came on the day before the Easter Bank holidays of 1900, when the Calcutta Office had only half-rupees (unlimited legal tender) to offer, and these, it was found, the cultivators refused to accept. Rupees were hurried up during the holidays, so that the Department fulfilled its legal obligations, and Sir Edward Law, who had just relieved Mr. (afterwards Sir Clinton) Dawkins, at once

sanctioned the resumption of coinage. The useless half-rupees were reissued as rupees: every scrap of silver in the bazaars was bought up, and more was ordered from London and China. During the succeeding eight years 122 crores of rupees were coined by the mints, sometimes working night and day, and there was no further difficulty about financing trade. The present position of the Government is that expressed by Lord Farrar before the Currency Committee, that "the Government cannot avoid the necessity of coining as many rupees as are likely at any moment to be in demand." Sir James Wilson's mint-closing idea has, therefore, been tried and found to be a mistake.

Sir James would not only stop coining and melt rupees, but would also buy up and cancel currency notes by gradually disposing of the whole of the Paper Currency Gold Reserve, and all the British Government securities held in the Gold Standard Reserve, together amounting to about sixty millions sterling. He seems to think that the sovereigns given in exchange for the notes would circulate instead of the paper, but it is practically certain that they would not do so, and even if they did it is difficult to see what advantage there would be in forcing the people to use the most expensive form of currency, gold, instead of the cheapest, silver.

The redundant rupee idea is, of course, based upon the known effect of a *forced* issue of inconvertible token money: its value in exchange must fall. But India has never made a forced issue of rupees, or of currency notes, until after the war, when the heavy liabilities incurred had to be met partly by the issue of sixty crores of notes backed only by Treasury bills created for that purpose. We cannot well blame the Government for this when we think of the enormous issues of inconvertible paper money by England and the other warring countries. In his recent Budget speech at Delhi the Finance Minister referred to the need of redeeming these as soon as possible,

and provision for the gradual reduction of the Treasury bills in the reserve was included in the Paper Currency Act of 1920, which requires that the interest received from securities held in the Reserve should be set aside for this purpose. It is anticipated that the Treasury bills in the Reserve will thus be reduced from sixty-one crores on March 31, 1921, to fifty-seven crores on March 31, 1922. It is, however, desirable that further steps should be taken, if possible, to reduce the bills in the Reserve as well as those held by the public, which amount at the present time to about forty crores.

Sir James Wilson does not seem to understand the principle on which the currency scheme is based, and under which it worked so successfully for a quarter of a century. It made the rupee a patent article which only the Government of India may produce. A patentee, if he sells only as much of his commodity as the market requires, can charge a good deal more than it costs to produce. If at any time the market should become oversupplied, and the commodity be inclined to pass from hand to hand at less than his price, he can maintain the price by offering to buy back at the rate that he charged for it. In the case of rupees this buying back has been done by the sale of Reverse Councils, and it was for this purpose that the Gold Standard Reserve was created. The certainty that a time must come when a reversal of the demand for remittance would take place had been anticipated, and the need foreseen of securing a sufficient stock of gold for dealing with it. The profit on coining rupees had, therefore, not been used as revenue, but set aside to form a reserve. The first trial through which the scheme had to pass took place in 1907, when a severe financial crisis in America followed closely upon an unfavourable season in North India, and turned the balance of trade against the country. India owed, instead of being owed, money, just as she does now. Reverse Councils were sold, and the value of the rupee remained at 16d. The Gold Standard Reserve then amounted

to 16½ millions sterling, and the Paper Currency Department held about four millions of sovereigns as part of its metallic reserve against the note circulation. Both of these stocks were freely drawn upon, and when the crisis had passed there remained six-and-a-half millions in the Gold Standard Reserve, though the paper currency gold had been exhausted. Sir James Wilson would destroy this absolutely necessary line of defence, and if his advice were acted on the scheme would indeed be doomed. From 1908 the process of building up the gold reserve was resumed, and at the end of 1919 the paper currency gold balance had risen to more than thirty millions, while the Gold Standard Reserve held securities of the nominal value of thirty-six millions. This would have been ample to meet a storm worse than that of 1907, but the war produced an earthquake, not a mere storm, and when the Government tried to repeat the procedure of 1907 they failed. The balance of trade at the end of last February was more than forty-five crores against India, and the arrival of more normal times in the world must be awaited. When they do return there is no apparent reason to suppose that exchange cannot be again gradually raised to whatever rate is finally decided on. It may, in the present circumstances, not be so high as 2s., but it must be high enough to prevent the intrinsic value of the rupee from again exceeding its intended value in exchange. The arguments given by the Currency Committee in favour of a higher exchange, so far as these were based on the price question and the burden of the home charges, are as true now as when they were written : indeed, with the growing cost of administration in India it will make a great difference to that country if she can meet her charges in England at a ten, as compared with a fifteen, rupee level.

THE BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

BY BRIG.-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

RECENT correspondence in the press has proved—if proof were needed—that deep and widespread interest is still taken in one who was among the foremost men of his generation. And what were Burton's claims to fame? Above all, he was a great pioneer. He led the way as an explorer of the first rank. He also studied his fellow-men profoundly and, by his marvellous interpretation of the inner life and literature of the Arabs and other races, and by his unsurpassed linguistic powers, bridged the gulf between East and West for those who would cross it. He was the moving spirit in the foundation of a society for the study of man. But perhaps he appealed most to the world by his daring journeys to Mecca and Harar, the unknown; by his intense sympathy for the weak; by his contempt for cant and sham; by his romantic character; and by the many indefinable qualities that constitute genius.

At a meeting recently held at the headquarters of the Royal Asiatic Society, it was decided to celebrate the birth centenary of the late Sir Richard Burton by the institution of a memorial lecture, by a medal bearing his effigy, and in other suitable ways as approved by the Committee.

It is the privilege of the present generation to raise a memorial to this great pioneer, and thereby to secure that Burton's spirit and Burton's vision shall inspire generations that are yet unborn, to emulate his splendid deeds and thereby to guard a priceless possession of our race.

He whose full soul held East and West in poise,
Weighed man with man, and creed of man's with creed,
And age with age, their triumphs and their toys,
And found what faith may read not and may read.

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COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE NEW CHINA CONSORTIUM AND THE ATTITUDE OF JAPAN

By T. NEGISHI

(Professor of Tokyo University of Commerce.)

SIR CHARLES ADDIS explains the fundamental principle of the new financial consortium in China as "the substitution of international co-operation in China for international competition." This interpretation of the new financial group, brief as it is, is so appropriate that we have nothing to add to it. The whole spirit of the consortium is embodied in it. China was formerly regarded by the Powers as a backward country which had been left untouched for their exploitation. On this account the Powers set up their so-called spheres of influence in China. The late war temporarily put an end to this competition for concessions, because the Allies had to fight for the common cause. Meanwhile Japan and the United States discussed openly the advancement of loans to China. Japan more than once advised the United States to rejoin the five-Power group from which she had seceded. In the summer of 1918 the Government of the United States proposed that a new consortium should be constituted, consisting of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States, and that in accordance with the principle of the "open door" the consortium should advance loans to China for the common interests of the Powers, irrespective of whether they were to be used for industrial or political purposes. This reasonable proposal of the United States was well adapted to the circumstances which had been brought about as the result of the re-establishment of peace. At the conference held in October, 1919, the representatives

of the four-Power banking groups accepted the new consortium agreement.

The present Cabinet of Japan, on receiving the proposal from America regarding the new consortium, entered into negotiations open-mindedly with Great Britain, the United States, and France, and rendered great assistance to the establishment of the new group. They made no small sacrifice of interests for it, being convinced that clearing away suspicions of the Powers was the thing they ought to do above all things. This impartial attitude of Japan was appreciated by Sir Charles Addis, who said: "I am very glad to take this opportunity of paying my tribute to the loyal co-operation which, throughout these long and sometimes tedious negotiations, I received from my Japanese colleagues."

The chief purpose for proposing the establishment of the new China consortium by America was "to eliminate special claims in particular spheres of interests, and to throw open the whole of China without reserve to the combined activities of the international group." But Japan demanded as a counter-proposal that "all the rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, where Japan has special interests, should be excluded from the arrangement for pooling provided for in the proposed agreement." On account of this demand Japan was severely criticized by Great Britain, France, and America, who went so far as to say that Japan adhered to the old policy of the spheres of influence and aimed at destroying any international co-operation. The American proposal may be an ideal plan, but it is hardly conformable to the present circumstances of China. The Powers propose to include within the sphere of activity of the new consortium the whole Republic of China. But there arises the question whether it is possible to clearly define the frontiers of the Republic of China. When the civil war broke out in China in 1911, people did not understand what a Republic was, but they supported the revolutionaries simply because they

were enamoured with their battle-cry of "Destruction of the Manchus and revival of the Chinese." The revolutionaries achieved success by these clever tactics, but at the same time it proved the very cause of the great loss which soon followed. Tibet and Mongolia, which had been united to Central China by the bond of the Manchu dynasty, declared their independence. The revolutionaries realized for the first time the impending crisis which confronted the old Empire through the secession of Outer Dependencies, and began to advocate a Republic for the common cause of Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Turks, and Tibetans. But it was too late. The Chinese Government was obliged to recognize the self-government of outer Mongolia and the north-western part of Manchuria. So far they do not yet confer the same privilege to Tibet, but it is self-evident that Tibet is no longer dependent on China. Eastern Turkestan is sure to declare her independence as soon as she obtains support of any Power or of the kindred peoples of Central Asia. Besides the above States, many tribes in Szechuwan, Yunnan, etc., are in a state of semi-independence, and their attitude towards the new Government of China is anything but friendly.

China has very vague frontiers, and naturally it is quite impossible to include the whole of the old Empire in the scope of activities of the new consortium. Supposing the consortium makes a loan contract with the Chinese Government concerning Tibet or Mongolia, it will have no binding power upon the Tibetan or Mongolian Governments. The Japanese Government should have pointed out that the old views regarding the relations between China proper and the Outer Dependencies are no longer applicable to the present changed circumstances.

The British and American Governments and bankers showed great sympathy to Japan, and although they avoided the use of phrases which might be construed as recognizing Japan's spheres of influence in Manchuria and Mongolia, they recognized that Japan had special interests in these

regions, as is expressed in the following guarantee which was addressed to Japan by Great Britain, America, and France: "The Japanese Government need have no reason to apprehend that the consortium would direct any activities affecting the security of the economic life and national defence of Japan, and they can firmly rely on the good faith of the Powers concerned to refuse to countenance any operations inimical to such interests."

The above statement does not make it clear whether the spheres of interest were really abolished as was demanded by America, or whether Japan's stipulation for the exclusion of Manchuria and Mongolia was definitely recognized. One fact is certain, however, that the fundamental object of the new consortium is the investment in Chinese loans for the common interests of the Powers, and for this object the members of the consortium are required to relinquish any options to make loans which they now hold by virtue of their spheres of influence, so that in future the members may invest capital in China as their common business. It by no means attempts to interfere in the already established rights, either economical or political, which the Powers enjoy. The sphere of its activities is confined to those regions where the orders of the Central Chinese Government are obeyed, and does not extend to the regions which belonged to China proper during the time when the Manchu dynasty was at the zenith of its prosperity. Japan's position in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia remains the same, except that her options in the investment of capital are more or less limited.

Next to the abolition of the spheres of influence comes the question of pooling. The United States proposes "to pool all existing as well as future options for loans with the exception of those on which work has been already begun." During the war American exports exceeded imports by several tens of billion dollars and her annual exports exceeded imports by three billion dollars. ~~She wanted to invest this enormous amount of capital in China. There is,~~

however, one stumbling-block to this investment : it is the fact that China, big as she is, has few concessions which are worthy of the investment of enormous sums of capital. The concessions worth possessing have already been obtained by Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, etc., and those which are still left untouched exist in the spheres of influence of the Powers. The United States acquired concessions in the form of the Chinchowfu-Aigun Railway and others, but she could not carry out the contracts on account of the fact that these contracts trespass the spheres of influence of the Powers. America wished to overcome the obstacles which lie in the path of her free investment of capital. This is the reason why she claimed to abolish the spheres of influence and pool all the concessions in China. The Powers had no objection to pooling concessions which might be available in the future, but would not part with those which they had acquired after paying no small cost. After a number of conferences the Powers consented to offer for pooling a portion of the concessions under a special condition.

Now regarding the Shantung Railway Mr. F. Anderson declared as follows : " There is a general feeling that Japan has not acted in either the spirit or the letter of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in connection with the Shantung Railway. If a favourable opportunity for negotiating arises, perhaps the present Government in China will be in a more favourable position than its predecessors to arrange some settlement with Japan." It must, however, be remembered that the fact that Japan inherited from Germany the Shantung Railway does not infringe the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Great Britain inherited from Germany the northern section of the Tientsin-Pukou Railway, which is more important and longer in mileage than the railway Japan inherited. For the new consortium Japan has relinquished the options for investment in the whole province of Shantung and the two extension lines of the railway.

COMMERCIAL PROSPECTS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BY FRANCIS H. SISSON

(Vice-President of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York).

THE rapid development of the Philippine Islands during the last score of years is well known. But, for an estimate of the future expansion of trade, it may be well to outline the chief phases of the recent progress and to analyze briefly the present economic situation existing in the Islands.

The total area of the Philippines is, roughly, that of the British Isles. The population is approximately 10,000,000, of whom perhaps 100,000 are foreign born. The islands, it is believed, are capable of supporting several times that number. The inhabitants are largely of Malaysian stock partially Europeanized by three hundred years of Spanish colonial administration. They are of numerous tribes speaking various dialects. Perhaps one-eighth of the population consists of non-Christian, partially civilized, tribes living in parts remote from the cities.

This people, lacking in homogeneity, untutored in democratic principles, though having made sporadic attempts at becoming politically independent, came under American sovereignty in 1898 as a result of the Spanish-American war.

The American policy in undertaking the administration of the Philippine Islands was, in the words of President McKinley's instructions to the Second Philippine Commission, that the government about to be established be "designed not for our (American) satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the

fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

That this policy was adhered to with a large degree of success is shown in the early transfer of control from military to civil authority, the organization of municipal governments, the formation of larger administrative areas, and, within three years from the occupation of Manila by the Americans, the complete establishment of a civil government in which the Second Philippine Commission continued to exercise central legislative power. William H. Taft (afterwards President) was appointed the first Governor-General. So early as 1901, three Filipino members were added to the Commission and the participation of the Filipinos in the government of their country was begun. That participation has increased, gradually during the earlier years, rapidly during the last eight years, until now the Filipinos are practically in complete control except for the qualified veto power retained by the Governor-General, who is appointed by the President of the United States, and for the retention by the Congress of the United States of the right to annul any law passed by the Philippine legislature.

The Philippine legislature, which after the passage of the Jones Law in 1916 replaced the appointed commission, now consists of an elected Senate and House of Representatives. All members of both houses are Filipinos. During the last few years, the Filipinos have assumed the management of a majority of the executive departments of the State, posts earlier held by Americans.

Even the comparatively short time in which the present system of government was being established in the Philippines was sufficient for the organization of a judicial system founded upon the American principle of an independent judiciary, the introduction of a new currency system on a gold exchange basis, the establishment of primary and secondary schools throughout the islands, the promotion of a health service and sanitation system which practically rid the Philippines of small-pox and bubonic plague, the adoption

of a competitive civil service, the laying out of a network of highways which afforded facilities for the marketing of Philippine products, and an increase in the foreign trade of the Islands from \$47,000,000 in 1900 to \$300,000,000 in 1920.

Surely that is a record to which both Filipinos and Americans can point with satisfaction. It was made possible by the earnestness of purpose actuating the Governors-General and their associates, by the receptivity of the Filipino people to American methods and education, and, most of all, to the good-fellowship existing between Americans and Filipinos—between the self-appointed trustees and their wards fast growing to political and commercial maturity.

One reason for the commercial prosperity of the Islands within recent years has been America's demand for Philippine raw products and the consequent establishment of reciprocal trade relations. The passage in 1909 of the Payne Tariff Law, providing for free trade between the United States and the Philippines, greatly stimulated the exchange of products between the two countries and helped appreciably in increasing the amount of total trade carried on by the Islands. How far American direction of the administrative departments of the Islands may have been responsible for the past willingness of American capital to participate in the development of industry is perhaps a matter of opinion. But a settlement of the question of independence has a direct bearing upon the commercial development of the Philippines.

There are highly cultivated Filipinos who believe that the time for the Filipino people to assume full direction of their government and their financial affairs is not in the future but in the present. With the hope in the hearts of these Filipinos, the people of the United States are in open sympathy. However, there are thoughtful Americans and Filipinos, too, who believe that "the long discipline which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and peace and common council, and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become makers of law; the steadiness and self-control of political maturity, has not yet had time, in

the case of the Filipinos, to develop to a point at which it will be safe for the Islands as an economic unit to cast adrift from the guardianship exercised by the American nation. It is possible that one trouble with the financial and economic situation in the Philippines to-day is a too hasty assumption of executive functions by Filipinos who, in the nature of the case, are yet but experimenters—though brilliant ones—with the highly-organized machinery of a modern, westernized civilization.

For foreign capital to be attracted to a country, a reasonable likelihood of financial stability in the government is required. Awaiting a well-defined trend in affairs of government and awaiting a solution of the present financial difficulties in the Islands, capital investment there lags. It will continue hesitant until, on the one hand, the policy of the present administration in the United States with regard to the degree of autonomy to be accorded to the Philippine Islands within the next few years shall become known and until, on the other hand, the financial stability of the Islands is restored in an appreciable degree.

The present financial situation is admittedly the most acute experienced by the Philippines since the American occupation. It may be outlined as follows:

The great expansion of Philippine commerce during the war occasioned a justifiable optimism on the part of Filipinos and their friends. A speculative era began. Many industrial developments were undertaken. The Philippine Government hoping to assist, through its national bank, the commercial development of the Islands, made extensive loans to local industries with incautious regard to security. Large sums from the Gold Standard Fund instead of being held in the treasury vaults were deposited in banks in the Islands and, therefore, were not withdrawn from circulation. During recent months, the gold reserve held in the United States by Philippine banks has become so depleted that not only were Philippine merchants unable to purchase exchange on New York to pay for goods ordered, but the banks also were unable

to obtain exchange. Business was, in large measure, disrupted. Foreign trade became stagnant, in part through a temporary cessation in the demand for Philippine raw products, in part through the deadlock in exchange. Even now (May) considerable stocks of commodities that cannot be moved lie in warehouses. Naturally the reduction in trade is working its own beneficial effects and is tending to bring back the exchanges towards normal. A good level is yet far from having been attained.

The financial situation at present is so complicated that there is disagreement as to the remedies needed. Among suggested palliatives are :

- (1) The putting of the Philippine National Bank into shape and dissociating it from the Government.
- (2) Restoring the parity of exchange by issuing Philippine Government bonds to build up the Gold Standard Fund.
- (3) The bringing about of closer administrative co-operation between the Filipinos and Americans until the time of the complete independence of the Islands shall have been effected.
- (4) The introduction of foreign capital under conditions which will prevent the Islands from becoming absorbed economically by foreign interests.

In respect to the fourth suggested remedy, it may be pointed out that the present laws of the Philippine Islands closely limiting the amount of land which a foreign corporation may own or lease, act as a deterrent to large investments by foreign capital. Of the foreign capital now invested in the Islands, by far the greater part is British. That of the United States ranks second in value. There are considerable investments of German, Japanese, Dutch, and other capital.

The Philippines are not alone in financial difficulties at present. The entire world is experiencing the depression following the recent war. All have suffered the stress of post-war readjustment which has disclosed the weak places in the economic and financial structure of every country.

This strain has proved very severe for Japan, for India, for China, and for certain South American and European countries. Even England and the United States have been forced to use their greatest skill in preserving intact the financial structure. The Philippines, with their economic development still in its youth, were deeply involved. Whatever remedies may be applied to effect a return to real financial stability will demand the exercise of a rare combination of statesmanship and business acumen.

Assuming that the present critical period will be safely passed and that capital, native and foreign, can be reasonably sure of stability in the financial and political affairs of the Islands for a period of years, the outlook for the commercial future of the Philippines is bright.

In many of the essentials which make for prosperity, the Philippine Islands are affluent as are few regions in the world. They lie at the gateway to southern China and to the rich markets of Asia. They are upon what may become one of the most important trade routes in the world's history and their intimate relation with American commerce makes them a logical entrepôt for American goods destined for Far Eastern markets. They have a natural harbour that could be developed into one of the leading shipping ports of the world. In climate, the Philippines are favoured when compared with most other tropical countries. The temperature of the winter months ranges between 70 deg. and 74 deg. F., and in the summer months rarely reaches 100 deg. The death-rate in the Philippine Islands is the least of any of the Oriental countries for which statistics are available.

The natural resources of the Philippines are of great value. Their exploitation has only begun. Yet the Islands' export trade in 1920 exceeded \$151,000,000 in value, notwithstanding that the premium on the American dollar ranged during the year from 3 to 12 per cent. The largest item in the year's export trade was cane sugar, valued at \$49,600,000. The next largest item was Manila hemp, which, despite the cessation in demand during the latter part

of the year, was exported to the value of \$35,800,000. Coconut oil exports in 1920 exceeded \$23,000,000 in value and cigar exports reached nearly \$13,000,000. Of this export trade the United States took about 69 per cent.

As the exports of the Islands increase, the purchasing power of the Filipinos increases also. In 1920, the imports into the Philippine Islands were valued at more than \$149,000,000. Approximately 62 per cent. of the imports during 1920 came from the United States. Significant of the industrial activity of the Islands is the place occupied by iron and steel in the 1920 imports. Such imports were valued at approximately \$22,000,000, or about 15 per cent. of the total, and were second in importance only to cotton and its manufactures. Automobile imports were valued at \$7,000,000, while imports of mineral oils, chiefly illuminating oil from the United States, were valued at nearly \$9,000,000.

A complete list of the resources of the Philippines is hardly possible. Tropical forests, broad alluvial plains, mountains covered by a luxuriant growth of trees and drained by beautiful rivers are a setting for a singularly rich and varied aggregation of natural resources. On the plains two, sometimes three, consecutive crops a year can be raised. The soil and climate are favourable for the production of rice, sugar, hemp, tobacco, corn, copra, maguey, rubber, sweet potatoes, cassava, sesame, peanuts, coffee, tea, cacao, pepper, cinchona, and a great variety of tropical fruits and vegetables. There are extensive grass lands suitable for the raising of cattle. The forests cover approximately 40,000 square miles, or about one-third the total area of the Archipelago. They abound in hard woods not easily surpassed for interior finish, cabinet work, and other uses for hard woods of superior excellence.

The mineral resources of the Islands have been little exploited. The annual production of gold is somewhat more than \$1,000,000 in value. Silver, though not mined separately, is found in natural alloy with gold and also associated with galena. Copper deposits and iron ore exist in several provinces. Coal, for the most part lignite, is in ~~many~~.

of the islands. Bituminous coal is reported from certain sections. Petroleum-bearing shales are found in a number of provinces. An effort is being made now to determine their commercial value. There is an abundance of asphaltic material of low grade from which, with proper combination, a high-grade asphalt probably could be produced. Sulphur deposits occur in a few localities. Asbestos deposits have already become of some commercial value and are being manufactured into pipe packings, boiler coverings and shingles. Manganese is found in sufficient quantities to warrant the expectation of a large future production. Clay products, salt, sand, and gravel, stone, lime, and materials for making cement are at hand.

The rivers and streams afford an almost inexhaustible source of energy for the generation of electric power. It is believed that enough motor energy could be generated from the water power of the Islands to replace fuel in the full development of the Archipelago's natural resources.

Among the most promising industries for development are those of sugar and rubber. The Philippines furnish little more than one per cent. of the world's supply of sugar, but are capable of yielding many times the amount now grown. Sugar centrals are being equipped and the future of the industry is very bright. The Philippines can be made to supply an appreciable proportion of the world's supply of rubber.

Extensive groves of nipa palms could be utilized for the manufacture of industrial alcohol.

There is a practically unlimited supply of bamboo and cogon grass suitable for use in the manufacture of paper pulp.

The Philippine waters abound in food fishes, but as yet the fish-canning industry is undeveloped.

Large supplies of button shells—trocha, pearl shell, green snail, and chambered nautilus—are available for the manufacture of buttons.

These are merely hints regarding the natural advantages of the Islands. The rich resources await only capital and labour to bring about the period of prosperity which should come to the Philippines.

THE EXPANSION OF INDUSTRY IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY JOHN S. MARGERISON

(Editor, *Netherlands Indies Review*)

THE BIRTH OF INDUSTRY.—To one who has known the Netherlands East Indies for a considerable period, and who has watched the steady development of the islands from the industrial point of view, there is a great deal of interest to be found in reviewing the number of new industries which have sprung up, and old industries which have been modernized and which are to-day running in the islands. Prior to the European War industry as such was of little significance in Insulinde; only a few of the agricultural type, such as the manufacture of cane sugar, the preparation of rubber and tea for shipment, the making of copra, and the extraction of quinine from cinchona bark, having any real prominence in the larger islands. In Banka, Borneo, and Billiton, it is true, the tin-mining and petroleum industries were already well exploited, and there were mines in various other parts of the islands, but the manufacturing industry was of little importance.

It was the advent of war, with the consequent interruption of supplies from Europe, that caused the industrial development of Insulinde to speed up, though, as may be imagined, both Japan and the United States were very ready to fill those needs which Europe could no longer cater for. It was during the period between the cessation of supplies from Europe and the commencement of supplies from Japan and America that the Netherlands East Indies discovered that there were many things it could make for itself—things that were previously bought, usually at high prices, abroad—and set to work to make them.

AWAKENING INITIATIVE.—What is more, it was found that many things could be made more cheaply in the islands, since wages were low as compared with those of exporting countries. The raw materials for many industries were at hand, and cost little to transport where necessary; the Netherlands Government was doing everything in its power to promote the development of colonial industry; a syndicate of business men was formed to further the interests of the Netherlands East Indies by common action, and the prospect of an annual fair and exhibition within the islands helped the workers to take a deeper interest in the goods they produced. The Government collected and distributed, free of charge, information pertaining to commercial and industrial affairs, extended financial aid, and finally, through its Department of Agriculture, Trade and Industry at Buitenzorg, assumed the initiative in introducing several forms of industry new to the islands. Skilled experts have been appointed to further the interests of the manufacturers, and research laboratories fitted up for the benefit of industry at large.

MACHINERY AND SHIPBUILDING.—To merely list the articles which are now largely manufactured for home consumption, in the Netherlands East Indies would fill this page, but a general outline of some of them will serve to indicate the vast possibilities which still, even now, exist for further development. And such further development, instead of decreasing the quantity of goods required from the outer world, will merely change their nature, since it must be obvious that for a long time Insulinde will have to import practically all the machinery and other equipment used in its new industries. The manufacture of machinery is still confined to the construction of minor fittings and repairs to existing equipment. Iron and steel have hitherto had to be imported, but now that the blast furnaces in South Sumatra are opened, this should soon cease to be entirely the case. This branch of industry is still suffering from the lack of skilled labour, but that is a complaint

which time and the training of the technical schools will eradicate. Iron foundries are gaining in importance, and the building of iron and steel vessels is taking place in at least three of the seven shipyards that exist in the archipelago, though here again, principally in the constructive departments, the lack of skilled labour is a handicap. The high prices of timber have militated against the use of this material for even smaller craft, and it may be confidently expected that the building of iron and steel boats will increase considerably in the near future.

A MISCELLANY OF MANUFACTURES.—The manufacture of edible oils has increased considerably of recent years, and large amounts of capital have been sunk in this industry. A by-product of this manufacture is the making of soap, though the supply is, of course, by no means equal to the demand. Jam and preserves are being made at Bandoeng, and Semarang is brewing beer of good quality for the islands. A few small factories make chocolate, and sugar factories, tea factories, rice mills, and cassava meal mills, are increasing in number, as also are the concerns turning out mineral waters and ice. A macaroni factory has been established recently and has been considerably extended since its opening. Many brick kilns and tile manufactories have commenced operations, and the municipality of Bandoeng runs its own fields for the manufacture of these articles. The making of building materials, including cement and cement tiles, artificial marble and pumice-stone cement are in full swing; lime-kilns work night and day and plans are well in hand for the starting of a glass factory in Medan. Rope, formerly manufactured from coco fibre wholly by hand, is now made by machinery; bristles are prepared for export, and the malefactors at the Cheribon Prison are engaged in textile manufacture, in addition to the many textile factories under private control. Cigars and cigarettes of all qualities are made in huge quantities, and the extraction of essential oils from native products provides work for an appreciable number of

people. Explosives factories manufacture fireworks and blasting powders, various chemicals and alkaloids are being prepared, whilst the Government works in opium on its own account. Gas and electricity undertakings increase in number, as also do the number of printing establishments. Three-ply wood is made on a large scale for many things, ranging from the manufacture of tea chests to the construction of aeroplane fuselages. These are merely a selection of industries which have largely grown up during the last ten years, and the list could be added to *ad lib.*

ASSISTANCE FOR BRITISH ENTERPRISE.—I have said enough to show that there is a huge field here for British enterprise; I would add that details are daily coming to hand regarding new requirements of various kinds. For instance, during the last three months enquiries have been received in London for quotations for wireless apparatus, bridges, abrasives, wire nails, surgical supplies, electric lighting sets, woven wire fencing, fibre-preparing machinery, cycles, cinema apparatus, trunks and boxes, wire ropes, rubber tyres, and iron pipes. The wide range of these enquiries will serve as food for thought on the part of British manufacturers and exporters seeking new outlets for their goods, and to these every assistance will be given in getting into, and keeping in, touch with opportunities by the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies, at 38, Dover Street, London, W. 1. This organization is run by experts in the requirements of the Netherlands East Indies—founded and worked by men who have spent long periods in the islands, and who are in a position to give help and guidance wherever it is needed. The Secretary of the Chamber tells me he will be ready to answer any questions interested parties may put forward, and, for our very prestige' sake, as well as for the material benefit of our country in its so-necessary export trade, I would strongly urge all concerned British interests to move—and to move without delay—in this matter.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

THE PROBLEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

By H. G. RAWLINSON, I.E.S.

HAS Higher Education in India been a failure? This is a question which educationists have asked themselves more than once in the last few years. The policy inaugurated by Lord Macaulay's famous minute of 1835 has now had a trial of nearly a century, and the results are in many respects far from reassuring. It is true, of course, that our system of education has produced many brilliant figures: Bhandarkar, Gokhale, Bose, and Tagore, to take only a few of the many distinguished Indians of the last fifty years, are names of which any nation might well be proud. But it is by the rank and file, the average product of the Indian University, that we ought to form our opinion of the success or failure of the system as a whole. And judging by this standard, we can hardly claim that the experiment has been an unqualified success. It is, unfortunately, a fact that Indian schools and colleges of to-day do not produce anything like the same type of man as the English public school and University—athletic, self-reliant, and adventurous, and capable of turning his hand to any task. There is no doubt that Indians themselves are aware of this. The striking success of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement among schoolboys and college students was to a great extent due to the widespread, if vague, feeling of discontent with the education which they were receiving.

Is it possible to suggest any practical remedies to this state of affairs? Firstly, I think, our non-success, in spite

of the devotion of three generations of learned and capable officials, has been due to a fundamental misconception of the whole problem. Our present system is the outcome of the victory, in 1835, of the "Westerners," led by Lord Macaulay, over the "Easterners," or Orientalists, headed by Horace Hayman Wilson. And, of course, to a certain extent Macaulay was right. Education in Sanskrit and Arabic, the Vedas and the Koran, would no more fit India for self-government on Western lines than the training in scholastic philosophy of the days of Abelard or Roger Bacon would prepare a man to fight the battle of life in Europe to-day. But, as usually happens, the pendulum swung too far in the other direction. Ever since Macaulay held up to ridicule "medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter," we have been inclined to regard India as a barbarous nation, which it is the mission of Englishmen to civilize. Her indigenous culture, her music, art, and literature, have been neglected or relegated to a subordinate position. Higher education has been imparted almost exclusively in English. "Classical" English literature—Shakespeare and Milton, Addison and Burke—has been given a disproportionately important place in the time-table, presumably because it is hoped by this means to inoculate the student with Western ideas and ideals. We have made no attempt to find a *via media*, a system which, while it introduces the Indian mind to what is most valuable in the learning of the West, would also preserve the essential features of the indigenous culture of the country. In a word, we have tried to transplant an exotic growth from a temperate climate to a tropical soil, and we are surprised that it fails to take root. It is hardly fair to make the Babu the butt of our witticisms. He is, in fact, the natural result of our effort to graft a Western education upon an

Eastern stock. We are his only begetters, and his faults, such as they are, should be laid at our own door rather than at his.

The first and most deplorable result of this fundamental mistake is the utter lack of *esprit de corps* in the Indian school or college. The Indian schoolboy or undergraduate seldom, if ever, like his English counterpart, looks back upon his *alma mater* with affection and pride. It is merely an institution for the passing of examinations. This object achieved, he leaves it as quickly as possible. In order to establish institutions which will really appeal to the Indian heart, we must study the Indian character. The Indian temperament is essentially religious, and purely secular colleges will never stir his imagination. A recent visitor to India speaks with admiration of the Gurukula of the Arya Samaj at Hardwar. There the students

“rise at four in the morning, and bathe either in the Ganges or in the long bathing sheds of the college. They do their own menial work, and wait upon each other at meals. Hindi is the usual medium of instruction, but Western philosophy and science are taught in English. Sanskrit, of course, bulks largely in the curriculum, and cricket, football and hockey are played in that language.”

Here we have an effort to combine Eastern and Western ideals, which has apparently succeeded. Can we not follow somewhat similar lines in our Government institutions? The difficulties about religious instruction are much exaggerated. In spite of the innumerable sects of Hinduism, the *Gita*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Mahabharata* provide a common ground for all Hindus, and, as far as Mahomedans are concerned, the problem has been successfully solved at Aligarh. Much more should be attempted than is done at present to improve the physique and *morale* of the student. Physical exercise should be made compulsory. School and college colours should be, as in England, a coveted distinction; and gymnastics, boy-scouts, and the formation of cadet corps on the lines of the O.T.C., require to be pushed forward with the greatest possible enthusiasm. At present, athletics

are usually left to a very small minority ; the average student is content to loaf aimlessly about after college hours, and finds his recreation in attending political meetings and other undesirable pursuits.

Another problem which requires solution is the question of the medium through which instruction is to be conveyed. At present, as we have seen, the teaching in the higher classes is given in English. The whole question of English *versus* the vernaculars is, of course, highly controversial. There is something to be said in favour of the official view. English is the language of the Empire of which India forms a part. It is, and must continue to be, the language of the Government as long as the British connection is maintained. It is a useful *lingua franca* for the educated classes in a country where hitherto numberless dialects have stood in the way of national unity. Lastly, English literature is rich in instruction, ethical and political, whereas few of the vernaculars contain anything except devotional literature or paraphrases of episodes from the Epics and Puranas. On the other hand, it is obvious that the use of a foreign language for imparting higher education imposes a severe nervous strain upon the constitution, never very robust, of the Indian boy. Few of us would have cared to learn, in our undergraduate days, highly technical subjects like Logic or Physics through the medium of French or German. The mind has to perform the double process of translating what is said and simultaneously following the train of thought expressed. Nor is it fair to penalize a student, who may be a gifted scientist, philosopher or historian, merely because he has not acquired the knack of expressing himself in English. Again, it is doubtful whether English literature, depicting, as it does, an alien nation with different social customs and ideas, can ever strongly appeal to the Indian mind. English poetry is certainly meaningless except to a very few : its very rhythm, based upon stress accent, is unintelligible to Indian ears, and what can odes to skylarks and nightingales, daffodils and daisies, mean to youths who

would not recognize these objects if they saw them? How can a student who has never read the Bible, and has probably not even heard of Vergil or Homer, be expected to make anything at all out of Milton's *Paradise Lost*? There is little doubt that instruction, except in the highest classes, should be given in the vernaculars, and examinees should at any rate be given the option of answering through the same medium. English should be retained, but rather as a compulsory second language, the standard of proficiency required being made really high. The books studied also need drastic alteration. Modern authors like Morley, R. L. Stevenson, Wells, and Bernard Shaw would give the Indian reader an infinitely better idea of the trend of modern thought than the so-called classics.

The teacher should be well acquainted with English: his function in general should be the interpretation of English ideas to his pupils through the medium of the vernaculars. It may be assumed that once the vernacular languages are rescued from their present state of neglect, they will automatically revive, and translations of standard English authors, as well as original works, will disseminate modern ideas to classes among which they are at present inaccessible.

Another point which is at present neglected is the teaching of Indian history—*i.e.*, the history of pre-British, and, in the case of Hindu students, pre-Mahommedan India. All students should know something of the culture and the religious struggles of their own country, its art and its literature, for history properly taught lays more stress upon these points than upon mere dynastic lists. Indian history, if intelligently handled, should serve as a valuable corrective to many harmful superstitions. The teacher will show, for example, that in old days India was a great sea-power, and the prejudice against sea-voyages is of recent growth; he will point out that girls were well educated in the Epic and subsequent periods, and that the prejudices about such subjects as the seclusion of women, child-marriage and the re-marriage of widows, are without

historical foundation. Indian geography should receive more attention than at present : every Indian boy should know thoroughly the geographical features of his country, its economic products and exports and imports.

The actual organization of Indian colleges has been minutely analyzed by the Sadler Commission, and it is to be hoped that Indian educationists will have the courage to put its recommendations into effect. At the present day, both universities and colleges are hopelessly overgrown. Universities should be split up and rearranged on a linguistic basis, so as to make teaching in the vernacular more practicable, and colleges must be limited to four hundred as an outside figure. This can be partly effected by eliminating the first year classes, which at present occupy a wholly disproportionate amount of the professor's time. This is really school work and should be relegated to the schools : the professor will then be able to devote his attention to what is at present utterly neglected—tutorial work with the Honours B.A. students. It must be remembered, however, that colleges can never improve until they receive better material from the high schools : high-school reform must be the stepping-stone to university reform. A better class of teachers in the high schools, better trained and better paid, is one of the most crying needs of the time. It would be to the benefit of the country if Government were to send home a large number of teachers every year to study in training colleges and acquire an insight into the methods employed in English schools.

Nothing has been said in this paper about Technical Education. The extension of agricultural and engineering colleges is, of course, an absolute necessity. But the majority, in India as in England, will always take the Arts Course, and a really cultured student, who has graduated in History or Classics, is just as useful a member of the community as a B.Sc. in Engineering or Chemistry. Such men have usually no difficulty in finding work in England ;

indeed, they are sought after in business firms. What, however, is required, is the organization of really efficient Bureaux of Information or Appointments Boards, in order to put students in touch with employers of labour. Every effort must be made to wean young graduates from the idea that Government service and the law are the only respectable professions.

Education, under the Reform Bill, is a "transferred" subject, and the above outlines represent the lines on which educational reform will probably proceed under Indian guidance. It must not, however, be supposed that the Englishman is no longer required in educational circles in India. His presence is, perhaps, more necessary than ever at the present juncture ; but he must be a man of the right type. It is essential that he should be an Orientalist : he must possess a thorough knowledge, if not of Sanskrit or Persian, at least of the vernacular of his province and its literature, and the history, art and culture of the country as a whole. Above all, he must have sympathy with the aspirations of the people : without these qualifications, he is only a blind leader of the blind.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN DUTCH EAST INDIA.—I

BY P. J. GERKE

(*Dutch Colonial Service*)

UNTIL the beginning of the twentieth century Government teaching for the native population of the Dutch Indian Archipelago was only available on a very modest scale.

The system of education for the *Dutch* inhabitants of the colony was in the main copied from that in the mother-country as far as the primary and secondary (non-classical) schools were concerned. For classical and higher teaching, they had to go to Holland.

For the Javanese there were only a few primary schools ; since 1893 there have been native schools of the first class, consisting of six forms, especially designed for children of the native aristocracy, and a larger number of schools of the second class, consisting of four forms, in the larger villages and towns. Since 1907 the Dutch language has been taught in the first-class schools. Only the pupils of the first-class schools could further be trained in special schools for native civil servants (chiefs' schools) or native teachers.

As a very great exception Javanese children of aristocratic families were admitted to the schools for Dutch children, and, for the rest, a limited number of such as wanted to be trained for native doctors ("dokter djawa") at the Batavian Training College.

In 1900 the total cost of teaching in the Dutch Indies amounted to a little more than fl. 4,000,000. If, now, we see that this item figures on the budget for 1921 to an amount of some fl. 40,000,000, it becomes clear that the period between these years has been one of very great exertion to meet the demand for more efficient teaching—

a demand which has since developed and has found utterance in the native press, the voice of the native organizations. It is an exertion on the part of the Government which appears to be more and more understood and appreciated by the Javanese population.

Without doubt, the arduous efforts of the Government in this respect are, in the first place, owing to the sudden revival of the East shortly after the beginning of this century—a revival which took place in nearly all Asia at about the same time, and which, in the Dutch Indies especially, manifested itself by *a demand for intellectual development never shown before*, a clear response, at the same time, to the action of warm friends of the Indies in the Dutch Parliament to fulfil Holland's duty towards the colonies in this matter.

In a few lines I shall try to show how the Colonial Administration, supported by the Dutch Colonial Secretaries and the Parliament of The Hague, has acted.

Teaching for Dutch Children.—The Government Primary Schools for Dutch (and Dutch-Indian) children are of two classes: first and second. The difference between these is that at the *first-class schools* French is taught, and that the children who have gone through them may pass on to the *Secondary Schools*, of which there are four, all on the Isle of Java (Batavia, Semarang, Soerabaya, Bandoeng), which schools have exactly the same programme as those in the Netherlands.* As there are always a large number of Dutchmen in the Indies living there *temporarily*, these schools, though they are on a plan answering merely *Dutch* and not *Indian* purposes, have proved indispensable.

* The Secondary School in Holland (Hoogere Burgerschool: H.B.S.) was originally meant for the Technical High School at Delft. It has become immensely popular at the same time as a college for intellectual development in general. Those who have passed its final examination are also admitted to the examinations in *medicine* at the University, to the Veterinary and Agricultural High Schools, the Military Training College, etc.

As the new system of the so-called *General Secondary Schools* (Algemeene Middelbare School: A.M.S.), dating from 1919, of which further particulars will be given below, is more generally carried through and will probably become more popular, also with the Dutch and Dutch-Indian population, it is to be expected that the Indian youth will no longer continue to crowd the H.B.S., which are neither suitable nor necessary.

At the *Primary Schools of the second class* no French is taught and no school fee is paid by such as cannot bear the expenses (incomes under £150 a year). The final examination of these schools admits the pupils to the examination qualifying for the *lowest* posts in Government service that can be held by Europeans. The remainder are eligible for the *lower Technical Schools*, which train candidates for the lower technical posts in the State Railways, Mining, and for the services for the maintenance of dykes, canals, roads, irrigation works, harbours, buildings, etc.

Since 1911 there have been three-year courses for *Primary instruction with an extended programme* (M.u.L.O. courses), providing further intellectual development; in 1914 they were changed into regular schools (M.u.L.O. schools), very much like the three first forms of the H.B.S., but better adapted to *Indian* needs. The leaving-certificate of these schools opens the way to administrative posts and clerkships in commerce and in the Government service at a salary of at least fl. 100 a month. Then these Mulo schools admit to the training colleges for European teachers, and also to the Secondary Medical, Agricultural, Veterinary, and Law Colleges, which institutions, formerly exclusively destined for Javanese,* are now open to Europeans (and Chinese) with the exception of

* The Medical College was opened in 1851, and has been repeatedly re-organized. In 1900 the school became a "first-class" training college. The other Colleges were opened in 1907-1909, and obtained most of their pupils from the Native Civil Service and Native Teacher Schools.

the Law College. Plans for the establishment of *Secondary Technical Schools* for pupils that have finished the Mulo schools are in preparation.

Besides, there are some European Government schools for girls.

Teaching for Chinese Children.—Until the beginning of the twentieth century there was no question of Government Primary Schools for Chinese children; the teaching was to some extent done by missionaries—viz., the Methodists—and later on also by Chinese corporations (Chung Hua Hwei Kuan). When this part of the population began loudly to express their desire for good teaching the Government resolved, in 1908, to establish the so-called *Dutch-Chinese Schools* on a plan very similar to the second-class schools for Dutch children. These schools also admit pupils to the *Primary Schools with extended programme* (Mulo schools) and the lower Technical Schools mentioned above. This teaching is popular with the Chinese; now there are thirty-five of the schools with an average number of 200 pupils each. Neither any Chinese dialect nor Malay is taught here. Chinese girls are only found in the lower forms so far.

For the rest, private primary schools have many Chinese pupils; the children of rich Chinese families are also found in the more expensive private boarding-schools.

Teaching for Arabian Children.—Arabians have up to now expressed very little desire for teaching. Some few children of (Indo-) Arabian families go to European private schools; a larger number frequent the primary schools for natives. In some places Arabian corporations have established private schools for Arabian children, which have, however, very little of a "modern" character. The schools are not yet subsidized by the Government.

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL EL-AMARNA

BY H. R. HALL, D.LITT., F.S.A.

FOR several years past that important organization of German work in the Near East, the German Orient Society, has pursued its Egyptian antiquarian aims on the famous site of Tell el-Amarna. The war having ended in the catastrophic defeat of German aims and ambitions in the East as elsewhere, the sites previously excavated by this model of a well-organized and well-disciplined German society have inevitably gone a-begging, a result which was hardly expected by the directors and subscribers of the German Orient Society in the hurrah-year of 1914! However, such is the fact; and el-Amarna very naturally has fallen into the lap of an Anglo-American archæological association, the Egypt Exploration Society, better known, perhaps, under its old name of the Egypt Exploration Fund. As the premier British and American society of the kind, the first to take up the work of Egyptian archæological exploration after the British occupation in 1882 and the cessation of the Government monopoly of excavation instituted by Mariette, the Egypt Exploration Society has naturally, by right of seniority, the first claim to the reversion of any work that can no longer be carried on. Nor is its claim by right of efficiency any less. The record of the Society during the thirty-eight years of its existence has been of the best, and it has to its credit such labours as the exploration of Bubastis and Tanis by Professors Naville and Petrie respectively, of Naukratis and Daphnæ by Petrie, of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri by Naville and Hogarth, and of the Eleventh Dynasty temple there by Naville and Hall, the work at Abydos of Petrie and Mace, followed by Naville and Peet, besides that of others at minor sites, among whom we may mention the names of Quibell, Randall MacIver and Ayrton as excavators, and of Griffith, Newberry, Howard Carter, de Garis Davies, and Blackman as copyists of reliefs and inscriptions. The special work of the Græco-Roman branch of the Society, and the discovery and editing of papyri—such as those from Oxyrhynchus—under the direction of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, is a household word among all classical scholars. This being its record, none can gainsay the paramount claim of the Egypt Exploration Society to the reversion of Amarna. The site also was from the first associated with British work, when Professor Petrie (not working at that time for the Society) undertook the pioneer excavation there in 1891, which gave the Ashmolean Museum its fine examples of the peculiar art of Amarna, until now almost unique in British museums.

Professor Petrie was led thither by the hope of finding more of the famous cuneiform tablets, the relics of the ancient chancellery-archive of the heretic-king Akhenaten, which contained the letters and despatches of the contemporary kings and governors of Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, and Anatolia to the Egyptian court, and revealed to us a hitherto un-

suspected treasure of ancient history, the story of the revolt of Syria and Canaan from the domination of Egypt that had been imposed by the arms of Thutmose III. These tablets had been found by natives in the year 1887, and had been sold indiscriminately, with the result that they are mostly divided between the British Museum, the Cairo Museum, and Berlin. Professor Petrie was successful in finding a few more of these tablets, which are now at Oxford, but the chief results of his work were in the domain of art, both small sculpture and wall-painting, and were an earnest of the treasures that might be found at Amarna were excavations continued there.

The place is of great importance in the history of, not Egyptian art alone, but of all art. It is the site of the isolated royal city, the Utopia, or, rather, Laputa (except that it was not movable!), that that extraordinary person, Akhenaten or Ikhnaton, the "heretic-king," built as his place of retirement from an angry and conservative world that refused to accept his (for that time) amazing proposal to alter the Egyptian religion according to the most esoteric ideas of the priests of On, and turn the Egyptian people from the cult of its myriad demons to the worship of the One God, who, Akhenaten averred, resided beyond the heaven and let the life-giving heat and light of his glory on to the world through the medium of the disk of the Sun, which, as the only visible and conceivable manifestation of this inconceivable Deity, was to be worshipped by all, and was the only god to be worshipped. As a matter of fact, Akhenaten had to compromise to a certain extent on this point, but the effect of his teaching was naturally to produce such chaos in Egypt that he shook the dust of the capital, Thebes, off his feet and built himself the new town of Akhetaten, where Amarna now is, as the city of refuge where he and his artists and philosophers could talk and practise art and could philosophize to their hearts' content, while the kingdom and empire went to ruin. The artistic movement which he captained was not of his own invention. During the reign of his father we can trace a growing atmosphere of mingled truth and preciousness which came to fruition when an artist reigned. With much more right than Nero could Akhenaten when he died have said: "*Qualis artifex pereo!*" And his is an art that has its modern—nay, its ultra-modern—appeal. For the Atenist ideas of beauty, that seem hideous to the unregenerate, would have appealed immensely to Aubrey Beardsley and his fellows of the *Yellow Book*; and now that Aubreyism is again in fashion among the younger generation, the long-eyed, lank-jawed king and his court, male and female, who dressed after him and regarded him as their living fashion-plate, seem quite modern and "in the movement." But, apart from affectation, there was good art in Akhenaten's shortlived revolution, as well as good religion, and it was with the idea of recovering artistic treasures that the Germans went to Amarna in 1907, and began systematic work in 1911. And they have been successful, some most remarkable examples of Atenist art having been recovered. These are now at Berlin.

At the present moment British lovers of art will find some remarkable examples of the art of Amarna in the Egyptian exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club at 17, Savile Row (open by members' invitation and to subscribers to the Egypt Exploration Society till the end of July). And at

the exhibition of the Society at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, open for a few days at the beginning of the month (July 5-13) to all visitors free of charge, the Society hopes to show some interesting results of its first season's work at Amarna. Professor T. E. Peet, to whom the direction of the diggings was confided, and his helpers, Messrs. A. G. K. Hayter, F.S.A., F. G. Newton, and P. L. O. Guy, have been successful in recovering a number of interesting antiquities of the heretical period, and have made remarkable discoveries of ancient buildings of the same time (c. 1370 B.C.), including a village with its houses, kitchens, etc., complete, and a series of shrines of gods who seem to have been still venerated by the common people in spite of the prohibition imposed by the king, who was as intolerant as other reformers!

The king is one of the most interesting personalities in the history of the world. He may not be "the first individual in history," as he has been described; he certainly was not the first individual genius that ever existed, nor the first religious or civil reformer; but he was certainly the first political and religious rebel and heretic and the first pacifist and conscientious objector in the world's history, and so is a landmark in the progress of the human intelligence. He was æsthete, highbrow, and crank, and the first of his kind. And as he was only a boy when he began to reign and about sixteen to twenty when he carried out his revolution (one must bear in mind the earlier development of the Egyptian), and died at twenty-five, he might well be taken by the modern *jeunesse revoltée* as their patron saint and culture-ancestor! Yet in spite of all that may be said in his dispraise, the ideas of this "marvellous boy" remain extraordinarily advanced and beautiful; the hymns and psalms that he wrote take no unworthy place beside those attributed to David, and it is by no means impossible that the monotheism that he championed (it must be remembered that he did not invent it)—"the wisdom of the Egyptians," that Moses learnt at On—may have been the ultimate origin of the Hebrew conception of the One God, and so of our own.

This makes the exploration of his city so extraordinarily interesting. We would know more of him and of his artists, we would find for the national collection as well as for others in Europe and America artistic treasures such as those already recovered for Berlin, and we would discover more cuneiform tablets (if any are left: one has been found this year) to tell us more about events in Palestine in his reign, when his pacifism allowed the Hebrews (if, as is probable, they are identical with the "Khabiri" mentioned on the tablets) to invade and conquer Palestine. And as the legend of superior German efficiency in these matters is but a legend—a hypnotic "mass-suggestion," the result of skilful propaganda at home and abroad—we do not doubt that our explorers will be as successful as those of Berlin. But to enable them to carry out their work in a fashion creditable to this country and to the United States the inevitable funds are necessary, and the Egypt Exploration Society appeals to all who are interested to contribute something to this work, so important to our knowledge of the history of civilization, of art, and of thought. Subscriptions and donations should be sent to the Secretary at 13, Tavistock Square, London, W.C. 1.

CORRESPONDENCE

"A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR"

OPEN LETTER TO MR. M. K. GANDHI

EDINBURGH, *April*, 1921.

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have been studying carefully your public utterances and written statements of late, and must own myself somewhat puzzled. You advocate "Non-co-operation" without violence, yet you admit that in the present state of India "Non-co-operation" may involve violence.

1. Now, some time ago—before you joined hands with the late Mr. Tilak—you strongly condemned "boycott of British goods," and openly professed yourself "a friend of the British Government."

Then, in connection with your "Non-co-operation" campaign—and working with Mr. Tilak—you used your influence to induce Indian Moslems to join the Indian Home Rule League, and, subsequently becoming more violent in your language, you denounced the Hunter Report on the Amritsar tragedy as "an intolerable wrong," and declared that it was the duty of all Indians to rise against it.

But shortly afterwards (in the month of June last) you write a letter to the Viceroy in which you describe yourself as "a devoted well-wisher of the British Empire," and you go on to explain how you had been led to take a loyal interest in the Kaliphate question while you were here with us in London at the beginning of the war.

2. In the following month (July) you suddenly denounce the whole British Administration as "a poison," and the British Government as "a dishonest and a terrorizing Government." You suggest non-payment of taxes, and insist that the risk of violence would be preferable to the emasculation of the whole Indian race.

You further declare that the Prime Minister of England has deliberately broken his pledged word, and, protesting that you have lost all faith in the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, you recommend the boycott you had previously condemned so strongly.

3. At the Indian Congress held last Christmas you advocated "Swaraj within the Empire or *without*," and you publicly deprecated the procreation of Indian children as being merely the multiplication of "slaves," and you compare the British Government to "a dacoit" (gang robber), and describe recruitment as "a sin."

4. In an open letter to all Englishmen in India you accuse them of unwillingness to yield to justice or reason, and you openly advise a break with the British connection, maintaining that it is perfectly constitutional to strive for independence.

5. Shortly afterwards you again pose as "a friend," and declare that "the British Government is not an enemy," and that you have "not a grain of enmity against it."

Yet a few days later you brand the whole British system of administration as "Satanic," "fiendish," "devilish"—quite forgetting that you yourself are an outcome of that system, and that such language must rouse racial hatred and passions and stir up people to violence, the very things you profess to deprecate and deplore.

6. In your December issue of *Young India* you go on to describe British rule in India as "altogether evil," and you denounce the "Pax Britannica" as "a curse," insisting that the people of India should be taught to regard it as such, and encouraged to struggle for "Swaraj" (Home Rule), even though it may involve them in a sea of blood.

Surely you can't mean all this! And how do you reconcile your bewildering attitudes and contradictory assertions with your professions of non-violence and of your desire "to transform ill-will into affection for the British and their Constitution, which, in spite of its imperfections, has weathered many a storm"?

7. I fear, in your perfervid zeal to prove British rule an "evil" and its peace "a curse," you have given credence and currency to half-truths, of which the following may be selected as some examples:

(a) It has been represented that the British Government in India is the most extravagant and expensive in the civilized world, although ascertained facts and figures and detailed statistics and comparisons show that it is, on the contrary, the cheapest.

(b) India has been represented as having been a Paradise of plenty and liberty and of perfect administration for thousands of years before the "Feringhi" appeared on the scene. But whatever the country may have been in the legendary "golden" age of long ago, you must admit it was certainly in a very sorry and distracted condition when the British stumbled into the chair of the great Moghul and began to rescue the people from Tyrants, Thugs, and Pindaris, one hundred and fifty years ago. I myself think that the British made a great mistake in assuming direct administration instead of ruling through the Chiefs, and even now it would perhaps be the best thing for India were the administration restored to Native Princes, pledged to reign as constitutional monarchs under British suzerainty; but I dare say you would not agree with me in this.

(c) As to Excise, there is perhaps no subject upon which more persistent misrepresentations are made than with regard to the British system of Excise Administration in India. It is pretended that Excise duties were invented by the British with the sole object of raising revenue from the vices of the people. But you know the facts really are that these *ancient* Indian taxes have been so regulated by the British as to prevent the adulteration and smuggling of liquor, and discourage excessive drinking; and you also know that long before the British appeared drinking was indigenous in India, even if it did not form part of the Hindu religion..

(d) Describing the poverty of India, you have recently asserted that twenty-seven rupees constituted the average annual income per head of the Indian ryot or cultivator, without making it clear that for an ordinary Indian peasant's family of five this really means an income of one hundred

and thirty-five rupees a year—a miserably small sum, it must be admitted but still a sum which was, and still is in some parts, considered fairly good pay for an Indian labourer or policeman under Indian food and climatic conditions (and which, *mutatis mutandis*, might not unfairly be compared with £135 in these disastrous days in Britain).

(e) India is described by you as a miserably poor country.

It really is a marvellously rich country, inhabited for the most part by a comparatively poor and feckless peasantry (resembling my own fellow-countrymen, the Irish), upon whom the moneylender thrives and the *banya* (village shopkeeper) batters.

But the poverty of the Indian population, whatever its cause, is not due—as is so often contended—to the British Government taxation or to the quit-rent paid by the ryots to the State. It is well known that India spends much more on lawyer's fees alone, to say nothing of avoidable litigation, than she pays as land revenue, and it has been recently demonstrated by Dr. Slater that the Government demand on account of land revenue (even in highly taxed Madras) does not amount on the average to more than 5 per cent. of the gross produce. Now, for many years before the war the value of India's surplus produce amounted to at least eight times the sum paid as land revenue, so that the pressure of the latter certainly cannot be even the main cause of India's poverty.

(f) As to the "tribute" alleged to be paid by India to Great Britain, you know as well as I do that India pays no tribute as such; and as to the alleged "drain," the late Mr. Justice Ranade (than whom no keener Indian patriot has ever existed) showed conclusively that the so-called "drain" could not be properly described as a "drain," and consisted mainly of (1) payments for goods purchased and services rendered, (2) interest on borrowed capital, and (3) insurance. Mr. Ranade also acknowledged that India was not being selfishly "exploited" by the British, but "developed" in the best interests of both peoples (witness roads, railways, mines, irrigation, etc.).

(g) With regard to the cost of the Army in India, of which you make a special grievance, you ignore the fact that the bulk of this Army consists of Indians, and their pay, at any rate, is spent in the country, so cannot be called a "drain"; and you fail to acknowledge that the Royal Navy protects the shores of India practically without charge. So that if you had to keep up a navy of your own, you would have to spend much more on defence than you do at present.

8. It must be admitted that the British Government has made some grave mistakes in dealing with India, as with Ireland. But it is idle to contend that in normal times either the Irish or the Indians are oppressed or ill-treated. In all respects they are as free as the Scots, the Welsh, the peoples of the Dominions, and as the English themselves.

For the last sixty years at any rate (that is, within my memory) there has been no intentional misgovernment or oppression either of India or of Ireland; and you know perfectly well that in India you and I have, as fellow-subjects, enjoyed perfect freedom, and have been allowed to do and

say pretty much what we liked, provided we kept within the law. Where, then, is the oppression and ill-treatment? Surely the British—if they have done no other good—have taught India the love of Liberty, and what true freedom means.

9. Be that as it may, from my earliest days in India I have loved and appreciated her kindly peoples, and recognized their superior gifts. In my time I have advocated "Swaraj" and upheld village communities and panchayats (village arbitration courts), and, as your own people can tell you, I used to urge upon them (1) abstention from our law courts; (2) devotion to the spinning-wheel and "homespun" and home industries, and used also to counsel (3) patronage of "Swadeshi" products in preference to "Vilayati" (or European). Personally I have never felt any racial bar, and could work with or *under* my Aryan brother without reserve. And to-day I could cordially subscribe to your nineteen new commandments, with special emphasis on the sixteenth, in which you rightly insist that "we may not tell an untruth on any account whatsoever, and should be truthful in all our dealings."

10. So you will see that it is in no carping or hostile spirit I write this letter, although I must admit I cannot regard your "Non-co-operation" agitation under present conditions in India as any wiser than carrying a lighted candle into a powder magazine! You may cause an explosion you cannot control! It is easy to upset Government, but can you reset it?

11: I know how sincere and unselfish you have been, and how gallantly and loyally you fought your battles for your brothers in Africa, and I cannot believe that there is any truth in the insinuation that you are in touch with the Bolsheviks and other enemies of England, and are plotting with them the overthrow of the British Empire.

I therefore hope that the Indian Government will not arrest you, or make a martyr of you, as you apparently desire, for, although you decline to co-operate with the Indian Government just now, I cannot help hoping that you really in your heart desire the advent of that "diviner day"

"When each will find his own in all men's good—
And all men *work* in noble brotherhood."

In this hope I sign myself,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN POLLEN,

Late Hon. Sec. East India Association.

P.S.—I see you demand "a partnership based on perfect *equality*, both in theory and practice"! But such a thing as *perfect equality* never yet existed on this God's earth of ours! In the mutual interdependence and correlation of society (which, I agree with you, is a Divine institution with the sense of a higher and a lower pervading it) we are each, alternately, in different, yet most essential, aspects, lower and higher than the other, and in the cordial recognition of this fact lies the nearest approach to equality, as also the best hope for the world.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

A CITIZEN'S PRIMER FOR INDIANS

CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR INDIAN STUDENTS. By Sir William Marris, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of Assam, and James Wilford Garner, PH.D., M.A., Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois, U.S.A. (Calcutta: S. C. Sanial and Co.) Rs. 4.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

This book is mainly the work of a learned American professor, who has endeavoured, with considerable success, to supply Indian students with a primer of political science. He discusses in turn the importance of the study of government, the nature, functions, and activities and forms of government, the rights and duties of citizenship, suffrage and voting, the meaning of "that much-misunderstood thing which we call 'liberty,'" and, finally, international relations. The ninth and tenth chapters are devoted to a study of the constitutions of the British Empire and of the United States. In the three chapters immediately following a lucid summary of the new Indian constitution is provided by Sir William Marris, the Governor of Assam, who, as Reforms Commissioner at Delhi, had much to do with the shaping of the Government of India Act of 1919. The principal sections of that Act are given in an appendix, together with the electoral rules for the Bengal Presidency, and a selection of the more important passages from the first Report of the Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament which considered the draft Bill in detail.

Professor Garner rightly observes that the future of India now lies in the hands of Indians themselves, and that it has therefore become the primary duty of the next generation to seek to be well and wisely informed upon the nature and extent of the political system under which they live, as well as upon the history, forms, and principles of government in general. At the end, therefore, of each chapter he has placed a number of test questions, in which he recapitulates the propositions he has laid down and the arguments which he has advanced in their support. The same method has been applied to the chapters contributed by Sir William Marris. An admirable book is the result; and it can be warmly commended not only to the "school children of India," to whom it is dedicated, but also to those adults who are already invested with responsibility, whether as electors, legislators, or ministers. Still more may it be read with profit by those who are clamouring to run before they have learned to walk, and,

disdainful of the ample opportunities of acquiring essential experience and training now open to them, are holding aloof under the mistaken impression that the government of one's fellow-men is the easiest and simplest of human tasks. Admittedly the world, as Professor Garner says, is passing through a period of political unrest and transition. The trouble with so many of the theorists and doctrinaires who are airing their views and, in such countries as Russia, are striving with disastrous consequences to put them into practice, is that they have not yet arrived at an understanding of what government really is or the purpose for which it was established. A course of lectures in Indian schools and colleges, based upon the material supplied by Professor Garner, should very soon deprive these purveyors of crude catchwords and tortured shibboleths of a market for their wares.

FREEDOM'S BATTLE. By Mahatma Gandhi. AT THE POINT OF THE SPINDLE. By Srimati Sarala Devi Chanduran. INDIA'S WIFE TO FREEDOM. By Lala Lajpat Rai. THE ETHICS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE. By M. S. Maurice. THE SOUL OF INDIA. By Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. HOW INDIA CAN BE FREE. By C. F. Andrews. (Madras : Ganesh and Co.)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE, I.C.S., ret'd.)

The mechanical collection of a number of newspaper articles and speeches, even though classified according to their subject, is not the most satisfactory way of presenting a case. There is bound to be repetition and sometimes even inconsistency; there is bound to be an emphasis on mere incidents as opposed to fundamentals; and the reader making the best of his way through a sea of words has to keep his eye continually on the compass to be sure that his course is straight. At one time you honour Mr. Gandhi for his lofty ideals, and think you are listening to a reformer of the type of Christ, of Mohammed, or of Buddha; and then you discover that these ideals are only a means to an end, and that your reformer is, after all, at the best only a Mazzini or a Kossuth. "The Kingdom of God is within you," says Mr. Gandhi, but does not stop there. "When you have realized that Kingdom, you will be able to cast out the 'satanic' or 'devilish' Government which now oppresses you." Mr. Gandhi's strength lies not only in his own purity of life, but also in his willingness to practise what he preaches. He is not of the type which is content to make speeches and scuttle for shelter the moment that he scents danger. There is no doubt that he is content to go to prison and even to death for his beloved ideal, and he cuts away the ground from his opponents' feet by conceding much that they can argue. But his weakness is apparent in that he not only employs his ideal as a means to a special and material end, but often descends to the level of a vulgar if fantastic agitator. He makes the bold assumption that justice—abstract justice—is what *he* thinks to be justice. Having persuaded himself that the treatment in the Punjab and in the case of the Khalifat is contrary to justice, he proceeds to label the Government guilty of such wrong "satanic." He is sometimes fantastic,

as when he decries railways on the ground that God has given us limited locomotion, and it is impious to transcend that limit. God has made us naked animals; is it therefore wrong to wear clothes?

Mr. Lajpat Rai is more direct. While Mr. Gandhi oscillates between his general outlook on national ethics and the more specific aim of casting out Satan in the form of the British Government, between the wrongs of the suppressed classes and the wrongs of Turkey and the Punjab, Mr. Lajpat Rai keeps before him consistently the attainment of freedom, embodied in the word "swaraj." That is quite plainly his ideal. He sees non-co-operation, not as Mr. Gandhi sees it, as the only way to make a wicked Government reform its ways, but simply as an impossibility between a ruling and a self-respecting subject people. The burden of his complaint is that England has utterly forfeited the confidence of India: "The acceptance of the Majority Report," he says, "by the Government of India and the Secretary of State is a virtual denial of the principle on which the Reform Scheme is based." Neither is he carried away by extreme partisanship over "the wrongs of the Punjab." His soul is sore at the doings of the bureaucracy, but even more at the conduct of his own countrymen. It is they who are responsible for all the sufferings and shame. The text of his discourses might be "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." For the spirit of the political movement must be changed; the source of mischief lies in Indian chicken-heartedness, in timidity, in selfishness and egotism, in inconstancy and disloyalty to friends. This is not to say that the general tone is not anti-British, or at least hostile to the Government in power, but there is something more statesmanlike, something more logical than the utterances of Gandhi, who, protesting that he does not hate the British or the Government, since hatred is foreign to his creed, is continually reverting to the "hellish" or "satanic" or "devilish" deeds of that Government. The distinction between hating the Government itself and hating its whole aggregate of wicked deeds is too subtle for the ordinary hearer; he will naturally argue that by their fruit he knows them. Mr. Lajpat Rai has no illusions. He wants independence, and independence is a chimera so long as a foreign Government exists. The mistakes, even the crimes, of the Government are of lesser importance; the fact that it is there at all is the real stumbling-block.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has written a graceful and impassioned rhapsody on the glorious past and the glorious future. She admits the material benefit conferred by the English, but deplors the unconscious destruction of the old arts and crafts, the denationalizing effect of the educational system, the decadence of national life and culture under the blighting, though well meant, influence of Western civilization. She sees a vision of India "an equal comrade of mighty modern nations, and queen within her own inviolate lands. . . . The soul of India, self-redeemed and victorious, shall become again the mystic Temple of Humanity." As a rhapsody, it is well worth reading, for the authoress has a special gift of language; as a contribution to the practical question, it is of less value, and yet of the whole collection it is the one to which the reader most gladly reverts.

The pamphlet "At the Point of the Spindle" is frankly unintelligible. British trade has ruined the hand looms of India; British railways have impoverished the boatmen on the Ganges and the cartmen on the roads. Therefore "the Alpha and Omega of Swaraj" is simply the revival of cotton spinning, and the revival of this art is to be the atonement for past sin. The degradation of the weaver is apparently the symbol and exemplar of the moral decadence of a nation. Such a vision is utterly opposed to the ideal of Lajpat Rai, who wants an absolutely up-to-date nation, neither European nor American, but pure Indian and "absolutely up-to-date." Lancashire would, no doubt, be only too glad if India would forsake her cotton mills and take to the hand loom exclusively.

The other pamphlets are written by Englishmen, and are merely apologies for the faith that is in them. Mr. Andrews has long been known for his uncompromising attitude on the emigration question, and he has comparatively recently thrown in his lot with the professors of Gandhism. Mr. Maurice seeks to prove the ethics of passive resistance by reference to the life of Christ and the early Christian martyrs; he upholds the conscience of the individual in opposition to the will of authority and the commands of the community. It is the argument of the conscientious objector, but if we mistake not it is a supremely disintegrating argument, and one that is opposed by political scientists.

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH DEPENDENCIES. Vol. VII.: INDIA. Part II., History of the Government of the Crown. By P. E. Roberts, Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 7s. 6d. net.

This is an impartial and comprehensive summary of the political history of India during the last sixty years, but the title of Geography might have justified a larger selection of comparative maps than has actually been supplied. In addition to the general map, there are only four, dealing with the North-West Frontier, Burma, the Persian Gulf, and the approaches to Lhasa in Tibet. For instance, the demarcation of the provinces of Agra and Oudh in connection with the renaming of the old North-Western Provinces (p. 518) might have been shown, and the various provincial areas which were affected by the partition (p. 549) and the repartition (p. 577) of Bengal might have been explained by means of plans. Moreover, the boundary between Upper and Lower Burma on the map of Burma (p. 479) is lacking.

As it so often happens that one man reaps what another man sows, the author has, in fairness, revealed what is not generally known regarding Lord Lytton's administration (1876-1880); for in certain respects, such as his Afghan policy—"a calamitous and unrighteous blunder"—and the loss of life in the famine of 1876-78, the verdict of history has been a severe condemnation. It was he, however, who anticipated three great modern reforms: the introduction of the gold standard in 1895 in the time of Lord Elgin; the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 in the time of Lord Curzon; and the inauguration in the time of

Lord Chelmsford in 1921 of the Chamber of Princes which was evolved from the Conference of Ruling Chiefs.

Some interesting historical parallels are developed: the sequence of Lord Northbrook after Lord Mayo may be compared with the appointment of Lord Minto after Lord Curzon, while a comparison of Lord Dufferin's relations with Abdur Rahman and those of Lord Mayo with a previous Afghan ruler, Sher Ali, is not without interest. Considerable skill is shown in the character drawing of two great personalities on the Indian stage, Lord Lawrence and Lord Curzon; in this the writer shows sympathetic discrimination.

The last two chapters describe the events and policies from the time of the appointment of Lord Morley as Secretary of State in 1905 to the end of 1920, and form a clear synopsis of the reforms of 1909 and 1919, as well as of the political unrest which characterized this period. This should be particularly useful at the present time, when the newly created legislative bodies are making history, and when the "dyarchy" system, which is "open to almost every theoretical political objection that the armoury of political philosophy can supply," is on its trial.

EARLY TRAVELS IN INDIA: 1583-1619. Edited by William Foster, C.I.E.
(*Oxford University Press.*) 1921. 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Foster has placed both the scholar and the antiquarian as well as the general reader under an obligation for this excellent book. The seven European travellers whose journeys in the East towards the close of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth are described were all Englishmen, from Ralph Fitch to Edward Terry. Each extract is prefaced by an account of the travellers and a description of the sources, written with historical exactness and a due sense of proportion. There are also eight well-selected illustrations.

The editor justly tenders his meed of admiration to these sturdy, adventurous, and self-reliant men, who never contemplated that their narratives would be read by their fellow-countrymen three centuries after their death. "Sickness, robbery, threats of violence, were incidents that did not shake their cheerfulness, and there is little reflection in their narratives of the dangers and hardships which were constantly their lot." Four out of the seven never returned to their native country. Possibly the greatest original was Thomas Coryat. After a walking tour of two thousand miles on the continent of Europe, he determined in 1612 to visit India. His ambition was to ride an elephant, and his ambition was rewarded. There is a delightful picture of Coryat on an elephant, reproduced from the woodcut taken from the 1616 pamphlet in which his first four letters were printed.

"On the whole," says Mr. Foster, "our travellers, who were, of course, comparing Indian conditions with those of their own country, were not unfavourably impressed." The period was that of Shakespeare. The accounts of Indian life by travellers of English birth reproduced in this volume may be compared on the one hand with those contained in the

standard historical works on the period of Akbar and his successor, and, on the other hand, with the accounts given by other European travellers who visited India about the same time—the Dutchman, Linschoten (1583-1589), the Portuguese, Manrique (1612-1625), the Frenchman, Pyral de Laval (1601-1610), and the Italian, Della Valle (1623-1624).

There is little room for doubt that about the time of the death of Akbar in 1605 there was a display of wealth and extravagance amongst those immediately surrounding the arbitrary and tyrannical Moghul Court, and that there was a vast gulf between them and the common folk.

THE CHENCHUS AND THE MADRAS POLICE. (*Madras Publicity Bureau : Madras Government Press.*) 1921. 1 anna.

For some years it has been a not unreasonable complaint that the Government of India and its officers worked in the dark, and did not give the public an opportunity of focussing light on its actions, though with some inconsistency the same critics have, in some of the Provincial Legislative Councils, disallowed grants for a publicity bureau. Madras was one of the first of the provinces to institute such a bureau, and in that province it has passed unscathed the estimate stage in the reformed Legislative Council. The Madras Publicity Bureau has been in operation since July, 1919; its object is to explain the policy and the principles underlying the legislative and administrative acts of government, and is deliberately educational rather than propagandist. The officer in charge, assisted by a non-official board of eleven members, has 14,000 correspondents in seven languages, issues numerous leaflets, organizes lectures, and runs a library and reading-room in Madras.

The pamphlet about the Chenchus must serve a very useful purpose in bringing to the notice of the educated public the almost insuperable difficulties in dealing with the hereditary criminal tribes of India. On this subject it is feared the educated Indian is ignorant, and also to some extent apathetic. The first part of the pamphlet describes in circumstantial detail the praiseworthy but, unfortunately, futile efforts of a junior police officer, Mr. Saunders, to reclaim this tribe by kindness. The Chenchus live in the hilly country of the Kurnool district in the north of Madras Presidency, adjoining the Hyderabad State. Idle, drunken, and barbarous, they formed a very unpromising subject for an experiment in philanthropy. The second part describes how the criminal activities of the Chenchus were curbed by the arrest, without the use of firearms, of nearly fifty armed and desperate men by another police officer, Mr. Pitt. Mr. Saunderson's experiment had been an honourable failure, but it was clear that an absolute preliminary to reformation was to convince the Chenchus that crime does not pay.

It is not only desirable but, in connection with the Reform Scheme, essential, that the Indian public should learn that there are many problems facing them, for the solution of which there is no specific except time, courage, and experience. The publication, therefore, of human documents like this pamphlet must be enlightening.

BRITISH BEGINNINGS IN WESTERN INDIA, 1579-1657. By H. G. Rawlinson.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 10s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by the DEAN OF WINCHESTER.)

Mr. Rawlinson is already well known by his short life of Sivaji and by the first volume of what will prove a very valuable history of the Marathas. In the present volume he takes the English side of the history of Western India, and treats it with abundant knowledge of the original authorities and a most refreshing brightness of style. Books like this do much to remove the undeserved and absurd reproach that the history of India is dull. The account of the first Englishmen in India adds considerably to our knowledge. (I must remark, in passing, that Mr. Rawlinson does not seem to understand what is meant by "The Visit of Christ to Limbo and the Harrowing of Hell," or he would not say that it "is not found in the Scriptures.") I am inclined to think that the account of the Portuguese occupation of Goa is painted in colours too dark. Hostile critics, political or religious, used strong language, but no one who sees Goa to-day and comes across the "Goanese" (though of course the term is used with more width than accuracy nowadays) can think that the results of the Portuguese conquest and settlement were wholly bad. Goa, for example, is surely very much ahead of Benares in civilization. The account of Hawkins's mission to Surat (part of which Mr. Rawlinson has printed before) is excellently done. Indeed, the whole book is extremely "good reading," as well as good history. The social life of the English merchants is very happily described. It is only necessary to compare this book with the corresponding period in Sir William Hunter's history to see how much freshness can be imparted by a thorough knowledge of the materials. The book is short, but it is a complete history in itself, for the importance of Surat hardly survived the seventeenth century, although of course Grant Duff shows that it was still a centre, from time to time, of political and even of commercial activity. It saw the foundation of the British Empire in the East, but—

"Surat is now a shadow of its former glory. A busy native population still throngs the bazaars and the narrow streets with their carved wooden balconies. But the Tapti has silted up, and only small vessels can ascend the river; the maritime trade has passed to Bombay, and Sevally Road is deserted save for occasional country craft. The Gopi Talao, where the President used to take the air in solemn state, has long since been drained. The mouldering castle walls frown silently upon the placid stream which was once the scene of so many gallant contests, and the pretentious tombs in the desert graveyard are almost the only relics of the departed greatness of the place."

More than a word of praise should be given to the admirable illustrations.

W. H. H.

CHINA, JAPAN, AND KOREA. By J. O. P. Bland, (*Heinemann.*) 21s. net.
(Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E., F.R.G.S.)

In the present state of Europe, while modern civilization yet hangs in the balance, it may be asked, Who has any desire to read about or to study Asia and the Far East? Yet there are, no doubt, many people who still seek information upon the subject. For such, no more illuminating or informing book has been written for a long time than J. O. P. Bland's latest, "China, Japan, and Korea."

Since the overthrow of the Manchu monarchy a considerable crop of literature has appeared dealing directly with Far Eastern affairs. Of these volumes some have been written by American authors, others by Europeans, and a few by Chinese with an American or European training.

These latter, in certain cases, are carefully thought out, well-written books by men of high educational attainments. But unfortunately, as so frequently happens in like cases with our own Indian home-trained students, by reason of that very training their writings show how out of touch they have become with the wants and feelings of their own countrymen.

Of other books published on China during the same period, it may be said that in many cases they contain merely fleeting impressions. It would seem as if the authors have frequently been unable to resist the subtle attraction of putting on paper ideas and criticisms hastily collected during visits varying from a few weeks to a few months. They forget, perhaps, that they are venturing to sum up, sometimes to impeach, one of the oldest and highest of Asiatic civilizations, dating back 4,000 years.

Of Mr. Bland's qualifications for the work he has set himself to do there is no question. It is hardly necessary to say that few men living are better equipped for the task. In addition to first-hand experience of both China and Japan, he has spent years in the former country, and has frequently visited the latter. Mr. Bland has many personal friends among the leading statesmen of both countries. He is bound by ties of friendship of long standing to China, nor has he ever varied in his endeavour to speak the plain truth for the benefit of that much disorganized country. Mr. Bland has, in addition, a keen sense of justice, a somewhat caustic sense of humour, and, as a trained and successful journalist and author, has a power of observation and of concentration upon essential points not often equalled.

Of the views expressed by the author in the book itself, different opinions may be held, especially among those with sufficient first-hand experience of the Far East to speak with authority. But of the honesty of purpose with which Mr. Bland has endowed his book, of the force, vigour, and impartiality with which he has written it, there can hardly be two opinions, even among those whose views do not always coincide with the author's.

From a book already so concise, and which contains upon almost every page valuable information, it is only possible to direct the reader's attention to one or two of the all-important questions so thoughtfully discussed by Mr. Bland.

Of these, two far surpass in importance all the remainder.

The first, and to the future of China most vitally important, question is how the hopeless corruption which permeates every branch of the administration from top to bottom can be abolished.

The second, how to restore civil administration and to dispose of the hoards of inefficient, ill-trained, so-called soldiers, who, under their provincial commanders (*tuchun*), are bleeding the life-blood from the country.

Here is Mr. Bland upon the canker eating at the heart of governmental efficiency :

"Let us face the simple truth, which young China's record of the past eight years has repeatedly emphasized—namely, that one thing, and one thing only, prevents the establishment of a stable Central Government at Peking, and this is the insatiable greed of money which possesses every Chinese who attains to public office."

That there are just as many honest and high-minded men among those who could if they would take a part in the government of China as in any other country is, of course, unquestioned. But the fact remains that they do not do so.

On the second of the two questions vital to the interests of the nation, the author speaks with all the weight of his long experience :

"But disinterested opinion, including that of the most influential Chinese, is united at the outset in one conclusion—namely, that the first step which the Powers (represented by foreign ambassadors) must take is to insist upon the disbandment of the provincial *tuchun*'s so-called armies. *If China is to escape disruption, this step has become imperatively necessary.*"

There are, of course, endless ramifications of these two great issues inextricably mixed up with their solution. But if the intelligent reader once obtains a clear idea of the importance of the major questions to the future of China, he will have gone very far in laying down a solid foundation upon which to raise more lofty conceptions of the future destiny of that wonderful country.

To the human and lovable side of the Chinese character Mr. Bland pays ample tribute. Some of the most charming touches in the book serve to show how much he sympathizes with the individual.

Here is one :

"But there is something which impresses itself even more than this aloofness of the mind of the East upon the traveller who returns to China after an absence of years, and that is the charm (almost biblical in its old-world quality) which lies in the philosophic serenity, the sterling faithfulness, and the sober efficiency of the race. Dynasties may pass, the legions thunder by, but in the finely tempered soul of this people these things abide, and their savour is a fragrance of which the heirs of all the ages know nothing. Where in all our bustling, hustling market-places will you find anything to compare with the equal-minded fortitude, the kindliness, the almost dog-like fidelity of the Chinese—these simple virtues, fruits of the Sages' ancient tree of knowledge, which have made him the most lovable and, perhaps, the most admirable of human beings? Fully to

appreciate the character of humanity's primordial elder brother, one must have left the East awhile, gone back to the restless sources of our 'Western learning,' heard Bolshevism howling at the gates, and realized the cumulative effects of our creed of individualism upon the mind of the masses."

For those to whose character such a tribute can truthfully be inscribed there must surely be a great future.

Nor can 400,000,000 souls possessing such virtues ever become a negligible quality in the history of the world. That help from outside in finding political stability in China is essential is Mr. Bland's firm opinion.

From Japan, in the writer's opinion, such help might once have come, but, for reasons too lengthy to be discussed here, that time has passed.

It remains for England and America, in close co-operation with Japan, to proffer the necessary help to put China on her feet. But it must be an offer as from great nations to great nation. The time for political tutelage in China is past.

NEAR EAST

IN DENIKIN'S RUSSIA AND THE CAUCASUS, 1919-20. By C. E. Bechhofer.
With an Introduction by Professor Alfred E. Zimmern. (*Collins*.)

(Reviewed by W. E. D. ALLEN.)

Recently a number of trips, varying in duration from fourteen days to six weeks, have been made to Petrograd, and even as far as Moscow, by different well-known people with still better known opinions. A few weeks later they have invariably endowed us with a book about it. Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Arthur Ransome, Mr. Bertrand Russell have all given us interpretations of the Russian Revolution, or, rather, have given us their views on social questions in general, so to speak, warmed up and served in a samovar. Further, a fascinating society sculptress has actually made the trip, and has returned able to say "Korosh," and delighted to find that the rulers of Russia are just as easy to fascinate and just as pleased with flattered busts as their old-fashioned capitalistic prototypes in England.

Mr. Bechhofer, however, has actually given us a book about the Russian Revolution. He arrived in South Russia in the middle of December, 1919, and left Novo Rossiisk at the beginning of March, 1920, just before it fell into Bolshevik hands. His previous experience in Russia and his knowledge of the Russian language gave him peculiar facilities for making an intimate study of life in South Russia during the last months of the Civil War.

He has not written a book of any historical or political moment, but he has written the story of a great human tragedy, in a style which is both simple and masterful. It is a book full of adventure, humour, tragedy, and terror. Mr. Bechhofer has something of the humanity of Sir Philip Gibbs, with a little of the ghastly realism of Zola. Here, for instance, is a passage equal in vivid horror to the most lurid pages of "Le Débauché":

"At one big town in South Russia terrible scenes took place when the town was evacuated. As the last Russian hospital train was preparing to

leave one evening, in the dim light of the station lamps some strange figures were seen crawling along the platform. They were grey and shapeless like big wolves. They came nearer, and with horror it was recognized that they were eight Russian officers ill with typhus, dressed in their grey hospital dressing-gowns, who . . . had crawled along on all fours through the snow from the hospital to the station, hoping to be taken away on a train."

Mr. Bechhofer's criticisms of politics are not, in general, particularly fair or balanced, but his account of the effect of Mr. Lloyd George's premature speeches (in November, 1919) in favour of a rapprochement with the Bolsheviks is interesting:

"The effect of Mr. Lloyd George's speeches was electrical. In a couple of days the whole atmosphere of South Russia was changed. Whatever firmness of purpose there had been previously was now so undermined that the worst became possible. Mr. George's opinion that the Volunteer cause was doomed helped to make that doom almost certain."

Mr. Bechhofer also visited Trans-Caucasia. He has some amusing anecdotes to tell of the British regime at Batum, and of the "comic opera" Georgian invasion of the Batum province in the spring of 1920. His account of the artistic world in Tiflis is intriguing, but his strictures on Georgian foreign policy and Georgian politicians lack balance. His statement that "Georgian deceit and German duplicity saved Georgia from a Turkish occupation" is a generalization which entirely misrepresents the facts of the history of the summer of 1918 in the Caucasus. The assumption of the average Englishman that foreign politicians are under a moral obligation to pursue a pro-British policy, irrespective of the interests of their own country, is a curious manifestation of "thinking imperially."

Mr. Bechhofer has an interesting account of a visit to the Armenian fronts against the Turks and Tatars, and of a visit to Baku, just before the Bolshevik occupation. The Russian chapters are, however, by far the best in the book.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANTIOCH: By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. 319 pp. (Oxford: Blackwell.) 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Bouchier is already known to students of Near Eastern history by his learned monographs entitled "Syria as a Roman Province" and "Sardinia in Ancient Times." The present volume sets forth the history from 300 B.C. to A.D. 1268 of the city, which the author describes as "a meeting-point of many civilizations, the first centre of Gentile Christianity, and the capital of the Roman East for seven centuries." Although the subject is one for specialists, Mr. Bouchier has treated it in a very interesting manner, and made it attractive also for the general reader.

N.B.—A full list of books received will be published in the next issue.

POETRY

"IF ALL THE WORLD'S FAIR WOMEN"

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE BY D. A. WILSON, I.C.S. (RETD.)*

(Air: "*Annie Laurie*")

[THIS is the famous song of Soung-U about his pretty neighbour, referred to in the Chinese novel, "The Two Cousins," ii., 96, which had a great vogue in Europe a hundred years ago. Tcheng-Ki-Tong, on whose translation in French prose this rendering is based ("Les Plaisirs en Chine," p. 151), mentions that in China it has been much regretted that the poet gave no name. After a millennium or so, that omission seems of little consequence. I rejoice in it. If I could, I would persuade all poets to publish anonymously.]

I

If all the world's fair women
 Were standing in a row,
 They'd equal not in beauty
 A neighbour whom I know.
 By her be others measured :
 A hairbreadth more's too tall ;
 A hairbreadth less than she is
 Makes anyone too small.

II

Her skin has all the whiteness
 That's brought from heaven by snows ;
 Her cheeks are bright vermilion ;
 Her teeth are pearls in rows ;
 Her eyebrows are like feathers ;
 And if she deigned to smile,
 The hardest head in China
 Would have to reel awhile !

* Mr. Wilson has already given us a translation from Chinese love-songs on p. 695, ASIATIC REVIEW, October, 1920.

EXHIBITIONS

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART

AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB (ORGANIZED BY A JOINT COMMITTEE OF THIS CLUB AND OF THE EGYPTIAN EXPLORATION FUND)

THE spade of the archæologist has discovered so much that had remained buried in the land of the Nile since the last twenty-five years, when a similar exhibition was held, that the present one after so long an interval is most opportune. Whilst next to nothing was known of Egyptian Art prior to the beginning of the Pyramid age (1st Dynasty, 3400 B.C.), its history has since been elucidated as far as the beginning of the Dynastic period—*i.e.*, 3400-2980 B.C. What, however, still remains unsolved and mysterious is the fact that this old civilization appears at that remote period already in a high state of development. But what Mr. Percy E. Newberry suggests in his admirable Introduction to the Catalogue seems very plausible—namely, that we may not unreasonably look to Syria as having had some decided influence on the earliest Dynastic art of Egypt; for there are records of early sea-going vessels named Kbnyt from Byblos, which is known to have been the port of Lebanon, where these vessels were built and from whence they sailed.

Turning to the objects exhibited, dating from the 1st Dynasty (3400 B.C.) to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (332 B.C. to A.D. 400), our attention is first attracted by a portrait in limestone at the beginning of the 1st Dynasty, representing an early King Min. On the head the lower part of his crown can still be seen, whilst part of the beard is missing: A benevolent expression marks this presumably oldest effigy in existence. In this same case (B) is the bowl in red polished ware with decoration; it dates from the early pre-dynastic period, lent by Mr. Howard Carter. The two small couchant lions with the grinning mouths are from Abydos; the Carnarvon ivories and numerous vases and bowls, in use thousands of years ago, show a realistic, and at the same time idealistic, tendency; we note other utensils of a similar kind in case Q: a black vase of ovoid form from the late pre-dynastic period, a spouted bowl, and a vase in black and white clouded marble (described 1902 in the *Connoisseur*). Of special interest (in the same case: No. 35) is a fragment of a head identified on stylistic and documentary evidence with the great pyramid-builder, Kephren (1st Dynasty), which recalls even in its present shattered state the other famous statue of this same king at Cairo on a bigger scale. Near it and very realistically conceived is the crouching apeline statuette of a negro which would point to an earlier, more primitive race of negro men some thousand years ago. Another object which attracts and fascinates is

the upper part of a statuette under glass, on the chimney-piece, representing a princess, with a necklace of five bands in blue and red, her hair parted in the middle. She lived, according to evidence of style, during the old kingdom of the 4th Dynasty, and died young. A comparison between this bust and the subtle relief of Queen Tiye of a later period (18th Dynasty, 1580 B.C.), showing the change of dress, taste, and workmanship, is most noteworthy. To be noted is the relief of the famous Sesostris, above that of Queen Tiye, and some other nameless, but not less interesting, reliefs, remarkable for their subtle delicacy.

In this connection we also wish to mention an "Artist's Trial Piece," in high relief, representing the head of a goddess, lent by Lord Carmichael, and another in limestone representing the head of a king in fine style, lent by Mr. George Eumorfopoulos.

There is (in case O) a fragment in yellow jasper from a composite statue of the heretic Pharaoh (18th Dynasty), the King Akheneton which is considered to be one of the chief attractions of the exhibition. And near it is another fragment of a statuette of a princess, presumably his daughter, of most exquisite workmanship, and a delicate little hand and wrist in white crystalline limestone. It was Akheneton who was most intent to destroy the cult of the god Amon, who had his seat at Karnak. The admirable gold statuette of Thotmes III., idealized as god Amon, found at Karnak, and lent by Lord Carnarvon, was probably hidden away in those remote times from his persecutions.

There are various heads in this exhibition said to represent Amenemhet III., who excavated the lake Moeris; the one in case G is designated as being the finest piece of minor dimensions in all Egyptian art. It is carved in obsidian, and dates from the 12th Dynasty, known as a period of great intellectual power in Egypt.

One of the most interesting features of this exhibition, the high standard of which has been universally acknowledged, are two blue glazed faience chalices (in case G) of the 18th and 19th Dynasties; one of these is lent by the Rev. W. MacGregor, the other by the Earl of Carnarvon. Their ornamentation consists of rows of waterfowl with nests and eggs, whilst below we discern men in canoes fishing.

In case H we note various interesting Shawabti figures, also a lid of a canopic jar in the shape of a human head, with eyes, eyebrows, and wig lined black. This fine blue glazed faience is lent by Mr. Robert Mond. Before concluding—for space will not permit us to tarry much longer among these exhibits of highest quality—we must still draw attention to some of the glass and faience objects of toilet and to some exquisite jewellery that is not surpassed by objects of similar kind at the Louvre and at Turin. Much commented upon are the top pieces and panels of an ivory casket (case T) with hieroglyphics and delicate ornamentation in pale-green colouring. Mr. A. H. Gardiner assigns them, according to the inscriptions, to the Saïte period, 600 B.C., though they appear still influenced by archaism. In case U there are a series of hieroglyphic signs in a vitreous paste: among them a "Flying Falcon," said to have been for inlaying in a wooden shrine, and the only perfect examples of their kind at present

known. Exquisite in shape and workmanship are the toilet boxes, and especially No. 7 in wood, inlaid with blue paste, lent by the British School of Archæology in Egypt. The handle is formed by a girl among papyrus plants. It was found by Professor Petrie in the cemetery of Herakleopolis and belongs to the 18th Dynasty.

The jewellery in table-case E shows great beauty, and especially the specimens found in a tomb at Riquah which bear royal emblems. They are in fine cloisonné work. Most attractive in form and style are the various armlets and necklaces, the wig-rings and ear-rings, the subtle finger-rings, which the slender fingers of princesses in long bygone ages wore, even after their death. They all tell us of a civilization so long buried, but now being slowly unearthed, thanks to the skill and zeal of our able archæologists.

L. M. R.

DRAMATIC NOTES

WHEREAS a year or two ago the public taste lay in the direction of plays dealing with mesmerism and clairvoyance, it would appear that this has now undergone a change in favour of melodrama—the more sensational the better. And as “Kismet” set the fashion for “Chu Chin Chow,” so “Bull-Dog Drummond” heralds in “Out to Win” at the Shaftesbury Theatre. It is a story of the discovery of a mine where radium in great quantities lies hidden. A young Englishman holds the secret, and his group of financiers is tracked by a foreign gang who employ methods that recall Conan Doyle’s Professor Moriarty. However, the young Englishman opportunely finds a double in a broken-down Etonian, who is offered £5,000 to impersonate him in his flat while he himself takes ship to secure the concession. Thanks to this ruse, the adventures of “Treasure Island” are averted, and he goes out unmolested, whilst the Etonian is kidnapped and suffers unspeakable tortures at the hands of the foreigners, who wish him to reveal a secret which, as a matter of fact, he does not know. Even a “vamp” (in the person of a discarded sweetheart of the discoverer) is employed to make him speak. However, she detects the artifice, and helps him to flee. Meanwhile, the concession is brought back safely and, after many hairbreadth escapes, all ends well. Mr. George Tully plays the double rôle with great skill. Miss Hilda Bayley wrestles with an unpleasant part which fails to give her adequate opportunity for her talents. Mr. France, as the shady foreign financier, and Mr. Carew, his American henchman, are quite inimitable.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS: *H.H. the Maharao of Cutch at the East India Association—Central Asian Society—Anglo-Russian Literary Society—Lyceum Club—China Society—Royal Asiatic Society—Sociological Society.*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association are printed on pp. 425 *seqq.* of this issue. The Annual Meeting took place at the Carlton Hall on June 20, and was followed by a paper on "The City of Surat" by Mr. A. E. L. Emanuel (I.C.S. ret'd.). Lord Reay was in the Chair, and among the audience was H.H. the Maharao of Cutch, who also delivered a speech.

A meeting of the Central Asian Society was held recently, with Lord Carnock (President of the Society) in the Chair, when Mrs. Rosita Forbes lectured on the "Senussi as a Factor in North African Development." Mrs. Forbes, it will be recollected, recently made a journey to Kufra, the Senussi headquarters in the heart of the Libyan Desert.

Mrs. Forbes traced first the rise and spread of the Senussi movement, in its origin and endeavour by its founder, Sidi Mohammed ben Ali es Senussi, to return to the pure theocracy of Mahomet's days; referred to the increase of Senussi influence under its second chief, Senussi el Mahdi, and the conflicts in which the fraternity were subsequently involved with the French. On the death of Senussi el Mahdi in 1902 he was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Sayed Ahmed es Senussi, who was won over by Enver Pasha to help the Turks in their conflict with the Italians in Cyrenaica and Tripoli, and, later, induced by Turkish and German agents to invade Western Egypt; but at no period, said the lecturer, was Sayed Ahmed really anti-British.

"We talk of the lack of unity in Islam, and insist on considering every part of it as a separate problem, yet Kufra takes as much interest in the doings of Damascus as London does in those of Melbourne or Ottawa, and, unlike the British Empire, Islam has one common meeting-ground where for several uninterrupted weeks delegates from every continent and every people discuss in a secrecy beyond the possibility of being betrayed or overheard the affairs of its world." The lecturer was referring to the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, the one window that must ever remain blind in our house of knowledge.

There was a meeting at the Anglo-Russian Literary Society on June 7, when Mr. W. E. D. Allen read a paper on "Some Historical Aspects of Georgia." There was a good attendance, and the President, Mr. Cazalet, took the Chair. The lecturer, who has written a book on that country which will be published in the autumn, traced its history and showed that in the past Georgia had suffered from Byzantine intrigues. He also emphasized the benefits of the Russian connection. A Georgian gentleman spoke at some length and gave the lecturer unstinted praise for his industry. Brigadier-General Surtees, M.P., asked for information about the present conditions in Georgia, which was supplied by a visitor to the meeting, Mr. C. L. Leese, who had recently returned from Georgia, and who declared that the people there will have nothing to do with Bolshevism, but added that the situation there continued to be very uncertain.

The Japanese Section of the Lyceum Club's Oriental Circle was inaugurated on June 10, when Mrs. Shrimpton Giles presided over a dinner there. Among the leading guests were H.E. the Japanese Ambassador, Brigadier-General Woodroffe (who was in attendance on H.I.H. the Japanese Crown Prince during his visit here), and Lord Lamington. The Japanese Ambassador expressed his appreciation of the new step that had been taken by the Club that evening, and, in a humorous vein, added that Christopher Columbus in discovering America had, in fact, set out to find Japan. He emphasized the importance of Anglo-Japanese friendship. Lord Lamington, in proposing the toast of the President and hostesses, gave voice to the general feeling that the evening had been extremely enjoyable.

The Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees lectured before the China Society on May 20, the subject being "Scraps of Chinese Humour." That the subject was an attractive one could be seen by the large attendance which gathered on this occasion. It would be difficult to reproduce here the many examples that he gave us, during a wholly delightful hour, of Chinese jest and sardonic humour, but we gathered that China was entitled to a high place in the kingdom of wit.

The Asiatic Society of Paris held a meeting recently under the presidency of M. Senart. A paper was read by M. Contenau on "A Vessel of Tharsis," represented on a sarcophagus which was excavated by him at Sidon. The lecturer explained the light that was thrown by his discovery on the interesting but little understood subject of the Phœnician navy. So far most of the information available had been gathered from coins and from bas-reliefs. Warships used to be constructed in the days of Sennacherib on the upper waters of the Euphrates. Mr. Contenau concluded with a detailed description of the vessel.

The Royal Asiatic Society held a meeting on June 14. Dr. Robert P. Blake read a paper entitled "Sources of the History of Georgian Ecclesiastical Literature." Georgia is at present receiving a great deal of attention in the learned societies of London.

The Sociological Society, which recently welcomed back Dr. Patrick Geddes from his Indian tour, is paying increased attention to the affairs of the great peninsula. Thus his address on town-planning was followed on June 14 by the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's paper, which dealt with the non-co-operation movement in India. Mr. Sastri is a delegate to the Imperial Conference, and he took this opportunity to show that non-co-operation is no panacea for India's troubles. Mr. Edwyn Bevan was in the chair. Mr. Victor Branford, owing to illness, is prevented from attending at present to the Society's affairs. His many friends look forward to his rapid recovery.

Lord Lamington presided at a public meeting at the Connaught Rooms on June 23 to protest against the Greek atrocities in Asia Minor, and urge the restoration of peace between Great Britain and Turkey. Amongst the speakers were Lieut.-Col. Aubrey Herbert, M.P., and General Surtees, M.P.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

BY F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—THE NEW WAR THREAT IN THE NEAR EAST

ON the very anniversary of the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, amid the shouts of the populace "To Constantinople!" King Constantine left Athens to take command of the Greek troops in Asia Minor.

M. Venizelos terminated his private visit to London the day after the Greek King's departure was announced in the British Press, wearing his usual cheerful smile, despite the fact that, as the *Daily Express* of that morning (June 13) had pointed out—

"All yesterday's newspapers, with one exception, were agreed against the policy of giving assistance to the Greeks."

It must be confessed one would rather have found him sorrowful at this evidence of tendentious journalism, led up to by accounts of Greek massacres in Asia Minor, first reported by Mr. Arnold Toynbee in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 27.

As a Philhellene, Mr. Toynbee's allegations, made after one day's investigation, caused some sensation, although it must have been difficult to have taken due precautions to test every statement at so short a notice.

A Reuter's telegram (*Daily Telegraph*, May 31) modifies Mr. Toynbee's more sweeping accusations, and in the same journal for June 4 is a telegram attempting to refute the charges of persecution, and implying that the Kemalists themselves destroyed some of the villages.

My own experience belies a tendency to violence among Greeks. The very ugliness of bloodshed offends their innate sense of harmony and beauty. I was in Athens during the latter part of the military rising, when one man struck another so as to draw blood. General Zorbas threatened to resign should further violence ensue; and I have sat night after night in his room during political discussions, when there was but one advocate of bloodshed, and, alas! that one a woman. But then this was a purely Greek affair, and no foreign intervention was stimulating or instigating animosities.

II.—"LA VILLE"

M. René Puaux, writing from Athens in the January of 1919,* explained that the question of Constantinople was rather an object of faith than a matter of racial claims and interests:

"La reprise de 'La Ville' est le *credo* autour duquel se sont groupés, depuis 1453, toutes les énergies et tout l'idéal de l'hellénisme."

And further on he writes, in words that are already proving prophetic, that no matter—

"quel que soit le statut qu'une Europe méfiante, doutant déjà du caractère définitif des règlements pacificateurs qu'elle est en voie d'instituer, donnera à Constantinople, il est hors de doute, si la Grèce n'en a pas l'administration, que le peuple hellène n'abandonnera point

* "L'Egeide" (p. 47), by René Puaux. (Payot et Cie), Paris.

pour cela, son idéal séculaire, attendant dans vingt ans, dans cinquante, dans cent ans, la réalisation de son rêve."

This is not, M. Puaux maintains, in the least degree the pursuit of an imperialistic policy, or the patient working out of a tenacious diplomatic trend. It is rather a faith so deeply rooted that it has become an integral part of the people's soul.*

Politicians and diplomats have ignored or discounted this deep-seated tradition of the Greek race, but philosophers and poets have always insisted upon its existence. So, too, have those who have wished to make political capital out of it—e.g., insulting sincere Moslems by denying to them that sense of justice which they surely share with the rest of enlightened humanity. Turks, more readily than other peoples, accept the arbitrament of the sword, and only those ignorant of historical facts really believe that their *religious* prestige would suffer should the fortunes of war restore "La Ville" to those from whom it was wrested by those same fortunes nearly five centuries ago. I have frequently brought forward the Indian Moslem point of view, which is of such importance, and hope to do so again in a future issue. In the present Notes, I now quote the opinion of Dr. Drakoules, who worked so arduously for the Allied Cause during the war.

III.—THE GREEK LABOUR LEADER IN FRANCE

It may be useful to reproduce here a letter from a French journalist to the ASIATIC REVIEW, who wrote as follows :

"PARIS, January 21, 1921.

"Yesterday Mr. Drakoules, the well-known writer and founder of the Greek Labour Movement, had a cordial reception at the Quai d'Orsay. Mr. Drakoules is a thinker, does not concern himself with politics, and does not sympathize with one party more than another. M. Briand and Mr. Drakoules have been known to each other for many years.

"Visited at the Hotel du Louvre by a correspondent of *L'Éclair*, Mr. Drakoules, who leaves to-morrow for Athens, expressed himself thus :

"The fall of Venizelos was inevitable for internal reasons, just as the expulsion of Constantine was inevitable on external grounds. Now that these external reasons no longer exist, the Greek people, by an act of sovereign will, have invited him to reoccupy his throne. If the expulsion which caused so much grief to the Greek people has not diminished their affection for France, who imposed that expulsion, the return of the King cannot engender hostility between the two nations. Greeks love liberty and independence above all else, and they think that Constantine is a pledge of their liberty. The war demanded his exile. The war is now finished. It is not true that Constantine, as King of the Hellenes, was ever pro-German. This impression was spread abroad, but it was false. Some weeks before his expulsion I had a long conversation with him in order to induce him to abandon his attitude of neutrality, when I said : 'You will lose your throne if you do not abandon this attitude, and that very quickly.' He replied :

"'Do you think that I am concerned about my throne? It is of Greece alone that I am thinking. At this moment our neutrality is the best attitude for Greece and also for the Entente. That is my conviction, and the Greek people appear to be of the same mind. But because I think thus, it does not mean that I wish for anything but the victory of the Entente.'

* "Une croyance si profondément ancrée dans l'âme populaire qu'elle en fait integralment partie." (*"L'Egeide,"* p. 48.)

"Constantine will never work for the interest of Germany. On the contrary, it is possible to have in him a powerful servitor of the French genius at the same time as of the Hellenic soul.

"He is greatly beloved by the Greek masses, not as king, but on account of his incontestably democratic nature. I indeed believe that he will be strictly constitutional and strictly pro-Entente.

"The day will come," he added, "when the sway of kings and princes will live only in the history of the past, and when, as Victor Hugo has predicted, 'the worker and not the warrior will be honoured.'" While working that this day may arrive as speedily as possible, it is but common justice to recognize a king's goodwill.

"The main thing is to establish the loyalty of Constantine to the democratic ideal, and to rely upon the good sense of the Greek people. European civilization in the Near East will have nothing to gain and much to lose by a disillusioned Greece. If there be any hesitation between the choice of an entente with the Turks and an entente with the Greeks, I may say without being a Nationalist that the neglect of an entente with the Greeks would be a fatal error."

IV.—THE FATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Writing to the *ASIATIC REVIEW* on May 9 as to the future of Constantinople, Dr. Drakoules expressed himself as follows :

"The results of the struggle against Kemal may, or may not, show a full triumph of the Greek arms. The fate of Constantinople, in either case, will become the most conspicuous and most urgent problem. For the last few years I have pointed out in the English press and from the platform that there is only one solution of this problem, and that is, making Greece trustee under the guardianship of England. After the Asiatic campaign any weakening of Greece's position in Asia Minor will be out of harmony with the undoubted fact that Hellenism tends daily to become a humanizing factor of paramount importance in the affairs of the Near East.

"It will not be in the interests of European peace to allow diminution of Hellenic prestige in the Balkans. I contend, therefore, that Greece should be strengthened in Constantinople in some way or other, and that without delay. The faith of Greece in England's destiny, character, and love for Hellenism is as unshaken as ever. It is an old axiom among Greeks, since Shelley and Byron and Canning, that British and Hellenic ideals coincide.

"When in Paris, on the eve of Briand's return to power, I explained to French statesmen that no greater diplomatic mistake could be committed than that of choosing a Franco-Turkish instead of a Franco-Hellenic entente, and I advocated non-revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. If, however, French and Italian interests justify a somewhat modified view as to certain amendments of the Treaty, the solution of the Eastern problem and British interests in the Straits demand that an Anglo-Hellenic co-operation be firmly established in Constantinople. Then, and only then, the object of the Treaty would be guaranteed. Such a co-operation would be the beginning of permanent peace and of international reconstruction.

"It would be enough for the Hellenic factor if the Greek administration is local and limited, while the British would be general and supreme. The immediate good results of this régime would be many : (a) British interests in the Near East would be just as well served as if the Treaty of Sèvres were not modified. (b) No detriment whatever would ensue to any nation or country. (c) Harmonious relations among the European Governments would become easier. (d) A strong and rapid

tendency towards the solution of the Eastern problem would be created. (c) The Straits would be safe in the hands of England long before some Russian metamorphosis or German revival renders this unique guarantee of Balkan peace difficult or impossible. (f) Balkan unity would, for the first time in history, become feasible, and, as a consequence, a new European war would be rendered impossible.

"PLATON DRAKOULES.

"Athens."

V.—CRETE AND THE MAKING OF GREATER GREECE*

Had Mr. Chester's painstaking work appeared under some such title as the above it might have been greeted with acclamation, despite its confessedly partisan character. It certainly would not have proved so keen a disappointment to students of biography, eagerly anticipating the forthcoming illumination to be cast on the personality and career of one of the most prominent members of the Versailles Conference.

Out of three hundred and twenty-one pages, barely four at the beginning and one-third of a page at the end deal with biographical details. In extenuation of this lack of biographical material, part of the one-third page may be quoted :

"From the Salonika revolt in 1917 to the elections of November, 1920, there was no man in Europe between whose public and private life it was more difficult to draw a line than Venizelos. He found in work—in achievement—everything that he required of life. He was left a widower with two sons in the days when Crete was still a storm centre. . . ."

But there are all the years from the birth of Mr. Venizelos in 1864 to the eventful 1917 to be accounted for.

What sort of a child was he? Had he brothers or sisters? Did he dragoon and discipline his playmates, organize revolts at school, impose his will with masterly inconspicuousness upon the authorities? What are his recreations, his religious views, his aspirations? What influences formed his character and moulded his personality? We are told nothing of all these things.

The volume falls into two sections. Book I., "Crete Before and During the Rise of Venizelos," gives a valuable and vivid retrospect of Cretan history and the part played by Mr. Venizelos in its making. Incidentally some gleams of light are thrown upon his character as reflected in his actions. Book II., "Venizelos as the Maker of Modern Greece," is less felicitous in its inspiration and execution. It contains little that could not be gleaned from the European press. Picturesque and telling incidents are passed over, and personalities, not merely of Hellenic, but of Balkan, if not even of world-wide significance, are ignored.

Vanoc in the *Referee*, June 19, says of the British Academy this year : "The historical pictures are travesties of truth. One depicts twenty-four admirals who took part in the war, and omits Lord Fisher, 'Tug' Wilson, and Admiral Bacon of the Dover Patrol." What would he say to a description of the Military League without mention of General Zorbas, the Cincinnatus of modern Greece, who quietly effaced himself to make way for the new leader, and so saved civil war in Athens? There are many like omissions that can easily be rectified in future editions. The addition of a good index would greatly add to its value as a work of reference.

* "The Life of Venizelos," by S. B. Chester. Constable, London. 21s.

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1921

THE REBELLION IN INDIA

BY SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.

IF the telegrams are correct, the main causes and the horrible results of the Moplah rebellion are equally apparent. It is important to see the causes in correct perspective.

The year 1920 was a very severe test for the people and for the Government of India. The existing régime was moribund. Its successor had been chosen and proclaimed, but could not come into force until January, 1921. The public mind was unsettled, and was here and there distracted by the disastrous accompaniments and consequences of the sittings of the Hunter Committee, by the Dyer controversy, by the energies of the Khilafat Conference and its close ally, the association of non-co-operators. Racial tension was vigorously exploited by these two bodies, which were united under Mr. Gandhi's banner, and professing to preach non-co-operation qualified by abstention from violence, availed themselves freely of every conceivable source of discontent and of an economic situation of growing stringency. Strikes on an unprecedented scale, encouraged by political intrigue, became increasingly frequent.

To the Indian revolutionary party, moreover, circumstances in the world outside India seemed eminently propitious; and conditions in Egypt and Ireland were, in the words of the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, "hot and boiling." Indeed the course of events in the latter country goes far to explain the persistence and boldness of the Indian Sinn Fein party. Ever since in 1916 Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak

started their "Home Rule" League, Indian Extremists have looked increasingly to Irish affairs for inspiration.

The anxieties of the Government of India in 1920 were not confined to domestic affairs. Negotiations with Afghanistan were protracted and infructuous; Bolshevik intrigue was rampant and successful in Central Asia. From the North-West Frontier Province the Chief Commissioner reported that never since the beginning of British rule on the frontier had there been such a record of tribal lawlessness. The causes of this state of things were the recent Afghan War and the persistent intrigues of the Afghans with the tribes. Also there were general unrest, the pressure of growing populations on lands too poor to feed them, fanatical excitement arising from Turkey's participation in the war, and the reaction of political ferment in India. Thus it was that the behaviour of various tribes had necessitated punitive operations, while sullenness was evident in Peshawar and in some of the larger villages of the province. The situation called for active precautions; and the local government had appealed to the managers of the Muslim College at Peshawar to safeguard their charge from insidious political intrigue. It is evident from this summary of conditions that here, as elsewhere in India, a campaign of organized sedition was proceeding with unprecedented boldness and éclat.

The Government of India, reviewing all circumstances and prospects, aware that almost immediately the balance of power would shift to a far greater extent than was generally realized, decided on a policy which, whatever its defects might be, seemed most likely to rally to the active support of law and order the Moderate politicians on whose co-operation the fortunes of the reformed Constitution would so largely depend. That policy in effect was to take at face value the plea that the Khilafat-cum-non-co-operation movement, with its elaborate inculcation of race-hatred, enjoined abstention from violence; to tolerate it and to prosecute its votaries only when, by some mis-

chance, their efforts produced riot or bloodshed. The reproach of repression *must* be avoided. Action that smacked at all of repression was incompatible with the spirit of the times and with the dawn of a genuine parliamentary system. The stimulating influence of the reforms, the exertions of the constitutional party, might be relied on to hold the pass and meet the needs of the occasion; the duty of the Government was to watch, to offer good advice, to remedy any grievances which might furnish occasion to the preachers of non-violent revolt, and to interpose when the sticks began to fly.

It is hard to suppose that this course was adopted without serious misgivings. But circumstances, including all implied by the word "Amritsar," had placed the Government in a very difficult position. The results of their policy were soon apparent.

The Constitutional party did not fill sufficiently the rôle assigned to it. But, impelled to real and strenuous exertions, it held its own generally, and made a valuable contribution to the beginnings of healthy public life. The assaults of the non-co-operative party on schools and colleges, its boycott of the Council elections, attained very limited success. Mr. Gandhi lost much credit among sober members of the educated classes; but, fertile in expedients and supported by the Congress and the Khilafat Conference, he turned with redoubled energy to the superstitious and impressionable lower orders. Among these the chartered licence he enjoyed, his past achievements, his reputed sanctity, his asceticism, endowed him with semi-divine attributes. Reckless of consequences, persistently ignoring the character of his instruments, the poisonous lies which they disseminated, and the obvious consequences of their work, he set himself to capture the masses. In concert with the political bodies over which he reigned, he began to raise a large sum of money. The country was infested by the agents of his campaign. They exploited Muslim fanaticism and every kind of discontent. They announced the speedy

advent of a millennium, when, under the ægis of the new ruler, the foreigner would be expelled and prosperity would be universal. Their work bore speedy fruit in riots, strikes, bloodshed, and at last a wide revolt. So far as the masses are concerned, the policy of Lord Chelmsford's Government failed badly. As was pointed out later by a non-official member of the Imperial Legislative Assembly, it did not insist on the enforcement of the law of the land. Thereby it allowed the flood-gates of disorder to be opened over which in former days Governments maintained careful guard.

On December 31, 1920, the old order passed away. On January 10, 1921, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught landed at Madras with his suite. He was to inaugurate the new order; and his earnest appeals did, in fact, strike a keynote of kindness and reconciliation which has reverberated since in many hearts. They contributed largely to the general success of the first sessions of the new legislative bodies. But they did not even check the activities of Mr. Gandhi and his associates.

It is certain, however, that these men, by keeping their disciples away from the Councils, rendered these bodies a very valuable service. Moreover, by challenging the new régime with a widely proclaimed revolutionary movement, aimed at no far-distant goal, they confronted all thinking men with a crucial issue. For the new legislators there could be no blinking of facts. There were indeed individuals who attempted something of the kind, but two non-official members of the Legislative Assembly expounded the situation in forcible terms: "Whatever," said one, "the non-co-operators may say, they are determined to have a great revolution. They want *Swaraj* without British connection, which is quite a different thing from Home Rule. . . . Even if the British leave us of their own accord to-day, we shall have to call them back to-morrow. For without the British there will be chaos and anarchy in the country. Mussulmans will be fighting with Hindus, Sikhs

with Pathans, Afghans, Nepalese, and Japanese will all be on us, and our position will be the worst on the face of the earth. . . . I have seen so much trouble created by these non-co-operators in my own country that I am sick of them, and more sick of Government for giving them a free hand."

When these words were spoken in the Assembly on March 23, 1921, the Government of the Punjab had been compelled to take certain preventive measures; and what was termed by the Home member "a dangerous spirit of lawlessness" had rendered essential some increase of official vigour. Persons who were guilty of inciting to acts of lawlessness must, he said, at least be proceeded against under the ordinary law. But even this degree of energy was stigmatized by a legislator as a reversion to "a policy of force and terrorism." He was supported by two other gentlemen, and elicited a full exposition from the Home member.

Sir William Vincent was followed by the Muslim gentleman from whose speech I have quoted at length; and then came a great oration from another Indian member, some sentences of which ran as follows: "No Government worthy of the name could hear for a number of months speeches openly made to the effect that this Government is to be overthrown, this Government is to be turned out of India; money is to be collected; an army is to be raised; if there is any invasion from outside, this Government is not to be assisted. I am strongly in favour of patience and forbearance, but there must be some limit to that. I venture to point out that measures sufficient to cope with the situation should long ago have been undertaken. . . . It is impossible to assert that this movement of non-co-operation can be carried out without any violence. We know what has happened in Calcutta. The boys would not allow other students to go into the examination hall. They would not allow the examiners to enter the hall. Men like Mr. Sastri and Pandit Malaviya were assaulted. Such instances can be multiplied. Then what effect would

this propaganda have upon the uneducated people, upon the masses, upon the villagers? They simply construe that into weakness. They will be of opinion that Government have made up their mind to leave them to themselves, that they are entirely at the mercy of these persons. Open seditious meetings and lectures are given which no Government on the face of this earth can possibly tolerate. For a time it appeared as though all sections of the Penal Code which deal with such offences had been repealed. . . . So I think that Government have done the only right thing in initiating the new policy. . . . What have the actual [non-co-operation] speeches effected? How are the minds of the people being poisoned! No Government worth its salt can tolerate such a thing."

It is clear that such sentiments commended themselves to the general sense of the Assembly, for the resolution passed approved the Government's latest policy, and did not preclude recourse to proceedings under special legislation should such become necessary. The spirit of the Assembly was, on the whole, reflected in the debates of provincial legislative bodies. These generally desired their Governments to maintain order effectively.

The Councils dissolved at the end of March. But while their non-official members seem since mainly to have rested from their labours, the leaders of the Khilafat-cum-non-co-operation movement have worked indefatigably. The Government has largely tolerated their preaching. The results have been most disastrous; and apparently the Government's long-suffering is at last worn out.

Now, we shall not understand Indian affairs unless we realize that peace and order in the great sub-continent depend principally upon the prestige of the Central Administration, upon the honour or dishonour which attaches to the British name in India. *Whatever may take the place of that prestige in future there is nothing whatever that can take its place now.* If the district and police officers, who among multitudinous millions of all castes and creeds

carry on the daily administration of the country, are regarded as the representatives of an effete Power, which may be constantly and openly derided and slandered with impunity, their tasks will become impossible. The Moplah rising, which presents marked features of its own, but is undoubtedly the result of the Gandhi-cum-Khilafat agitation, shows conclusively what may take place. The present Legislative Councils are at present islands in a vast ocean of multitudinous peoples. They form a façade. To assume that a solid fabric of responsible parliamentary government exists behind this façade is to assume what is not the case. If such a fabric is to rise gradually, the new legislators must act whole-heartedly on the excellent advice recently delivered to some of their number at Bombay by Mr. A. F. Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly, who impressed upon his hearers that harmony between non-officials and officials on the Councils was *not* all that the situation required. The political education of the people of India would only be built up by the maintenance of close and constant touch between representatives and their constituencies, by intensive non-official propaganda of a salutary kind, by hard, unselfish labour on the part of the former. And here we approach the root of the matter. The real battle of the future will be won or lost among the masses of the general population. Mr. Gandhi and his accomplices see this clearly. They are losing no time and are working hard. They have collected some hundred thousand pounds for the financing of their campaign. What have the constitutionalists done? Are they working hard? Have they collected money? Are they in districts and cities, by press and platform, combating strenuously the efforts of the paid agitators who on July 12 last were denounced by a British member of the Bengal Legislative Council as "cold-blooded murderers and a menace to society"? If they are, Mr. Whyte's advice is superfluous. If they are not, we shall gain nothing by imagining that they are. Let us hope at any rate that

they are making substantial beginnings. The need is urgent. But if they are doing little, we must recognize that when once Mr. Gandhi and his principal coadjutors began their intensive campaign among the masses, and the Government of India still accepted the hypocritical plea that non-violence was inculcated, the burden that fell on the Moderates was one that only a great leader of men could have sustained.

The Moplah rebellion is the last of three recent warnings. The first was the Arrah riots, which occurred in October, 1917, and have been described by me elsewhere. They consisted of fierce organized attacks by Hindus on Mohammedans over a widespread area of Bihar and of days of mob ascendancy. They had been prepared with care and skill. The rioters were possessed with the idea that British rule was in the throes of dissolution.

The next warning was the riots of April, 1919, the incidents of which are well known. It was then widely believed, in the Punjab at any rate, that the war had left Great Britain weak and exhausted.

The third warning is the Moplah revolt. It has shown us the results of the deliberate and open inculcation of the combined theories that Britain is responsible for the woes of Turkey, and that British power in India is detestable and is on its deathbed.

In spite of variations of scene, method, and occasion, all these risings, as well as a number of minor incidents, have owed much inspiration to a belief that British rule in India is moribund. That belief has been a strong plank in the agitator's platform. It is true that British rule in India in the old sense is gone. But if the new British-cum-Indian rule does not contain sufficient of the old quality to add the assurance that is needed to the arguments of the Moderates and to arrest the further progress of the preachers of sedition and revolt, the Reforms are certainly doomed.

Let us hope for better things.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA.—I

By J. A. SANDBROOK

(Editor of *The Englishman*, Calcutta.)

NEWSPAPERS have to-day become so great and essential a part of everyday life that it is difficult to believe that they are subject, more, perhaps, than other institutions, to violent fluctuations of fortune. Yet the greatest of our present-day journals have passed through many vicissitudes. In our own time newspapers that were prosperous and powerful yesterday have lost their prestige or vanished altogether, although it might have been supposed from their history and appearance that they were sufficiently well established to outlive the competition of younger rivals. Countless journals have been established, only to live for a few years, or a few weeks even, and then, in spite of great merits that must have cost the proprietors many thousands of pounds, they have vanished completely. The failures have been so many and so costly that, even in England, the production of newspapers has come to be regarded as a doubtful, if not perilous, profession, and there are comparatively few newspapers in this country that can point to a hundred years of history behind them.

The conditions of newspaper production in India are so vastly different that longevity is even more difficult of attainment to the average newspaper, and the fact that one of the leading journals of India—*The Englishman*, first called *John Bull in the East*—has at last achieved a century's existence has justly been celebrated as a remarkable event. It is remarkable in that no daily newspaper published in India has hitherto lived for so long a period. It is remarkable also because *The Englishman* to-day preserves the same independence of view and policy and

indulges in the same outspoken criticism as have characterized it during practically the whole of the hundred years that have just passed by.

India is so often regarded as a part of the unchanging East that it might be supposed that it is not difficult for a newspaper, or any other institution, to reach a venerable age there. As a matter of fact, there are few parts of the world in which changes of personnel are so violent and frequent, and there are comparatively few British mercantile firms that have been established in Calcutta for over a hundred years. In the early days of British rule it was especially difficult for newspapers which had any self-respect to gain a foothold in a country ruled by the most arbitrary officialism that could ever have been permitted to exist. But we must not be over-censorious with the officials of that day. In the early years of the nineteenth century they stood for a Government then only itself beginning to establish its influence and dominion in a strange country. They were nervous of criticism. And if in much later times it was possible to abuse the liberty of the Press, and to make a free and unfettered Press a real peril to the security of the State, how much more dangerous must have appeared to the early administrators of British India anything that tended to question their authority and undermine their prestige. It is the fashion of many people nowadays to sneer at prestige. A hundred years ago it was a very real and essential thing; and even to-day its importance in securing peaceful and orderly and efficient government cannot be over-estimated. However that may be, security a hundred years ago in India was not so common a possession of Governments or traders that newspapers which set out to criticize and censure could expect to enjoy special immunities and privileges. Journalism was, in fact, a great adventure, and, looking back over the century, one would not now have had it otherwise. Had there been no element of risk and adventure in founding and editing newspapers in India, those adventurous and

romantic spirits that laid the early foundations of the British newspaper Press in the country might never have been attracted, and instead of the vigorous, independent Press we know so well to-day, we might have had only a tame reflection of official opinions.

When *The Englishman* first saw the light as *John Bull in the East*, on July 2, 1821, the outstanding figure in Indian journalism was James Silk Buckingham, who had made the *Calcutta Journal* as popular a paper with his subscribers as it was unpopular with the officials of the Company, for whom he seems to have had very little respect. From the very first he came into conflict with the Company. He was a very remarkable man who had travelled and adventured in many parts of the world. He lost a fortune in Malta on account of plague, and he then went out to India to examine the possibilities of re-opening trade between Bombay and Egypt. In Bombay he was given command of a frigate owned by the Imam of Muscat, but he was refused permission to reside in India because he did not possess the licence of the Company—a little formality which must have been very exasperating to him. However, he obtained the licence and returned to take command of the frigate. This command apparently was supplementary to the original object of his visit to India. He went there to encourage the Pasha of Egypt to extend his intercourse with and his protection to the mercantile interests of England, for which purpose he (Buckingham) undertook to reopen the ancient canal between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. He had already, in fact, succeeded in obtaining a treaty of commerce, the three parties to which were: Mahomed Ali, as Viceroy of Egypt; Mr. Peter Lee, the British Consul, on behalf of the merchants of Egypt; and himself, on behalf of the merchants of India. It will thus be seen that as far back as 1816, more than fifty years before the opening of the Suez Canal, this great project had formed itself in Buckingham's mind; and his conception of the advantages

to be derived from the canal, as well as his own efforts to promote trade and goodwill in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India, stamp Buckingham as a true Empire-builder. But he was not destined to proceed far with these ambitious schemes for the extension of British trade and influence. In the course of his career as commander of the Imam of Muscat's frigate, he went round to Calcutta in June, 1818. There he received orders to proceed to Madagascar to convoy the vessels conveying slaves to Muscat. His action was characteristic. "Such was my hostility on principle to slavery in every shape," he wrote, "that though my command was then yielding me an income of £4,000 a year, and though my predecessor had made a fortune of £30,000 in three voyages, I resigned the command without a moment's hesitation, rather than even indirectly give my countenance to a traffic which I abhorred."

Such a character appealed to the merchants of Calcutta—as all independent and outspoken men have at all times in the history of that great city. When they heard the circumstances they approached Buckingham and asked him to undertake the editorship and management of a public journal. At the time there were five or six different journals in Calcutta, but each was conducted by an editor who was in the service of the Government, and wholly subject to Government control. The merchants felt keenly the want of some independent organ in which they could air their own views, and call in question the various decrees and regulations and orders which affected their own peculiar interests. Buckingham seemed the very man to undertake the new venture. A sum of Rs.30,000 was subscribed by thirty merchants, and on October 1, 1818, the *Calcutta Journal* was established. Its success must have been remarkable. Buckingham boasted that in three months he had repaid the whole of the Rs.30,000. "I believe," he added, "that the history of newspapers throughout the world presents no parallel instance of success at once so rapid, so solid, and so brilliant."

Buckingham's success, unfortunately for him, was not to the liking of the Government of the day, and some five years later, after many a little storm with the Government, Buckingham's licence to reside in India was withdrawn and his paper ceased to exist.

The Press at that time was subject to many irritating restraints. From the time of Lord Wellesley up to that of Lord Hastings the practice had been for the Chief Secretary to the Government to act as censor of the Press, and every editor of a newspaper was obliged to send his proof-sheets to the Secretary's office to be read there before they could be printed and published. If the editors refused to comply the remedy was swift and drastic. Their licence to reside in India was withdrawn, and they simply had to leave. In course of time, however, it was discovered that this threat was of no avail against an editor born in India, and there were one or two men in those days who would have led the somewhat sensitive officials a pretty dance had they interfered unduly with their liberties of expression. The anomaly was so patent that Lord Hastings withdrew the censorship and proclaimed the Press of India to be free. But it was a limited freedom after all. The members of Council, brought up in the prejudice of the old despotic system of control, had qualms against an absolutely free Press, so in August, 1818, certain regulations were issued which prohibited the publication of comments on various specified subjects. The validity of these regulations is open to question. Anyhow, they did not deter Buckingham, who, in course of time, became a thorn in the flesh of the Company's officials. Probably the rise and success of this new journal, which, in the pursuit of free expression, often went beyond the limits of fairness and discretion, led officials of the Company to think of the possibilities of a successful rival paper. In 1821 *John Bull in the East* was projected. Ostensibly it was "to counteract mischievous Radical writings and to be the depository of the best Tory traditions." The names of its founders were

not made public, but a search in the Government records of the day reveals the fact that its earliest sponsors were undoubtedly Government men. There was John Pascal Larkins, a senior merchant of very fine character, at one time officiating Grand Master in Masonry in India. There was Captain John Trotter, keeper of the import warehouses. The editor was nominally, if not actually, James Mackenzie, also a Company servant. Somewhere in the background, possibly as moving spirit in the enterprise—certainly as contributor—was that irrepressible publicist, the Rev. James Bryce, who had come to Calcutta as head of the Presbyterian Establishment in India, and who remained for some years the foremost, and perhaps the bitterest, controversialist of his time.

With Buckingham in one camp and Bryce in another, it was not to be expected that either the *Calcutta Journal* or *John Bull* could conform to the irritating formalities of rules of doubtful validity. In their criticisms neither the sacred persons of the Company's servants nor anything else that was sacred in Tory or Radical eyes was spared. The Company records of the period are full of complaints, frequently frivolous enough, of articles and criticisms that should not have been printed. We need not go at length into the quarrels of the rival editors and newspapers. But one or two are worth referring to, since they had a determining effect upon Buckingham's career. Buckingham was involved in at least one duel, because he had condemned the appointment of Dr. Jamieson, well known as a writer in *John Bull*, as Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors. Jamieson thought the offence so heinous that he appealed to Lord Hastings to deport Buckingham. Lord Hastings recommended Jamieson to take action at law. The alternative chosen was one of those farcical duels. To criticize Jamieson was one thing. To criticize Bryce was another. Bryce received an appointment—delightfully reminiscent of the war-time extravagances of England—as "clerk for the supply of stationery to the public depart-

ments of Government." The job was worth £700 or £800 a year. Buckingham poked quiet but devastating fun at it. The duties of such an office, he urged, were incompatible with a due discharge of the reverend gentleman's sacred functions. To Buckingham the criticism was a costly one. It was the last straw to a long-suffering officialism. His licence was withdrawn, and Buckingham was compelled to leave India. It was of no avail to him that this particular criticism was concurred in by the Board of Control and Bryce's appointment annulled. The Government was relentless. Once Buckingham was out of the country it did not want him back again. He was too strenuous a critic. A short while after his deportation the further appearance of his paper was forbidden because it had reprinted a pamphlet, published in England by the Hon. Leicester Stanhope, on the subject of a Free Press in British India. No subject was more offensive to the Government of the day. Not one, but all the papers, including *John Bull*, were forbidden even to refer to it, and the drastic penalty imposed upon Buckingham was a sufficient warning against transgression. Buckingham's loss was certainly severe. At the time it was suppressed the *Journal* yielded him an income of between £6,000 and £8,000 a year, and the market value of the property was estimated at £40,000 sterling. A few years later Buckingham sought redress in England. He claimed £50,000 damages, but the case failed because the Directors of the Company could not be brought to book in a court of law. The subject was debated in Parliament, and Buckingham found stout defenders in Lord Durham, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Denman, Mr. Hume, and Lord John Russell. Some of the phrases used to describe the action of the Company were: "The most cruel oppression and the grossest tyranny"; "unmerited and almost unparalleled cruelty"; "one of the most cruel, oppressive, and unjustifiable acts ever known to be committed by a British Governor in the history of the colonies, bad as they are." Finally the case went before a Select

Committee of the House of Commons, and by way of compensation Buckingham was awarded a pension by the Company.

The figures given above are interesting as showing the value of newspaper properties in India a hundred years ago. Generally speaking, the value was greater than the security of the times warranted, and in the main it must have consisted of goodwill, for plant and machinery and type in those days were not considerable. The hand presses and the fonts of hand-setting types were not to be compared with the expensive rotary presses and linotype machines that make up the equipment of the modern Anglo-Indian newspaper.

Naturally, Buckingham's loss was his rivals' gain, and although the copyright of the *Journal* was sold to the proprietor of the *Hurkaru*, there is reason to believe that, eventually, *John Bull* was the great gainer through the suppression of the *Journal*. The time had come when the Company was forced to prevent its servants indulging in newspaper enterprise. That the Company should constantly be criticized and condemned in the public Press by its own servants had become an intolerable scandal, and in 1823 new regulations were enacted requiring the printers and editors of newspapers to apply for licences. Particular pains were then taken by the Company to see that none of its servants was interested in newspapers, and the Secretary to Government was especially careful to deprive the irrepressible Bryce of any interest in the periodicals he had used with a good deal more venom and prejudice than discretion.

Under these new regulations we find *John Bull* passing under independent management. The figures are not available, but there is no doubt that the new proprietors paid a considerable sum for the property, and they were very anxious at any delay in the granting of the annually-applied-for licences. *John Bull* was in 1823 one of some fourteen daily and weekly journals—English, Persian, and

Vernacular—that were registered in Calcutta. Not one of its contemporaries survives ; but *John Bull*, which changed its name ten years later to *The Englishman*, began to grow in influence and prosperity, and in spite of the heavy blow struck at the freedom of the Press by the suppression of the *Journal* and the deportation of Buckingham, it began, even in those times, to establish that reputation for outspoken independence that has belonged to it ever since.

(To be continued.)

CHINA UNDER THE REPUBLIC

BY B. LENOX SIMPSON

(Adviser to the Chinese Government.)

THE chief point to remember at the present moment is that a thick line must be drawn through Chinese history after the year 1911, which is as momentous a date for the Chinese people as 1914 is in British history. I find there is an extraordinary amount of ignorance and misunderstanding in England concerning the gulf which separates republican China from the classical Empire known to so many generations of readers. There seems to be a belief that what has taken place is unreal, and that China beneath the surface is still the same country as existed for three thousand years prior to the revolution. No error could be more fatal. The modifications which have taken place already are of the most startling character, affecting men, women, and children alike, and definitely banishing the old days. For while a provincial kind of militarism seems the most noticeable feature to Europeans, who are as a general rule only casual observers, this is merely "window-dressing," serving to disguise what is really going on within the deep recesses of the country.

There is not only a new spirit abroad, but remarkable physical changes are becoming more and more noticeable. Englishmen who left China to go to the war, and have since returned, are overwhelmed with a surprise which seems to deepen rather than lessen day by day if they are reflective men. It is a well-proved fact that the Chinese have been so speeded up that they walk faster and act more quickly than they did ten years ago, and look different. This is noticeable, not only in the great cities, but even in the most distant provinces. As education turns out each year hundreds of thousands of young men and women who

have digested the lesson of their country's fateful change, this symptom becomes ever more marked. It is thus true to say that the Chinese have not only slammed the door on their past, but are well down the roadway to a new and far more magnificent mansion.

What is it they want? Primarily they require that due consideration be given to certain plans they have framed to reform their country; and that the attitude which has come down from early Treaty days of treating them not very seriously be completely abandoned. Let us take a concrete case so as to make our meaning clear. China requires vast sums to be expended in order to modernize her communications and to build at least twenty thousand miles of railways during the next twenty years. Putting the capital expenditure at the smallest possible figure, this means the expenditure of three or four hundred million pounds. How are such vast sums to be raised, and who is to raise them? The principal trading Powers have seemingly answered the question by forming a Consortium or a Banking Group which comprises five nationalities, and which is prepared to lend money to prosecute these schemes on certain terms. What are those terms? When one commences to see exactly the nature of the control which has been demanded, one at once discovers that it is something more than a mere supervision of expenditure and accounting of annual income that the trading nations are after. Irrespective of China's wishes, they lay down a definite plan regarding the whole Chinese railway system which they say must be adopted if the Chinese really desire to secure accommodation on a wholesale scale. They wish, in fact, to form a giant railway trust of Chinese railways, disregarding the fact that the five thousand miles of railways which are already in existence are operated as a Chinese Government system and produce very large surpluses. The Consortium argue that they can do much better, but surely this is a matter in which the inhabitants of the country should have the first say and not

the aliens. It is things of this nature which tend to keep alive suspicion and animosity in Asia, when a little more give and take would very rapidly bring about confidence and good feeling. It must also not be lost sight of that experience in the past has shown that it is not good for commerce and politics to be mixed, because, when they are, corruption and privilege always flourish. So far from foreign intervention in such matters proving economical, experience has shown that European control of any sort means an immense increase of the permanent overhead charges which become far more formidable than the petty losses made by a somewhat lax domestic control.

What is therefore wanted is an acceptance of reasonable Chinese arguments and an admission that the inhabitants of the country have far more at stake than people who at best are there temporarily, merely in order to assist development. The same argument holds true all through modern Chinese life. It is a fact which has been well established by experience that the more responsibilities you give people, the better their conduct tends to become. The cure for irresponsibility is, therefore, increased responsibility and not the setting up of costly schemes of control which, because they attempt to go against the laws of nature—*anglice* the natural tendencies of man—invariably fail in the long run.

Given a change of heart in such matters, the prospect which opens up before the Chinese people is practically limitless. They bring to the new régime under the republic their old capacity for work, their sobriety and their honesty, all of which are reinforced by immense supplies of food-stuffs and raw materials. It would seem, then, to be merely a question of common-sense and the adoption of the right principles for such an outburst of energy to be witnessed during the lifetime of the present generation, that China will really contribute in a most material way to wiping out the ill-effects of the world-war. It has been calculated that if the immense amount of labour which

is now expended in physical work of an unnecessary and unremunerative nature, such as hauling loads along roads, tracking vessels, and generally making man play the part of machinery, were dispensed with and mechanical aids introduced, China would have at least 30 or 40 million men available to put into new forms of energy. A famous engineer in China has calculated that the muscle-power which is still expended annually by the hard-working population of 450 millions in unnecessary tasks is equal to the energy of 200 million tons of coal a year.

China's present coal output is still well under 50 million tons a year ; therefore, until her output begins to approach the British output of 250 million tons, it can be taken for granted that the energy of her men is being uselessly expended on tasks which can be far more economically performed by fuel and machinery. It is also a fact that the biggest crop in the country to-day is the giant millet (*kaoliang*), which is estimated at something like 80 million tons a year, mainly used as cattle feed. If all the vast area now monopolized by this crop were put under wheat, the amount of flour for export would alone be sufficient to pay off immense war debts and feed countless millions of men. We must thus admit that although the men of China have changed and have new ideals, the basis of the life of the country has not been as much modified as it might have been had there been better guidance from friendly foreign Powers. It is true that China has now a hundred cotton mills and as many modern flour mills ; but these, like the modest 5,000-mile railway system, only represent a beginning. The real work has yet to be performed. When China really gets under way the present totals will have to be multiplied by ten, and even then will not disclose the immense natural force in the country.

In politics it is much the same story. We have only as yet got a sketch of what the country needs and nothing more. Parliamentary ideals have been not only accepted, but recognized as absolutely essential to give the country good govern-

ment; but inasmuch as the first Parliaments have led to conflict and grave disasters, owing to the unsolved problem of centralizing political control, it is believed very generally that China will have to devise something in the nature of extended provincial government which will be akin to the British Dominion Home Rule. That is to say, it will be necessary for the country to make up its mind as to what powers should be reserved for a central authority which will represent the nation, and what powers must be left to the provinces, which, it should be remembered, are in many cases very vast areas containing from 30 to 40 million people, and having their own peculiarities due to geographical and historical reasons.

The Separatist Government formed in Canton under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen is a case in point. Canton Province has always been very advanced in its ideas, and has always aspired to a moral leadership which Northern China has not taken to very kindly. But experience, which is the best schoolmaster in the world, is slowly teaching the people that they must tolerate their differences and not see in men who think differently bitter rivals and enemies.

It is now generally believed that if the Washington Conference gives China and Chinese ideas a proper hearing, the ground-work for a general compromise which will erect a stable Government will be laid, and we shall see for the first time in the history of Asia a workable plan for the government of a whole nation by popular will.

With the inherent law-abiding properties so characteristic in the Chinese people, with their energy and thrift, it is not too much to hope that once the ground plan has been securely laid, we shall see this great nation restored to its old proud position of leadership which it exercised in the dim past throughout Asia, and which has done so much to give neighbouring peoples their civilization and culture and ideals.

The growth of a great vernacular press of more than a

thousand newspapers is a remarkable symptom. The exhaustive reports they publish on foreign affairs are teaching men their international duties. The great progress made in native banking is another praiseworthy feature. China will soon have a unified currency which will greatly assist trade. Inter-provincial taxation is sure to be abolished within two or three years. By 1924, if not sooner, a Chinese boom is certain to come which will find all the world rushing in to claim a share in new sources of wealth. The Republic in China stands for progress and self-government ; it will materially assist the cause of happiness all the world over.

RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY NAOTARO MURAKAMI

(*Editor of the "Yorozu" of Tokyo.*)

"No blacker cloud pregnant with future storm has ever threatened the Pacific sky than that which darkens it at the present moment. And the slightest irritation may lead to an armed conflict between Japan and the United States of America." Nothing is more absurd, ridiculous, and mischievous than that sort of assertion based on a total misconception of the real situation. Let me try to unmask the monstrous creatures which threaten to disturb the calm seas of the Pacific.

We can count five of these ugly problems which are generally believed to have been threatening our historical good relations between Japan and America. The immigration question stands undoubtedly first. On various good grounds—political, social, as well as economical—the American people as a whole have an aversion to the Asiatic immigration upon their fertile soil, richly endowed by Providence. And for more than the last ten years not a session of the Californian Legislature has been closed without an introduction of one or more Bills of an anti-Japanese character. We fully realize their situation as well as ours. It is well known and a well-proved fact that the Japanese Government have faithfully and honourably been observing the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement, by which they are bound to issue passports only to non-labourers, settled agriculturists, former residents and parents, wives or children of former residents. This limitation and control on the part of the Japanese Government has effectively been exerted until this very day, and

is bearing a very good fruit, satisfactory to both Japan and America. We have every reason to believe that the wise and far-sighted American statesmen, who realize the difficulty on the part of the Japanese people to endure an unjust and obnoxious discrimination, will work out, with the full and frank co-operation of the Japanese Government, a formula which assures a fair and equal treatment to our able and intelligent nation.

The Chinese question comes next. At the present moment no one can deny that this is a bone of contention between Japan and America. But let me ask a few questions. Are the policies pursued by the two Governments towards China irreconcilable? Are the interests possessed by the two Governments and their peoples in China incompatible? Our interests in China are vital to our national existence, but are they equally vital to the existence of the American Republic? We have repeatedly assured to the world and firmly adhered to the principle of the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China and of the open door and equal opportunities in China. We have always lent a ready hand for the assistance of Chinese people and their Government in the development of her natural resources. It is a pity that the American Senate could not approve what Japan had secured at the Paris Conference, in which the powerful spokesmen of the American people—President Wilson and Mr. Lansing—had the most influential voice. Yet we cannot help admiring the disinterested attitude on the part of the American Senate towards China. As soon as our national consensus of opinion can be obtained, the Shantung problem at least—the chief one—will satisfactorily be settled by direct negotiations between China and Japan.

The Yap question comes next. What is Yap? It is a mere speck on the vast ocean of the Southern Pacific, with little natural resources. By the explicit provisions of the League Covenant, Yap is not allowed to be fortified nor to be used as a naval base. Indeed, three lines of

submarine cables are landed there; but the disposition of these cables will easily be settled between the parties concerned by negotiations, not by force of arms. It seems not to be fair to ask Japan to abandon all or the greater part of the fruits of her victory. Yet our claim to Yap is not so much based on its economic value as on our national honour. The Japanese Press are still circulating news and entertaining apprehensions regarding the fortifications by the American Government of Guam Island, not far from Yap, the Philippine, and the Hawaiian Islands. I earnestly hope that the news will prove to be false. Yap is not worth while to be an object of a sanguinary contest between two friends.

The Siberian question comes next. If ever there has been anybody who thinks that Japan has any intention to avail herself of the present chaotic condition of Russia to her interests, that man is totally ignorant of, and blind to, the national character of Japanese people. We had several good chances during the war if we had ever desired to exploit Russia in her unfortunate fate. I hope and believe that the Japanese Government will withdraw her troops from the Russian territories as soon as the circumstances of internal politics permit it. It will be in the not distant future. No one can seriously think that the question regarding the joint control of the Russian Far-Eastern railways will become a seed of controversy between Japan and America.

The Korean question comes last. You may well wonder why this can be called a question between Japan and the United States of America. The truth is that a number of American missionaries, who had settled there long before the annexation was effected, have, generally speaking, a sort of sympathy with the Korean nationalists, or at least with those Koreans who are demanding a more liberal administration on the part of the Japanese Government in Korea. This is why the Korean question is often compared with the Irish problem. Anyhow, this is indisputably

a domestic problem, in which the traditional policy of America would refrain to interfere.

Viewed in this light, I cannot but conclude that any one of these problems or the combination of them all is unlikely to become the so-called *casus belli* between the two friendly Powers whose historical good relations can be dated back to the first opening of the Japanese door to the world. It is very interesting to notice, and it is idle to deny, that these five problems are all reflections of the Japanese expansion on the Pacific and on the Asiatic continent, and the American people seem to be ordained to play the part of checking those expansions of the Japanese nation.

It is to be fervently and earnestly hoped that the present irritated relations between Japan and America will prove to be only transient clouds, soon to pass away, and make the sky brighter than it has ever been before.

PALESTINE : THE LAND OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

BY MARY MOND

I. *Out of Egypt to Jerusalem*

IT is at Kantara that the change begins slowly to dawn. Egypt, the land of flesh-pots, set like an emerald in the golden desert, seems left an infinite distance behind by the crossing of the narrow Suez Canal. At the squalid Customs House of Kantara the first sign of Judaism emerges in the slim figures of a few Palestinian Jews returning to Jerusalem. They stand grouped together, a patch of dark colour in their narrow black coats, their broad hats shading finely-cut features in pale faces, softened a little by the two silky brown curls that hang on either cheek. A pair of blue eyes raised, unseeing and absorbed, have the inscrutable depths of mysticism and faith. Faith—that is the keynote of the Jewish spirit, which finds expression in the breaking of stones on the roads of Galilee, and drives men to a leadership of an almost desperate cause. Yet their hope does not seem unfounded when the express from Kantara slips out of the El-Arish desert into the fertile coast-land. The land is cultivated sparsely enough. It is Arab cultivation, and the Arab is to be seen here and there ploughing with a donkey or ox or camel and his primitive wooden plough. His method scarcely turns the soil, but he seems to get good results from his crops, though, of course, he supplies only minimum needs. It is difficult as yet to come to a definite conclusion as to the relative values of this method and that deeper ploughing introduced from the West by the Jews. But the superiority of the Jewish cultivation is made clear when the first colony, Rehoboth, is passed. It is an independent growth

created by the immigrants' own efforts, and stands like an oasis in the desert. Here are whitewashed farmhouses, with red-tiled roofs, nestling in the midst of eucalyptus groves, vineyards, almond groves, orchards golden with oranges, high hedges of mimosa, low partitions of cactus—a true Garden of Eden—and they have learnt here to tie down the ever-advancing sand dunes. There are miles of land encroached upon and buried by the sand, which would be fertile if they could be reclaimed.

From the railway junction of Ramleh a good motor road runs right across the Philistine plains up into Judæa, and so into Jerusalem. Both the Plains of Sarona and Aialon are under Arab cultivation, and the ground belongs to big Arab landowners. In January the earth is fresh with young green crops, and the uncultivated hillocks riotous with scarlet anemones. Between the plains, on rising ground, is perched an Arab village, the mud huts huddled close together with the usual "climbing" effect.

A small inn kept by Jews marks the entrance to the gorge which runs up into the Judæan hills, Bab el Wad—the Gates of the Valley. The road becomes then a steep ascent between purple hills, the lower slopes silver with olive-trees, and here and there an Arab shepherd pastures a flock of black goats. A great country for brigands, these sheer wild hills and valleys, where at night the jackal slinks along the road, his eyes gleaming in the sharp-cut moonlight, and an occasional camel caravan, or single camel traveller, creeps forward, now silhouetted against the sky, now lost in the turn of some valley.

On the topmost ridges the Philistine plains can be seen, stretching like a vast swelling lake, and beyond them is the flashing rim of the sea. The sudden glimpse brings into one's mind the cry of Xenophon's soldiers : "*θάλασσα ! θάλασσα !*"

On this coast road to Jerusalem there are a couple of small Jewish colonies, living at close quarters with the Arab villages. One of the newest, Dilb, is a real pioneer

settlement. Its workers, for the most part from Russia and the Ukraine, are of all sorts and classes—students, doctors, peasants. They have built wooden huts, in which they live. The women, both here and working on the roads, seem in better health than the men, broad-shouldered, stout and strong. Some of the boys look pale and thin, some of the men wear glasses, and pinched features still bear obvious marks of scholarship. The huts are divided into sleeping cells, small, clean, furnished with bare necessities. A common dining-room and kitchen, worked by the women in regular shifts, completes the settlement. These new *laboureurs de terre* and stone-breakers form an interesting experiment. They come in from the fields at noonday, carrying picks, shovels, and spades, brown with the sun, shining with sweat, laughing and singing, and if you care to glance on the shelves or tables near their beds you will discover books of philosophy, metaphysics, classics. An intellectual peasantry! Ideal, if in the nature of things it can be expected to last.

The directors of Dilb are experimenting in a process of terracing the stony hills of Judæa. Vegetables are being planted; figs, peaches, strawberries are to be grown; the vine cultivated; and the hillside should be transformed into the pleasant fruitfulness of Italy. If the experiment succeeds, there are miles of waste hills ready to undergo the same process, provided the land can be procured, and there is money to procure it. It all sounds possible when it is remembered that the Judæan hills were originally thickly forested, and are arid now only because the Turks cut down timber without troubling to replant. The same story may be read farther north. Mount Carmel, once "the Vineyard of God," has become a desert, and a small body of Jewish immigrants is now busy in afforestation and the replanting of vines.

There must needs be a tremor of excitement in climbing the last piece of road which discovers Jerusalem embedded among the hills. The right of the road is walked by high

rocks ; on the left, a steep valley runs down to the river-bed to disclose more rounded hills stretching beyond.

A first glimpse of the city is not impressive. Outside the heart of the town, which is enclosed within the old walls, the cosmopolitan architecture is unattractive. Unwieldy Teutonic buildings that are Government offices, and hospitals built by the Italians and the French, are overlooked by the Mount of Olives, on which is situated a Russian church. The long streets are bordered with inconspicuous houses, the usual small shops and cafés. The roads are not good, and often foully muddy. To appreciate Jerusalem it is best to mount the hill behind it, and to look down from the road that runs up to Government House, standing almost on the site of the future Hebrew University. Seen thence, the lines of the city against a sunset sky, fading into a purple night hung with stars, have power to cast a magic spell. Ugliness and incongruity melt into the last glimpse of the Mosque of Omar and the curved line of Herod's ancient wall. From the point of view of the new Palestine—that is, of the Palestine growing under the Jewish immigrants—Jerusalem is the least alive of the cities. Here the Palestinian Jew is to be seen walking the streets on a Sabbath in his close fur cap and decorative flowing robes, or praying at the Wailing Wall. This costume adds not a little to the picturesqueness of the streets of Jerusalem, but it is a national dress that has adapted itself to the climate and conditions of Poland and Russia, and has been brought from the Jewish communities in those countries. It is therefore not well suited to the climate of Palestine, and is not worn by the young generation of Halutzim (immigrants-pioneers), who are doing the spadework for the Jewish national home. There arises, in these circumstances, among the smaller details put before the Zionist organization, the question of a general national costume.

As it is not in Jerusalem that the external signs of the growing Jewish community must be sought, so perhaps in

Jerusalem the division between Jews and Arabs is less sharply defined than elsewhere. To one who walks through the bazaar in David Street, the sellers in the booths seem, at first, to be without exception Arabs, but a second glance reveals a large percentage of Hebrews, squatting next the Arabs, and almost indistinguishable from them. These are Jews that have dribbled into Palestine, not men come in upon the crest of a spirited immigration. They are inhabitants of some generations standing, and, like the Jemenite Jews, have to a certain degree become assimilated. Is this to be the general fate of Jews emigrating to Palestine? It seems unlikely, for even in the older colonies the second and third generations are finely grown, intelligent, and spirited young people, almost a different race from the ghetto grandparents living in the same house.

If the active growth and fruits of Judaism are not to be found in Jerusalem, it is there at least that all the machinery for promoting the growth is centred. The Zionist Commission arranges for immigration and the reception of immigrants, directs the growth of the schools and hospitals, makes experiments in agriculture and afforestation, and controls public works of various kinds. Under their auspices is a School of Arts and Crafts in the city, where young Hebrews, who made to themselves no images, can be found busily employed in sculpture and painting, silver work and filigree, executed with considerable skill. And here, again, are the buildings of the Agricultural Research and Exposition Department, an institution of great value, which seeks to discover the fruits, vegetables, flowers, and trees most suitable to the climate, both those indigenous and those which can be imported and grown successfully. Meanwhile a museum, lucidly arranged for the use of students, has been formed to exhibit results. A young farmer is thus given an opportunity to realize the extensive possibilities of his work, to investigate, for example, fourteen varieties of figs, thirty-

five kinds of grapes, of which some are imported from Spain and Italy, honey from orange-blossom and wild thyme, peaches and apricots, both indigenous to the country, and, among other fruits, oranges, mandarins, pomegranates, lemons, and almonds.

In this sphere alone lies a great source of wealth if cultivation is extensively enough carried out and harbours with transport facilities offer an outlet. But the museum is not restricted to examples of fruits and cereals: it displays flowers and trees, and provides an almost complete exhibition of the native birds and fauna. Here the growing youth of Palestine may be taught to make their land flow once more with milk and honey.

The academic spirit of the museum is gathered up in the ideal of a great Hebrew University of Jerusalem, still, perhaps, a castle in the air; but the chosen site on the hill above the city is already procured and a rough outline of a research scheme already set on paper. The materialization of this project is a matter of time and money. It raises once more the ever recurrent problem in a country where everything is still to do—the problem of what must be done to-day and what may, with infinite regret, be postponed until to-morrow. The power of such an institution as the University to embody and keep alive the present ideals and spirit of new Palestine is unquestionable. It would be of immense value. Yet agricultural labourers are more in request than students. Perhaps an approach is, of necessity, being made to a partial deintellectualization of the Jew. At present the would-be students of such a University are breaking stones for road-making and are cultivating the land of the colonies.

2. The Colonies and Cities of the Coast

The supreme charm of Palestine is the immense variety of climate and scenery within an area smaller than Wales. From the crisp, cold air of the Judæan hills it is a couple of hours' motor run into the port of Jaffa, into warm sunshine

and golden sands, mimosa hedges, roses, and ripe orange groves. This strip of coast-land holds the most flourishing and prosperous of the Jewish colonies, savouring, perhaps, too much of the Garden City, and exhibiting a tendency towards the easy acceptance of "spoon-feeding." These colonies, nevertheless, have fine results to show, and fill the heart of the Utopian idealist with a desire to see them occupying every fertile square mile of Palestine.

There is an abundance and a well-being among these people that is not to be found among the leaner and hard-worked Halutzim, but even here the growing generation of young men and women is full of the restless activity that makes for progress, and a keenness for "the cause" that is the stable foundation of all Zionism. Life has developed for them into a rural routine centred particularly in the synagogue and the school, but it is more than that. The cleanness of every neat farmhouse, the planting of every fruit-grove and field, the very sandy freshness of the streets, has risen under their hands, and has developed into the especial pride and the especial care of the whole community. It is a crowd of healthy-looking children, happy men and women, and contented old people that greets you whole-heartedly in Richon le Zion—"First in Zion,"—the oldest of the Rothschild colonies. It is with a communal pride that they show you round, and, above all, bid you taste of the wine of their famous cellar. Richon specializes in vineyards and has the largest wine manufacture, with an export trade limited, of course, by the still undeveloped state of transport facilities. Rehoboth, which has already been mentioned, lies near to Richon, and presents the same satisfactory aspect, but in this case the colonists have not had the financial "rock" of Rothschild upon which to build, and have had to foster an independent development. In a way, it is even more pleasant than Richon, and after faring excellently well on a farmhouse lunch one can imagine no pleasanter spot to amuse oneself in for ever and a day.

The most convincing experience of the possibilities of the development of the Jewish race from a physical standpoint was furnished by the colony of Petach Tikvah. There we were greeted by a guard of honour—twenty young men on horseback. Their Arab ponies were all good, with one or two real beauties, and their horsemanship would have held place in competition with the best. Here, in three generations, from meagre formed grandparents, bent with the stoop of the ghetto, had developed tall, bronzed, straight-limbed, good-looking young men, frank in their laugh and their speech, quick of mind and athletic of body.

In glancing over all the colonies and all the newer Zionist institutions, one very important factor is particularly noticeable. It must be kept in mind that these are people gathered, and gathering in, from all the four corners of the world, with different languages and different national customs. Here the difference between race and nationality may be closely examined. A Russian Jew is as much Russian as an English Jew is English or an American Jew American. They have all absorbed the characteristics of the nations in which they have lived for generations. The Slavonic temperament of the Russian Jew, full of imagination and impractical idealism, lacks the characteristics of common sense and organizing power belonging to the English Jew; yet, despite this Babel of nationalities, there are current racial distinctions and feelings which are purely Jewish, which are common to all Jews of whatsoever country, and which act as a bond amongst them when they are brought together once more as a race with common sentiments and ideas, ready to suffer and work for each other and for the good of their cause.

The most important factor in binding people together, and in stabilizing so diversified a race as the Jewish race has become, is the factor of language. The wisest and most indisputable act of the Zionist organizations was the immediate establishment of Hebrew as the national language

of the new Jewish home, the ousting of the jargon of Yiddish, and the creation of an immense enthusiasm for the revival of the ancient language. Hebrew is now generally spoken among the Jews, although it has meant learning a new language for the older people, who are still apt to speak Yiddish amongst themselves: but with their children even these speak Hebrew, which is now the mother-tongue of every Jewish infant in Palestine. At a mass meeting in Palestine you hear the cry, "Ivrith!" (Hebrew) if the speaker attempts to address the crowd in any other language. To realize the magnitude of the achievement of which this fact is a symbol, it is only necessary to attend the same kind of meeting in the East End of London. There the audience can hardly understand, and certainly is not able to speak, Hebrew, and will cry for the speaker to address it in Yiddish.

The district round about Jaffa cannot be dismissed without mention of Mikweh, the agricultural college founded by French Zionists. Under ideal conditions—for it is a delightful spot where one can sit in the shade of a eucalyptus grove and quench one's thirst on huge oranges (the best in Palestine) brought still on their branches and glowing among their green leaves—young men and boys are trained for three years in all branches of agriculture. The boys can be seen in the fields learning to plough under the instructors. The form of plough is adapted from the Arab, for the efficiency of Arab cultivation is carefully studied, and its methods improved upon, it being realized that an indigenous people usually know intuitively what is best for their land. Other boys are to be seen working in the gardens and among the plantations of young trees, but half the college is at theoretical work in the school, while the other half works on the land. Cows stand in the stables, and rows of bee-hives produce the fragrant and delicious honey.

In the centre of this district is Jaffa, the most alive and the busiest town of Palestine. It possesses a good natural harbour, but Haifa, which is even more fortunate in this

respect, stands rival a little farther north. Port projects are making progress in both towns. Jaffa is, however, far more central, and the obvious port for Jerusalem. It holds now any traffic that comes to Palestine, and is the port of immigration. In the immigrants' quarter of this town the Halutzim can be inspected in the condition in which they reach the country, for the most part in rags and half-starving. Here they remain, eating out their hearts for work, until a job can be found them. They are classified by the doctor into three groups, according to the kind and amount of work which the condition of their health permits, and those who are able get temporary jobs in the town while they are waiting to be detailed to other work. The Government has set up immigration camps, and the Zionist Organization has gone into the matter whole-heartedly and efficiently. Moreover, the latter run it at lower cost, because they can obtain voluntary work from the Jewish quarter of the town. But in this matter, as in some others, the Government and the Zionist Organization are apt to overlap, and cause, by their overlapping, a waste of expenditure and time. Jaffa is itself a small town, but in the last ten years the remarkably rapid growth of the Jewish quarter, Tel-Aviv, has enabled it almost to double its size. The energy and enthusiasm which have brought into being in so short a time wide streets, well-built houses and gardens, growing, as it were, actually out of the sand, is hard to realize. A walk to the end of a well-paved street of Tel-Aviv reveals the transformation in progress. Here are houses still in course of building. The street turns abruptly into a road of sand, and from the dunes out of which the little city is springing rise the howls of lurking jackals.

The centre of Tel-Aviv and its great pride is the High School, founded in 1909. An excellent building, with high, airy classrooms and long verandah corridors opening on to a square yard, it is a combined Preparatory and High School. This means that the children of both sexes are

entirely educated between the ages of six and eighteen in the same building. The equivalent of boy scouts and girl guides is in full swing, and the physique and drilling of the children are good evidences of the system's success.

Haifa is a very different town, far more picturesque, and climbing from the sea on to the lower slopes of Mount Carmel. It is less modernized and less subject to Jewish influence. The Jewish houses are beginning to grow on the higher ground just above the main part of the city, but as yet they are few. One large building, the Technical School, has been begun by the Jews. It stands at present still unfinished for lack of funds, and is used in part for immigrants' quarters. But the school is excellently fitted, and should form in the future the central mechanical college of Palestine.

Before considering the shepherd country of Galilee, the last coast town within the boundaries of Palestine should be mentioned. Akka or Acre, built round a huge crusading fortress, is thrust out on a headland into the sea, glimmering against the blue of the sky and the Mediterranean. It is, perhaps, the most attractive town in Palestine, because it is entirely Arab and filthy and indescribably picturesque. The bazaar, bright with fruit and vegetables under its whitewashed arcade, the narrow, twisting little streets, the austerity of the castle standing like an acropolis, lend to the place a unique air of romanticism and beauty. It contains also a horrible example of what is possible even in our present state of civilization, the old Turkish prison which was in use in 1918. For all the world it might be a mediæval dungeon. The underground cells are just large enough to allow a man to stand in them, and in these the worst criminals were chained, while the ordinary prisoners were flung into a big stone cavern, without air or light, to lie there on raised wooden platforms. It is not good to dwell upon the conditions of filth in which the British found this place.

3. *The Shepherd Country of Galilee*

After the dramatic austerity of Judæa and the typical Eastern type of sandy coast-land, the valley of Esdraelon and Galilee, with its rolling green hills, breathes a soft pastoral note. One can well imagine them as the home of the mystic shepherd, Jesus of Nazareth. Here is a gentler country, which can well be a wealthy country. At present the valleys are overrun with malarial swamps, but once drained they offer grain-growing soil, and the widespreading valley of Esdraelon is the grain source for the whole of Palestine. It is here that are found the camps of the Halutzim working on the walls, men and girls living under canvas, and sitting by the wayside munching their breakfast of black bread and jam. There are, of course, cases of malaria, but on the whole good health prevails, and, above all, these people have the spirit with which to work. I shall never forget leaving a Halutzim camp in the last rays of a purple sunset, with fifty young men marching behind us down the slope of a field, singing with strong voices and great faith the words of the Hatikoah, their national anthem. It was deeply moving, because it was full of the meaning of truth. This was patriotism not only in words but in deed.

The road that crosses from the coast to Tiberias runs through Nazareth, climbs among the hills, and falls at last into a low valley, muddy and stony. The country has a deserted air, and is ill cultivated. At some distance apart there are a few small, hard-living colonies. Finally, the road descends very steeply into the old watering-place and small town of Tiberias. The lake lies enclosed in mountains, Palestine bordering the west and north-west, with Trans-Jordania looming opposite. The actual boundary between the British and French domains cuts right through the centre of the lake, which lies like a sheet of silver under the full-orbed rising moon, or with its waters ruffled and darkened by the passing winds and the great black clouds, presaging rain. At the southern end of the lake,

where the Jordan flows out in shallow waters, is the site of the dam which forms part of the great Jordan irrigation scheme. By this scheme the whole country of the Jordan will be rendered fertile, power stations for electricity will be established, and the level of the Dead Sea lowered, the water being forced into the deeper part of its basin, and the shallower edge exposed for the quest of minerals.

Near the site of the dam is a Jewish farm colony, Dajania, run entirely upon co-operative lines. The farmhouse serves as a home for the two or three families, and the profit of the produce is shared. An interesting and apparently successful experiment in cow-breeding is being conducted, the small, native Arab animal being cross-bred with a larger Syrian type. But on the whole the farmers are seeking only the opportunity to accumulate enough capital to purchase land; this done, they will set up in their own small holdings.

Another farm colony, built by the enterprise of a single man, and in a most prosperous condition, is to be found at Migdal, the native village of Mary Magdalene. Here, too, settled along the shore of the lake, is a big camp of Halutzim, whom we found one evening after their day's work crowded round a lecturer in their recreation-room, men and girls together, attending a history lesson, their faces thrown into deep-shadowed relief by the light of an oil-lamp. Some hours later, when we were preparing to go to bed in the farm colony, the light of a bonfire flickered across the sky, and the sound of songs and rifle-shots, with which they were celebrating the wedding of two of their number, came up through the night. These people hold the future of Palestine in their hands. Whatever mistakes are made by the organization at their head, these young men and women should be able to preserve their ideal clean and unimpaired, and to make true at last the ancient dream of their race. At present they are labouring under the disadvantage of being a minority in a country where the British administration dispenses an impartial, neutral

benevolence. The Mandate and British protection have given the Jews their opportunity. The fulfilling of that opportunity must come by their own effort. It is impossible for them to hope for a clear canvas, and though natural irritation springs up in the Hebrew heart upon finding their own sacred home occupied by a race of so-called Arabs (the majority of the present inhabitants of Palestine are not real Arabs, but a mixture of old indigenous tribes, poor in physique, and backward in culture), they must realize that there are two courses open to them: to let the two cultures exist in the same country entirely separated, or to superimpose their own culture upon the Arabs. The second course would certainly produce the best results, but the civilization of the Jews is so much higher than that of the Arabs, that the two cultures may be too far apart to be brought into touch at all; just as a British colony settled in Australia has for its effect upon the native Australians, not their transformation, but their gradual disappearance. The intellectual Jew, however, may some day find it useful to have workmen of another race, though he is now so busy in the regeneration of his own people that he insists upon their performing every kind of task. The leaders of the movement aspire to the austere, ancient virtues of their race, and are perhaps too much afraid of the modern acquired accomplishments. The development of a stable, healthy peasantry by means of work on the land is a sound foundation for the building of a Utopia. But in practice there are always problems demanding immediate solution. The largest number of people possible have to be employed in the smallest space; enough work has to be found to employ these zealous Halutzim, who have undergone the greatest hardships, and run the risk of death not once but many times to reach the land of their dreams. Life must be made possible for the enthusiastic Roumanian Jew, who is trying to start a tobacco factory; for the Canadian farmers, who wish to import whole families, with their own stock, their own

agricultural implements, and, above all, their own capital. From all parts of the world men flow in, eager to build and to help. These zealots must not be disappointed, and yet they must not be admitted into Palestine if there is no work to be found for them. The actual work to be done in the country would absorb numbers enough, but the organization of that work is not simple in view of the division between British, Jews, and Arabs. But, as a guarantee of the country's future, the Jews must be given a safe foothold. To fly from pogroms in the Ukraine merely to be murdered in Palestine is scarcely an acceptable option. And whatever may be the attitude of the British administration, it must turn to the Jews for that aid in the practical development of Palestine which the Arabs have already shown their inability to afford.

New life is stirring in this eastern corner of the Mediterranean. There, almost two thousand years ago, sprang up an influence which changed the thought of Western nations, which bore Europe into the new civilization of mediæval religion, which created a new conception of the relations between peoples, which thrust out the great artistic and intellectual branches of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The eyes of Europe are turning again Eastward. No man can yet tell what new light will be shed upon the world from this small country where the creative and constructive spirit, strengthened by unquenchable faith, has at last won through to its opportunity.

THE ARAB REVIVAL IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL

UNTIL the seventh century of our era Arabia was of little more political consequence in the ancient world than it is in the modern world to-day. The Arab tribes under the names of Sabeans, Nabatheans, etc., were little heard of outside their own territory; their hand was still against every man and every man's hand against them. The mission of the Muhammad made the Arabs into a nation, and sent them forth from their own confined limits to convert the world. Within the space of a century they had overrun all Western Asia as far as the Oxus and the Indus, and all Northern Africa to the shores of the Atlantic; had occupied Spain and Portugal, Sicily and Crete, and established their outposts on the coasts of Provence and Apulia.

The object of their conquests was the propagation of their faith, and in lands that were peopled with nations of Semitic or Hamitic origin and race their purpose was easily accomplished. The Syrians, the Egyptians, the Mauretanians sloughed off their garment of Christianity and adopted the name, the language, and the religion of the newcomers. The Moor in Tangier, the Coptic fellah of the Nile Valley, the Syrian stall-keeper in the bazaars of Damascus, all call themselves Arabs, and feel themselves to be Arabs, united by the bond of common language and a common faith, for religion still counts for more than nationality as a bond of union in the East. And all these nations, which once dwelt under the shelter of the Arabian Caliphate, have inherited through intermarriage a considerable strain of Arab blood, and have, moreover, dwelling among them, or on their borders, tribes of true Arabs, Bedouins who carry with them wheresoever they go the life and the manners of the ancestral desert.

The Arab intelligence profited by the culture and art of the Romans and Persians, who had succumbed to the menace of "The Koran or the Sword," and for a time the Courts of the Khalifs were the last refuge of science and philosophy in a barbarian world; but the government of theocracy had no better fortune under the successors of Muhammad than under the successors of Moses, and the outlying countries of the Caliphate soon acquired virtual independence under the rule of Sultans and Amirs, who still acknowledged the reigning Caliph as their spiritual suzerain. By the beginning of the twelfth century the temporal authority of the vicegerent of the Prophet hardly extended beyond the limits of Irak; and the Grand Soldan, who was enthroned at Cairo, appeared to represent Islam to the Christian world. It was at his Court that the Abbasides Khalif found a refuge and an asylum when, in the same century, the lands of Asia and of Islam were overrun by the Mogul deluge. When it had subsided the Turk entered into the heritage of the Arab. The Grand Soldan was overthrown by the Grand Turk. The seat of the Caliph at Baghdad was occupied by a Turkish Pasha. The Arabs had long before been driven from all their holds on the Continent of Europe, but the Moorish princes who ruled in North Africa still maintained the Arab style and tradition. But now they too had to make way for Turks under the various titles of Pashas, Beys, and Deys. The Moorish kingdom of Morocco remained the sole memento of the Arabian Caliphate; with this exception no State of any political or geographical consequence remained under Arab rule.

Even the Caliphate passed out of Arab hands; the Turkish chronicler Evliya Effendi perpetrates an anachronism when he records the following prediction, uttered by the Sultan Bajazet II. upon his dethronement and supersession by his ambitious son, Selim the Feroocious, in the camp at Chorlu:

"O, ye Selims, your days shall be short, but your

victories many : ye have taken from me the Khilafat at Chorlu, and there ye shall give it back !” But his son and successor Selim was the first Osmanli Sultan to claim the title of Caliph.* During this period its influence was backed by the very considerable military power of the Mamelukes, but Sultan Selim the Ferocious reunited the spiritual and temporal elements in the hereditary dynasty of the House of Othman. Since his time the Ottoman Sultans have added the style of Caliph of Islam to their other titles.

In some other quarters, however, the opinion was held that the Khilafat was in abeyance, that it would only be revived on the appearance of the Mahdi or of the Twelfth Imam, or of the Mula as S’a’a, according to the expectations of the Senussiyya sect, the promised Messiah who would convert the whole world to the true faith. But of late years a change has taken place in Musalman opinion in India, and great numbers of our Muhammadan fellow-subjects have made up their minds to accept the Osmanli Sultan as the Khalifa of the Prophet, whence has arisen the movement known as the Khilafat agitation.

For centuries past Islam had been a world in itself, self-centred and self-contained. The Musalman knew nothing and cared nothing about the infidel countries outside its pale. He studied history, but his history began with the Hegira and recorded only the reigns and the deeds of Caliphs and Sultans. He studied geography, but it was only the geography of the Muhammadan countries from Maghrab-al-aksa (Morocco) in the west, to Mawar-an-Nahr (Eastern Turkistan) in the east. The Sultan of Roum (Turkey), was the mightiest monarch in the world, and the seven infidel kings of the Farang paid tribute to him. Even at the time of the Crimean War the Indian Moslems generally believed that the British and French

* Evliya Effendi claims that this prediction was fulfilled in the case of Selim I. and his grandson Selim II. Each of them reigned eight years, and both of them died at Chorlu.

went to help the Sultan against his Russian enemy as in duty bound. Tippoo Sahib sent an embassy to Constantinople to invoke the aid of the Padishah against the English infidels. It reached its destination at a most unfortunate time, when the Padishah was soliciting the aid of the English to repel the aggression of the French Republic on his province of Egypt. The embassy was more successful in Paris, where splendid promises of support and succour for "Citizen Tippoo" were easily obtained. History once more repeats itself, and the Bolsheviks of Moscow are as eager and as active in making trouble for the British Empire in every quarter of the globe to-day as the Red Republicans of Paris were little more than a hundred years ago.

At the present day Afghanistan is the only really independent country under Musalman rule; for though Persia is making an attempt to maintain her integrity, it is very unlikely that she can for long carry on without the support of Great Britain or Russia. Every other Musalman nation is under either the direct or the indirect protectorate of some Christian Power, from Morocco in the west, under French superintendence, to Bokhara in the east, under Bolshevik rule.

Accordingly the new experiment in Irak is of particular interest at this juncture. It is difficult to forecast the result or to estimate the effect of the revival of Arab rule in the Hejjaz and in Mesopotamia. All recent political movements of the Arab race have taken the direction of a reversion to former conditions; as Palgrave put it, "attempt to put back the hands of the clock of time to where they stood at the death of the Prophet Muhammad!" Such was the great Wahabi movement of the eighteenth century, which for a time restored Arab rule in the holy places of Islam, and was only crushed by the tactical skill and improved armament which the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha had borrowed from the Farangi infidel. The Wahabis still maintain their strict principles in the safety and solitude of

the Arabian desert,* and we believe that an arrangement has been made by which they are to receive a subsidy from the British Government, by way, we suppose, of a bargain for their good behaviour, following the precedent of the Romans, who, in their days of declining empire, purchased the neutrality of the barbarians on their frontiers.

The movement of the Dervishes in the Eastern Soudan was provoked by the maladministration of their Egyptian rulers, and it took the same form as that of the Wahabis, the supersession of man-made law of the Divine Shari'at, and the restoration of the theocracy. After the death of the Mahdi his successor took the title of Khalifa, but the age of miracles had passed away, and the Arabs' faith and zeal were effectually countered by breechloaders and machine-guns. The origin of the Sanussiyya sect was the inherent opposition of the creed of Islam to the European ideas and Christian ideals which the conquest and final occupation of Algiers by the French introduced into Africa.

Much tact will be required in the formation of a military force for the protection of Mesopotamia, and an elastic organization like that of the old irregular regiments of the old East India Company's army will be found more suitable to the genius and temperament of the Arab than any system of European pattern. An English Consul once asked an Arab Shaikh in Mesopotamia why he and his fellows endured such a feeble and tyrannical rule as that of the Turk. The Arab replied, "If there were no Turkish Government we would take a Turk's cap and set it on a pole to be our ruler; for we could never agree among ourselves; no tribe would ever submit to the sway of another one, so our only choice is between alien rule and anarchy." A new ruler has now been established at Baghdad, the ancient and famous seat of the Arabian Caliphate, in the person of the Amir Faisal, son of Malik Husain, King of the Hejjaz; and thus Arab rule has been re-established there after the lapse of six centuries.

* See Note on next page.

The Arab nation has now a chance of repeating its past history by emulating its former achievements and renewing its ancient glories, and may once more look forward to taking the place in the world to which its numbers and its character entitle it, and to once more experiencing the fulfilment of the promise made to its ancestor, the Patriarch Abraham, "And I will make of thee a great nation."

NOTE ON THE WAHABIS

By H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.

THE following details with regard to the Wahabis may be of interest, in view of the reference to them in Lieut.-General Tyrrell's article. The founder of the sect (which may be described as the advanced wing of the Sunnis, the Puritans of Islam) was Abdul Wahab, the son of a petty chief of Nejd, the tract of country which stretches across the oases of Central Arabia from the eastern boundary of the Hedjaz to El Hasa on the Persian Gulf. After consolidating his influence over the greater part of Nejd, where he imposed himself as spiritual chief, with his father-in-law, Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, as temporal monarch, Abdul Wahab proceeded to form an Arab League and to attack the Turkish power. He died in 1787, but bequeathed his conquests to a worthy successor. In 1791 a successful campaign was undertaken against the Grand Sheikh of Mecca, and in 1797 the Pasha of Bagdad was heavily defeated. In 1801 Mecca was again invaded by a force of more than 100,000 men, and two years later the Holy City was captured. In 1804 Medina likewise fell into the hands of the Wahabis. All the inhabitants in either city who refused to accept their creed were massacred, and the tombs of the Muhammadan saints and even the Sacred Mosque itself were plundered. From 1803 to 1809 no great pilgrim caravan crossed the desert. The Wahabis overran Syria, waged war with the British in the Persian Gulf, and threatened Constantinople. Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, was roused to action; and in 1812 Thomas Keith, a Scotchman, under Ibrahim, the Pasha's son, took Medina by storm. Mecca was recaptured in 1813, and five years later the Wahabi kingdom had ceased to exist. During the military operations of 1914 the Emir of Nejd, who is a representative of the former dynasty, asserted his independence, and extended his rule over the adjoining Turkish province of El Hasa. The capital of Nejd, Riyadh, is a station on the trans-Arabian caravan route from El Hasa to Mecca, and contains a large mosque which is the rallying-point of the Wahabi Moslems.

For an account of the activities of the Indian branch of the sect, Sir William Hunter's book on "The Indian Musulmans" (Trübner, 1871) should be consulted, as also a "Review" by Sir Syed Ahmed of Aligarh, which is in the nature of a reply and was published at Benares in 1872.

In formal divinity the Wahabis are the Unitarians of Islam. They refuse divine attributes to Muhammad, forbid prayers in his name, and denounce supplications to departed saints. At the same time, they look for the coming of the Imam who will lead the true believers to victory over the infidels, and enjoin absolute obedience to their spiritual guide. For many years, from 1820 to 1870, they were established at Sittana, and later at Malka, on the north-west frontier of India, where they were joined after the Mutiny by fugitive rebels, both Hindu and Muhammadan; and numerous expeditions were needed before their power could be broken. A series of State trials took place at Ambala in 1864 and at Patna in 1870, which resulted in the conviction of a number of ring-leaders.

CAUCASIA IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

BY A. GUGUSHVILI, F.R.G.S.

THE question of the Transcaucasian Republics (Armenia, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia) gained a certain amount of importance in the eyes of the Allied Powers when the Germans first landed their troops at Poti in 1918. Since that time these States have been the object of consideration by the Paris Peace Conference, as well as by the Governments of the victorious Entente individually.

The independence to which the peoples of the Transcaucasian States aspired so long seemed to have a definite aspect, not only in the eyes of the native peoples themselves, but even in the minds of the Allied Powers. But the uncertainty and undecidedness of the Allied Governments in the moulding of their policy, and also the concurrence of various circumstances in the relationship of the Transcaucasian States—especially with the Nationalist Turks and Bolshevik Russians, who had their special interests in these States—prevented the latter, who had not a determined or clear-cut policy of the Allies to back them, from consolidating their power and co-ordinating their policy.

The Russian Bolsheviks and Nationalist Turks, seeing that latterly the Transcaucasian States seemed to have been left to their own resources, tried to regain their influence, which was to them absolutely necessary and of immediate importance, in order to combine and co-ordinate their actions for the better carrying out of their policy in the East. Owing to the inadvertent policy of the Entente and the growing necessity of the Russo-Turkish *rapprochement* these Transcaucasian States became, one by one, the victims of their northern and southern enemies, a development which was detrimental to the cause of peace as

well as to the interests of the Allies in the Near East. First Azerbaidjan, then Armenia, and then Georgia succumbed to the invasions of Moscow and Angora, and in spite of—under the prevailing circumstances—determined resistance by these peoples they did not receive any material or even moral assistance, as if their fate could not but compromise any real settlement of the Near East. It may be added that one of the Allied Powers did give assistance—and that whole-heartedly—but it came too late. This apathetic attitude prevails even to-day, when the consequences of the occupation of Transcaucasia by the Russian forces and the consequent establishment of closer union between Moscow and Angora enshrouds and complicates the possibility of arriving at any settlement in the Near East and the establishment of peace there. But the Transcaucasian peoples generally and their Governments have not lost faith and courage, and continue to work for the re-establishment of the independence of their States.

There is a saying that there is no evil without some good springing from it, and the occupation of Transcaucasia by the Bolshevik forces in conjunction with their allies, the Nationalist Turks, has borne its fruit: the four States of Caucasia (Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Georgia, and Northern Caucasia), who had been carrying on negotiations for the conclusion of a defensive alliance even previous to the fall of their States before the Russians, have at last surmounted the difficulties, and concluded an alliance in Paris on June 10, 1921, and established an understanding between themselves.

The agreement entered upon aims at the establishment of a close union among the peoples of Caucasia, based on the co-ordination of their external policy, and the acceptance of obligatory arbitration as the sole means of settling their territorial differences.

The principal feature of the agreement is the creation of a Customs Union (*Zollverein*) for all the Caucasian States, which will henceforth comprise one sole territory for the

transit of international commerce. The economic interests of Russia receive special attention, and the co-operation of foreign capital, in the working of the natural wealth of Caucasia, is also outlined.

The independence of the Caucasian Republics, their close political and economic union, and the establishment of good and friendly relations with the neighbouring Powers of Caucasia—Russia, Turkey, Persia—common diplomatic action with a view to a speedy and friendly delimitation of frontier between Turkey and Armenia, and, finally, freedom of transit for international commerce across the Isthmus of Caucasia: such are the main principles of this agreement, the importance of which in the affairs of the Near East one cannot fail to recognize.

By her geographical position Caucasia is the bridge-head between Europe and Asia, and a sort of "half-way house" on the great international route between East and West, connecting the Mediterranean and the Dardanelles by the shortest route with Central Asia, Persia, and India; the freedom of this route for the benefit of all nations can only be assured by the complete independence of the Caucasian Republics. The settlement of this question should, therefore, be of great concern to the Allied Powers and to all who have at heart the interests of peace in the East and of humanity and progress generally.

The present state of affairs in Russia is sure to come to an end in the not very distant future, and may quite possibly be followed by worse events, by which the Caucasian peoples have not the slightest desire to be affected. Whether Russia is to pass through a worse phase or not is a matter for speculation, but one thing is clear, and it is this: that the future of Russia is veiled in uncertainty and obscurity, and it will not be inexpedient or unwise to consider establishing a cordon between her and the vast continent of Asia, which, being easily susceptible to infection, would be apt to come under the influence of the deceitful, but very attractive, Bolshevik doctrines of

social and political liberty, thus involving not only the Western European Powers, who have no small interest there, but also the world in general.

The Transcaucasian States clearly understand to-day that the establishment of a close and friendly union between them is indispensable for the consolidation of their independence as well as for enabling Caucasia to serve as a link between East and West, and thus between the Christian and Mussulman worlds. This aspiration both for independence and close political and economic union is natural, the cordón which they will represent will also be natural, and its cementation will not require, on the part of the Western European Powers, more than moral and diplomatic support; therefore, the policy which refuses to support it would be inexpedient, as not to pay serious attention to the aspirations of the Transcaucasians and their Entente would be harmful to the peace of the Near East.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1920-21 :

The necessity which the public still feel for strict economy in their domestic budgets has again been an obstacle in the way of obtaining new Members, but the numbers show an increase of seventeen. It is hoped that Members of the Association will be able to persuade friends to join. The acquisitions of the year have been due largely to the leaflets which are sent out from this office.

The Association, as is well known, is a non-political body, but it is neither possible nor desirable to ignore politics altogether, especially when affairs of such momentous interest are taking place in India. Its attitude towards the Reform Scheme has been one of sympathy, tempered by studied moderation, and while recognizing Indian aspirations, it has always sought to avoid the extremes of either side. The Council notes that the opening session at Delhi has by common consent given good promise for the future, and that the moderation and good sense there shown are calculated to further the cause for which the Association is working.

The year has seen a change of Viceroys in India. The Council forwarded the congratulations of the Association to Lord Reading. A notable feature was the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa. It is surely with feelings of satisfaction that we can regard this unique appointment of one of our most respected Members. The Association is also under an obligation to Lord Pentland for so kindly arranging a party at his private

house to meet Lord and Lady Reading. Not only was his entertainment completely successful, but it proved a welcome diversion from the usual and more formal lectures.

The Council has to record with gratitude a gift of books from Lady Elliott, widow of Sir Charles Elliott, formerly Lieut.-Governor of Bengal. Mr. J. B. Pennington was elected an Hon. Member in July last in recognition of his long connection with, and his untiring services to, the Association.

The following Papers were read during the year :

May 17, 1920.—"Tamil Proverbs : A Key to the Language and to the Mind of the People," by Sydney Gordon Roberts, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.). Sir Harvey Adamson, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

June 22, 1920.—"The Work of the Calcutta University Commission," by P. J. Hartog, Esq., C.I.E., M.A. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

July 12, 1920.—"The Study of Indian Poverty," by W. H. Moreland, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

October 25, 1920.—"The Education of Indian Boys of the Better or Upper-Class Families," by Father T. Vander Schueren, S.J. (of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta). The Right Hon. Lord Carmichael, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.M.G., in the chair.

November 22, 1920.—"The Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India," by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, PH.D. (Professor at the University of Leiden ; late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India). Sir Mancherjee M. Bhowmaggree, K.C.I.E., in the chair (in the absence of the Right Hon. Lord Curzon).

January 24, 1921.—"Medicine in India," by Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson. Colonel Sir Ronald Ross, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., in the chair.

February 21, 1921.—"Crime and Police in India," by Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A. Sir Edward R.

Henry, Bart., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., C.S.I. (formerly Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, London), in the chair.

March 21, 1921.—"An Historical View of the Political Unity of India," by Balachandra Chintaman Vaidya, Esq., M.A. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 25, 1921.—"Early Hindu Polity in Kashmir," by E. A. Molony, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S. (ret'd.). Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

All these Papers were by experts in their own subjects. The Association was fortunate in hearing Mr. Hartog, now Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, who, as a Member of the Calcutta University Commission, spoke with first-hand and inside knowledge. It would be invidious to make selections, but perhaps one of the most interesting of the Papers read was that by Sir John Cumming. The subject was attractive, and the success of it was enhanced by the chairmanship of one so intimately conversant with police work in India and England as Sir Edward Henry.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Atwell Lake Alexander, Esq., K.-I-H.

Lieut.-Colonel Stephen Lushington Aplin, C.S.I.

The Right Hon. Lord St. Audries.

Thomas Martland Ainscough, Esq., O.B.E.

Khan Bahadur Abdul Alim.

The Hon. Raja Ravu Venkata Kumara Krishna
Rangarow Bahadur, Raja of Bobbili.

Frederick Robert Bagley, Esq., M.I.C.E.

Charles Augustas Bird, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).

Syed Mahdi Hossain Bilgrami, M.A.

His Eminence Cardinal Bourne.

Monindra Banerjee, Esq.

George Townsend Boag, Esq., I.C.S.

Nawab Akeel Jung Bahadur.

Marlborough Crosse, Esq. (Indian Education Service, ret'd.).

Sir Walter Erskine Crum, O.B.E.

Loftus Otway Clarke, Esq., I.C.S.

Rai Bahadur Rampurtap Chamria.

Rajaram Maharaj Shri Chhatrapati, Yuvaraj of Kolhapur.

Lieutenant P. S. Cannon (Army Education Service).

Dr. Aldo Castellani, C.M.G., M.D., M.R.C.P.

William W. Drew, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).

Dinanath Dutt, Esq. (Indian Finance Dept.).

Dadiba Merwanjee Dalal, Esq., C.I.E.

Lieut.-Colonel E. A. Ewart.

Dr. Lawrence George Fink, M.B., C.M. (Edin.).

William Henry Ginn, Esq.

Meherban Dattajirao Ghatage, Jahagirdar of Kagal Junior.

Sir Malcolm Nicholson Hogg.

Syed Serajal Hassan, M.A., LL.D.

Lieut.-Colonel Evelyn Berkeley Howell, C.S.I., C.I.E.
I.C.S.

Khan Bahadur Mohamed Khalibur Rahman Khan
Bal Krishna, Esq., M.A.

Ralph Wilfred Kite, Esq.

Khan Bahadur S. Khan Mohamed Kureshi.

Diwan Bahadur Peter N. Lakshmanan, M.R.C.P.,
M.R.C.S.

Dr. Shapurji H. Modi.

C. Vincent Morgan, Esq.

Syed Ross Masood, B.A.

Francis John Monohan, Esq., I.C.S.

M. Maqpool Mahmood, Esq., B.A., LL.B.

The Rev. Frank Oldrieve.

Khan Sahib Sorabjee Pallonjee Patel.

Francis Angelo Theodore Phillips, Esq., I.C.S.
(ret'd.).

Campbell Ward Rhodes, C.B.E.

F. J. P. Richter, Esq.
Walter Aubin Le Rossignol, Esq., I.C.S.
Rai Bahadur Boikunt Nath Sen, C.I.E.
Sri Varichala Narsimha Sooreanarayana Raju
Bahadur Garu, Zemindar of Kurupam.
Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan Sinha of
Nashipur.
Miss Ida S. Scudder, M.D.
Colonel William Frank Smith, I.A.
Raja Sripal Singh of Tikra.
Muhammad Sahir Ali Khan Sharvany, M.A., LL.B.
Dewan Mohan Singh, M.A.
Khan Bahadur Hazrat Shah.
Madivaleshwar Shivshankar Sirdar, Esq.
Rai Bahadur Kunj Behari Thapar, O.B.E.
The Raja of Talcher.
Parakunnel Joseph Thomas, Esq.
Balachandra Chintaman Vaidya, Esq.
Arthur Allen Waugh, Esq., I.C.S.

The following have resigned membership during the year :

Albert Bruce-Joy, Esq.
W. D. Braithwaite, Esq.
William Barclay Brown, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).
Sir James Begbie.
D. G. Cameron, Esq.
Sir William Henry Clark, K.C.S.I., C.M.G.
Jehangir Cursetji, Esq.
Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I.
Sir Frederick G. Dumayne.
G. K. Devadhar, Esq.
Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
S. M. Edwards, Esq., C.V.O., C.S.I.
Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I.
Kanhayalal Gauba, Esq.
Mrs. E. A. R. Haigh.
Herman A. Haines, Esq.

J. G. Jennings, Esq., C.I.E.
 Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan.
 Arthur Barton Kent, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, C.S.I.
 James Macdonald, Esq., M.I.M.E.
 Dr. Jijibhai Pestanji Nicholson.
 Sir Henry Erle Richards, K.C.S.I.
 A. Suryanarayana Row, Esq.
 Sir Walter Raleigh.
 Sydney D. Smith, Esq.
 H.H. the Maharao of Sirohi, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.
 Lieut.-Colonel John Shakespear, C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.
 E. H. Tabak, Esq.
 J. A. G. Wales, Esq.
 Mrs. Wynch.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members :

James Drummond Anderson, I.C.S. (retd.).
 Sir Ralph Sillery Benson.
 The Hon. Raja Ravu Venkata Kumara Krishna
 Rangarow Bahadur, Raja of Bobbili.
 Surgeon-General James Cleghorn, C.S.I.
 Stuart Hollick, Esq.
 H.H. Mir Sir Imambux Khan Talpur, G.C.I.E., Mir
 of Khairpur.
 Hebbalu Velpanur Nanjudayya, Esq., C.I.E.
 Lieut.-General A. Phelps.
 R. H. Perrott, Esq.
 Lieut.-Colonel Sir James Robert Dunlop-Smith,
 K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.
 Sir Gabriel Stokes, K.C.S.I.
 Edward Little Sale, Esq.

The Association has sustained a great loss in the death of Mr. J. D. Anderson, whose knowledge of India and Indian questions was profound and scholarly. Amongst other distinguished Members whom we have to deplore are

Sir James Dunlop-Smith, Sir Ralph Benson, and Sir Gabriel Stokes. The loss of Indian Members is a further matter for regret, and it is melancholy to have to note the deaths of the Raja of Bobbili, son of the Maharaja, and H.H. the Mir of Khairpur.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P.

Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E.

Sir Herbert Holmwood.

Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E.

J. B. Pennington, Esq.

Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E.

S. S. Thorburn, Esq.

Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P.

These gentlemen are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Council has again to acknowledge with gratitude the interest which Lord Reay takes in the affairs of the Association, notwithstanding the handicap of indifferent health.

The Accounts show a balance of £378 11s. 5d., as compared with £528 16s. 2d. last year. The decrease in balance may be ascribed mainly to the special grant which was made for an attempt to extend the scope of the Association, and partly also to subscriptions from India being overdue.

LAMINGTON,
Chairman.

BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1921

ASSETS.		LIABILITIES.	
Investments in India: Govern- ment Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400 ...	£4,248 0 0		
Library and Furniture ...	300 0 0		
War Loan ...	305 2 3		
Balance of Bank and Cash Account ...	379 4 3		
	£5,232 6 6		£5,232 6 6

Examined and found correct.

F. R. SCATCHELD, Member of Council.

G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CASH ACCOUNT FROM MAY 1, 1920, TO APRIL 30, 1921.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
To Balance at Bank	...	£528 16 2	By Rent	...	£125 0 0
" Cash in Hand	...	3 2 1	" Printing, ASIATIC REVIEW, etc.	...	371 19 1
" Postage in Hand	...	0 1 0	" Salary of Clerk	...	150 0 0
		£531 19 3	" Postages	...	68 3 4
" Subscriptions	...	£557 3 6	" Fire of Hall and Refreshments	...	19 10 10
" Interest on Investments	...	207 13 11	" Reporting Meetings	...	37 5 10
" Interest on War Loan	...	15 5 0	" Hon. Secretary's Railway Expenses, etc.	...	4 5 0
" Refund of Income Tax	...	91 0 11	" Hon. Secretary's Honorarium	...	187 10 0
" Sale of Journals and Pamphlets	...	5 9 2	" Housekeeper and Office Repairs	...	23 6 0
" Sale of Old Books	...	4 10 0	" Stationery	...	12 7 6
		£881 2 6	" Banker's Charges	...	3 8 5
			" Electric Light and Coal	...	9 18 8
			" Housekeeper and Postman's Christmas Box	...	0 15 0
			" Press Cuttings, Newspapers, and Books	...	10 0 4
			" Subscriptions paid in error	...	6 5 0
			" Fire Insurance	...	0 7 0
			" Advertisement	...	0 5 0
			" Telephone Charges	...	0 8 0
			" Remo Address Plates	...	1 9 6
			" Bookbinding	...	1 13 0
					£1,033 17 6
Total	...	£1,413 1 9	" Balance at Bank	...	...
			" Cash in Hand	...	378 11 5
			" Postage in Hand	...	0 4 10
					...
					0 8 0
			Total	...	£1,413 1 9

Examined with Vouchers and Passbook and found correct.

F. R. SCATCHERD, Member of Council,
G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

May 26, 1921.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE fifty-fourth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 20, 1921, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., when the Report and Accounts were presented.

The Right Hon. Lord Reay (President of the Association) occupied the chair, and the following members were present: Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. A. L. Emanuel, Mr. H. L. Leach, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. R. Sewell, Mrs. Jackson, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. K. P. Kotval, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

It was agreed that the Report of the Association, which had been presented, should be taken as read.

Mr. OWEN DUNN moved that the Report and Accounts be received and adopted, and placed on the Minutes. So far as he could see they were in a satisfactory position, although he regretted to see so many members had withdrawn their membership during the year. Their balance was slightly less than the previous year, but that was explained by the fact that there had been some special expenditure in order to try and improve the membership of the Association, and to generally further the interests of the members.

Mr. RICHTER seconded the proposal.

Mr. LEACH said he would like to make a few remarks, the most important of which was with regard to the item on the expenditure side of the Accounts of the salary paid to their clerk of £150. That seemed to him to be rather a low salary, and he hoped they would be able to see their way to be a little more generous in that respect.

The next point he wished to refer to was with reference to the statement that the decrease in their balance was mainly due to a special grant which had been made in an attempt to extend the scope of the Association. There appeared to be no details with regard to it, and he thought there ought to be some statement as to how the money had been spent during the year.

The SECRETARY said that the salary of the clerk had been raised during the past year. Although it was recognized the salary was not princely, they felt that was all that could be expended, especially as it was not altogether a full-time appointment. They would have been glad to pay more if they could afford it. He was afraid it was a little too early to reconsider the resolution which the Council passed only last year.

With regard to the second item referred to by Mr. Leach, a proposal had been made by Mr. Nicholson that attempts should be made to get more members, and various ways had been suggested. It was a very

difficult matter, as they had no particular material advantages to offer to new members. The matter had been before the Council and had been the subject of considerable discussion, and it was finally decided that a grant of £150 should be made to the Hon. Secretary for the purpose. Considerable time had been spent, and considerable trouble, but unfortunately the attempt was not very successful. The idea really was that if they could get a larger number of members, they would not only be in a more flourishing condition, but they would be able to pay the Secretary. The matter had now been dropped, but it was thought right to make the experiment.

Mr. LEACH said that he noticed they had a balance of something over £300 a year, and he thought they might squeeze another £50 a year for the clerk, and still have a good balance left.

The SECRETARY said that if it was desired the matter could be again brought before the Council. But they did not know what sort of calls were likely to be made upon them in the near future. They would shortly be called upon to make certain repairs and decorations to their premises under the terms of their lease as a matter of legal obligation.

It was agreed the matter be referred to the Council for further consideration, the Secretary remarking that they all appreciated Mr. King's work.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure the Council will take into consideration the remarks which have just been made.

Now I wish in the first place to ask you to give a vote of thanks to the Secretary, for the trouble he has taken in getting new members and in other ways rendering service to the Association during the year. (Hear, hear.) And I hope members will not cease to try to persuade their friends to join, although I think we may be pleased that in present conditions, when all societies are losing members, our membership should have increased. (Hear, hear.)

Now to turn to the Report, you will see that the Association, while recognizing Indian aspirations, has always sought to avoid extremes, holding more or less a position of benevolent neutrality. The Council notes that the opening Session at Delhi has by common consent given good promises for the future. That can be said of all the Provincial Legislative Assemblies; the way in which they have begun their new career under the Reform scheme has been very satisfactory, and that is due in great measure to the visit of the Duke of Connaught. (Hear, hear.) I am sure we are all agreed that his speeches have been very felicitous. The Duke knows India, and understands the aspirations of Indians, and was the best representative the Empire could have sent to India on such an important occasion in her history. (Hear, hear.)

Then the year has seen a change in the Viceroyalty of India, and another notable feature is the appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa; they were both very important events. We must all hope that the career of the new Viceroy will be successful, and you will be pleased to hear that I shall presently propose that Lord Chelmsford should become a member of the Council. (Hear, hear.)

Then I wish to bring to your notice a gift of books from Lady Elliott.

We all know how eminent a member of the Civil Service was Sir Charles Elliott. There is a good deal of well-justified demand for retrenchment in this country to-day, and I remember how Sir Charles went as head of a Commission all over India at the time to inquire how we could retrench. I admired his extraordinary quickness in finding out what was practical, and his equanimity. I had the great pleasure afterwards of being his colleague on the now defunct School Board for London, where he distinguished himself in a remarkable way looking after its finances.

Then there is a reference with regard to Mr. Hartog's excellent paper, Mr. Hartog now being the Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University. In that case I am sure you will all agree that no better man could have been sent to India to occupy such an important post than Dr. Hartog; his work on the Educational Commission had prepared him for it, and I hope you will allow me in your name to wish him every success in the important duties he is now carrying out. (Hear, hear.) There is a reference to an important paper on the "Preservation of Ancient Monuments in India" by Dr. Vogel, who was for a long time in the service of the Government of India, and who is now Professor at the University of Leyden. I wish that example would be followed by other Dutchmen, by going and serving for a time in India, and then bringing home, or to the Colonies, the fruits of their experience. His lecture was a very interesting one. I am glad to say we have rarely any difficulty in finding distinguished lecturers, and distinguished men to occupy the chair at our lectures, and I think during the year we have been extremely successful in that way. I see that among the new members there is Miss Scudder, M.D. The ladies who go out to India in the ranks of the medical profession confer benefits on India which I have always considered stand in the front rank of what the United Kingdom has done for India, and which were fully recognized in the reign of Queen Victoria. I am told that Miss Scudder is an American subject, and that makes it all the more satisfactory, because the more Americans we can attract to India the better, and I am sure you will allow me to state—although I am careful not to touch on politics—that for the future of the world nothing is more important than the friendly relations of the British Empire with America. (Hear, hear.)

I wish to refer to the regrettable death of Mr. J. D. Anderson. I am sure all who knew him will remember his great knowledge of Indian matters. I had the pleasure of meeting him at the Royal Asiatic Society, and I was always struck by his great modesty and his learning, and I hope you will allow me to say how I feel his loss. I suggest that a letter of condolence should be sent to his relatives. We have also lost the Mir of Khairpur. Sir James Dunlop Smith represented the best type of Indian officials, and discharged his duties with consummate tact and geniality. He belonged to a very distinguished family—his brother is the Principal of Aberdeen University—and I am sure you will allow me to express your sympathy and condolences to his family. (Hear, hear.)

I have to ask you to re-elect certain Members of Council, among whom we find the name of our indefatigable friend Dr. Pollen, whose genial presence we miss to-day, but he still takes a deep interest in the work of

the Association, and sends us his comments on every paper that we have the pleasure of hearing, and I am sure you will all agree in sending him a very cordial greeting. (Hear, hear.)

The resolution with regard to the adoption of the Report and Accounts was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The SECRETARY said that he would like to thank Lord Reay for his personal references to himself. With regard to what had been said about America, he was glad to say they had recently elected an American as a life member of the Association. He had also had a very cordial and friendly letter from the Historical Society of Rochester, and he believed the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW was endeavouring to help them to obtain further American members, and if they were successful it would be a very notable piece of work, because they were all working for the good of India, and the Indian situation was not as fully understood as it ought to be in the United States of America:

The CHAIRMAN said that all the members of Council who retired by rotation were fully prepared to accept re-election. Lord Lamington had written to say that owing to business in Scotland he was unable to be present at the meeting.

It was proposed and seconded and carried unanimously that the Vice-Presidents be re-elected.

It was proposed and seconded that the following members of Council be re-elected: Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E., J. B. Pennington, Esq., Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., S. S. Thorburn, Esq., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P. Carried unanimously.

It was also proposed and seconded that Lord Chelmsford be elected as Vice-President of the Association. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

It was proposed by the Chairman, and seconded, that the following three gentlemen should be elected members of the Association: (1) The Nawabzada Khwaja Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur, Member of Bengal Legislative Council; (2) Srinivasa Sastri, Esq.; (3) Mohammad Omar Abbasi, Esq. The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: Has any member anything to say before the meeting concludes?

Mr. COLDSTREAM said they all appreciated the vote of thanks to the Secretary, and he thought his services should be specially recognized, because in a time of stress and difficulty he had actually increased the membership of the Association to a considerable extent. Their finances were in a flourishing condition, and the lectures throughout the year had been a great success. He had great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to the Secretary which had been proposed by Lord Reay.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir THOMAS BENNETT said he had been asked to propose that Lord Reay be re-elected as President for the ensuing year. (Hear, hear.) They felt that it would be a great favour if Lord Reay would be so good

as to continue his valuable services to the Association. Since Lord Reay returned to this country he had been connected with countless good works, such as the Royal Asiatic Society—for which he had done most valuable work—and the British Academy, and they felt it an honour that the President of two such Societies should bring their Association within his orbit. It would be their good fortune if Lord Reay would be good enough to accept the Presidency for the coming year. (Hear, hear.)

Miss SCATCHERD, in seconding the resolution, said there could not be any difference of opinion about what Sir Thomas Bennett had said, and would like to read one sentence from a letter she had received from Dr. Pollen in that connection which would be read at the later meeting. He said :

“I am much disappointed that I cannot get to London for the Annual Meeting, for I should have liked to join in thanking my old friend Lord Reay for the splendid way in which his lordship continues to guide and help the old Association in its work for the good of the people of India generally. I also wanted to personally congratulate Mr. Pennington on his well-won and well-merited honorary membership. I have just sent him a line telling him no one knows better than I do how unselfishly he has served the Association, and what wonderful energy, patience, and good temper he has displayed in keeping us all up to the mark, and in persistently proclaiming ‘Truths about India’ for the good of her people, and in the interests of a better understanding.”

Sir THOMAS BENNETT said that after that additional tribute to the President, he would put the resolution—which the Chairman could not put himself—to the meeting.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN : I am very much obliged to the members for adopting the motion which has been proposed in such friendly terms by Sir Thomas Bennett. I have only one thing to say, and that is that Sir Thomas Bennett, whenever he thinks I ought to be superannuated, will not hesitate to inform me ; but meanwhile, as long as I have the strength, and feel that I can still serve the Association, it will always give me the greatest pleasure to meet old Indian friends here. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings then terminated.

THE CITY OF SURAT: OUR OLD GATEWAY TO INDIA

BY A. L. EMANUEL, M.A. (OXON.), I.C.S.

THE close British connection with India has now reached a more respectable age than one is apt to think. The first permanent British settlement in India, which was made at Surat, should have celebrated a tercentenary some few years ago, for the factory was inaugurated in 1612, in James I.'s reign. Even before that date Britons had landed in Surat as ambassadors to the Great Mogul, though not as settlers. Surat was then the greatest city of Western India, and was the port of Delhi, 700 miles away, Bombay being still a little archipelago of rocky jungle islands, save for a Portuguese fort on one of them. Our colony of Bombay was not founded till fifty years later.

Much in the same way that, in China to-day, European nations have their concessions at, say, Shanghai or Tientsin, and English, French, Americans, in close juxtaposition, rent, for commercial purposes, each a certain area of land over which they exercise most of the rights of a sovereign, so, in old Surat, English, Dutch, and Portuguese leased factories from the Mogul or his semi-independent Nawábs. But to-day the English alone survive. Of the Portuguese there remain the massive ruined walls of some factory buildings; of the Dutch, little but their mausolea, which the British authorities keep up, and the name of a Dutch quay, or "bunder," on the river. Of the French, the relics are a so-called French bunder, or quay, a so-called "French Bungalow," in Indian hands, on one of the exits from the city, and a "French Garden," well and pleasantly placed by the Tapti River, covering a good many acres, and till

recently well wooded with thorny acacias. This French garden is a sort of No Man's Land, for failure of the Government of the Republic to assert its rights, and when I was Collector of Surat between 1917 and 1919, I was given to understand that some of the Indian townspeople had become squatters, and obtained a handsome rent from third parties. A suggestion of my own that Government should take advantage of the alliance with France to buy for Government buildings this small piece of territory—once refused us for reasons of national pride—was found impossible to carry out. It was on this plot, some fifteen years ago, that the famous session of the Indian National Congress was held, in which the extremist Tilak threw a shoe at the presidential chair to signalize his breach with the less advanced of the Congress party.

The records which have come down to us respecting the British factory—that is, of course, a factory not in the sense of a mill, but only in the seventeenth-century signification of a merchants' college and warehouse—portray a life, led by the English merchants, which was a strange mixture of work and glory, pleasure and misery. They, or some of them, performed a vast degree of solid, careful labour at trading and book-keeping, but they were also careful to keep up all the pomp and state which impress an Oriental people, and further to preserve in India the habits of good living which were, perhaps, suitable to Merry England, but are deadly in India. The consequence is seen to this day in the extensive and populous old English cemetery, which is one of the sights of Surat. In those times a notable Englishman was not content with a modest tomb, but his survivors erected over him a shrine not unlike a Taj Mahal in miniature. The old Surat cemetery is consequently a forest of domes and pinnacles, and sight-seers love to visit there the imposing sepulchre of the great President of the Surat factory, Sir George Oxenden, or trace the inscription of him "who went unmarried to the heavenly nuptials in the year of Christ 1649," or of Mistress

Mary Price, who, "through the spotted veil of smallpox, rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God."

Next to the English cemetery is the Dutch, with structures vying with the British in height, though not in number; and next, again, is a large Armenian enclosure representing the almost extinct Armenian trading community of India. When I was in Surat I was approached by an Armenian gentleman of Calcutta to try to preserve all that remained of an Armenian chapel then open to the sky and apparently being robbed by amateur stone-breakers.

Mention of the Armenians leads one to another and kindred immigrant race in India—the Parsees. These folk, as is well known, do not bury, or have only just begun to do so, but lay their dead on the top of extensive round towers, which are usually prominent objects in the landscape, wherever they are built. The Parsees are an important and notable element in the life of Surat, and their sacred metropolitan village of Udwáda is within the Surat District. Many streets in Surat City are devoted to the Parsees, whose benefactions and communal buildings are conspicuous. If not in Surat, then in the neighbouring city of Broach, the scene may still be witnessed of Parsee women fetching water, barefooted, from the rivers or wells, instead of, as in Bombay, daintily treading the streets in Paris shoes and rainbow-coloured hoods. With their mentality directed eastward and westward at once, the Parsees proved useful intermediaries to the English traders, and helped with the English to build up the empire in Gujerat and Western India, as designers of sailing ships, commercial agents, and assistants in nearly every walk of life.

Gazing at the broad, yet not too broad or unfriendly, Tapti River at Surat, where the sea is not far away, but the water is half salt, and the ebb and flow of the tide is daily discernible, one can realize what a tempting gateway this estuary was to the English newcomer. At Surat, while he had hardly left his second home, the open sea, only fifteen

miles away, and could feel that he was directly facing the ocean which could bear him to Europe, he was yet carried deep enough into a rich, populous, and infinitely interesting land to afford him a wide field for his enterprise, and a source of wealth and power. The native people were industrious and skilful, and not naturally fierce, and the local rulers were men whom wise diplomacy could gradually bend to the traders' benefit. And when the hard-fought British victory over the Portuguese at Swally—a still existing village, where the Tapti enters the sea—proved to the Indians that these wandering traders, seemingly gentler folk than the overbearing Portuguese, were yet men of war, aye, and better men of war than the Portuguese, the Indian tolerance for the British changed to admiration, and, little by little, to dependence on them. When Sivaji, the Maratha free-booter and empire-builder, came ravaging to the gates of Surat in 1664, it was the British merchants under Sir George Oxenden who, like Pope Leo at Rome before Attila in the story, saved the city by their bold front. None the less, it was the Marathas, from the South, who became the rulers of Gujerat, in succession to the Mogul and his vassals, before the British from the West acquired any sovereignty, and it was as successors to the Marathas that the English, in 1800, became masters of the country, and established themselves in the strangely English-looking castle of Surat, a structure built by a Turk in the sixteenth century for the Mahomedan lords of the land, the Kings of Gujerat.

I have mentioned how easily the English must have found their way up the Tapti to perhaps the nearest town in all India to Europe. They may have also found in Surat, with its morning mists and dirty grey, rounded castle, some memories of the London they had left. My own first view of Surat, very early in the morning before the sun had thrown its golden enchantment on the worst squalor of the East, had not a little to remind me of the atmosphere of London. The roads had not yet been swept, the air was

damp and chill, and nearly two miles of shop-lined street lay between my railway station and the river, where, after encountering the ugly dull mass of the castle, I stepped on to a bridge, which commanded a quite Thames-like view of swart water and mouldering wharves. Scenes like this may well have made the silken East seem a little more home-spun to the Elizabethan voyager.

So much, briefly, for the British origins of Surat. I will continue with an account of the present city. It lies within a wall which, with no artistic pretensions, is nearly continuous and in fair repair, for, say, five or six miles round the city in a half-moon, the base of the arc being the river front. From the midst of this front starts the plain Victorian iron bridge, which is named the Hope Bridge, after Sir Theodore Hope, the Collector who projected it. This bridge is painfully straight and ugly, but leads at once to a pleasant land of toddy-palm and cocoanut groves scattered among winding lanes. Next to the bridge are a few public buildings: the old church, the library, and the great castle, containing the chief Government offices. Next to the castle the municipality—a good municipality as Indian municipalities rank—has kept up a luxuriant public garden on the old glaxis. The bridge is continued back across the middle of the city's breadth to the railway station, for a mile and a half, by a long and almost straight thoroughfare of busy shops of all kinds, well stocked with the cheap wares for which the richer Indian up-country opens his purse. At one place this road crosses a depression by a bold viaduct, and almost all its length is filled with a busy crowd of vehicles, not excluding motor-cars, and foot-passengers from morning till night. At the station end assemble quite a number of cinema shows. Surat prides itself on being rather up-to-date, and I used myself to feel that in some indefinable way the Surati was more familiarized with the Englishman, more readily adopted him into his civic communion, and shrank less, in fear or contempt, from his ways than do Indians elsewhere, as though three hundred years of vicinity to

this Western phenomenon had given the Surati some kind of proprietorship in him. When H.E. the Governor of Bombay visited Surat to stimulate recruiting for the war, he was gratified by the almost British cheers which welcomed him in the streets, a very rare demonstration in India.

For total population I do not know what the recently taken census will show, but in the last few decades it has remained stationary just above 100,000. The industries of Surat are not of the growing kind, and whilst the city is regarded by wealthy Indians as a pleasant place in which to settle and end their days, this immigration is counter-balanced by much emigration to British and other colonies. The Indian in South Africa, in Fiji, in Madagascar, in Siam, even so far afield as in New Zealand, is most frequently either from Surat City or Surat District. Rich and poor migrate to these places, but all who return seem to bring back plenty of money.

The Surat Collectorate did a creditable part in the Great War in supplying coolies as followers in France, Mesopotamia, and other fields. Many of these folk belonged to shy, backward, "aboriginal" races, who had lived hitherto as something like the hereditary serfs of Brahman or other landlords. When they were at last induced to face the terrors of khaki, they comforted themselves by saying: "Now we shall have *our* South Africa," by which they meant a land of gold such as South Africa had proved to their luckier neighbours; and a small gold-mine military service did prove to several thousands of them.

But I left my topographical account waiting in Surat's long High Street, which nearly bisects the half-circle forming the city. The offshoots of this High Street mostly run at right angles to it, but the whole enclosure of the walls is not quite filled up with streets. Surat has suffered repeatedly both from fire and flood—luckily not from famine, the rainfall being reliable—and in the south of the city, besides a great dry, step-lined lake, the Gopi Talao, are waste spaces where one can lose oneself and almost forget

one is inside a town wall ; and in the north-east are many rows of well-planned and reasonably broad and straight thoroughfares which have been rebuilt since the greatest fire. It was perhaps these floods and fires which partly operated to fill up Surat's healthy young rival, Bombay, where the Gujarati-speaking section of the people can largely be traced to a removal from Surat.

I have said a little about the Surat Parsees. Some other leading communities, not forgetting the tiny British colony, deserve mention. The Mahomedans are numerous and, as usual in India, chiefly poor. The head of the Surat Sunnis is still the gentleman who represents the old Nawábs of Surat, a protégé of the British Government, and he lives in a fine old palace just within the walls. Here at every Mohurram, before a seething crowd of spectators, the *tolis*, or Hasan and Husein funeral parties, from every quarter of the city collect their *tazias* at midnight to perform their torchlight dances and pay their homage to the titular Nawáb. The present senior holder of the title received a sword of honour after the war for cheerfully lending a fine old mansion, the old Bank of Bombay, for a recruiting depot.

A richer community than the dependants of the Nawáb are the Shiah Borahs, followers of a much venerated and enlightened High Priest, who, as merchants, amass money all over the East and bring it to Surat to spend or hoard. Across the Tapti, a mile upstream, at the old city of Rander, live thousands of Borahs of a totally different Musulman sect, also largely merchants, the Sunni Borahs, a race who from collective experience could give a pretty good description of the British Empire, and perhaps of other parts of the world. Losing my way once many miles from Surat, and overtaken by darkness, the first human creature whom I met was a Surat Musulman, who aired excellent French to me. He had lived in Mauritius (which is an old French colony).

Of the Hindoos, in a broad sense, the most prominent ~~castes~~ are the Jain Banias, who have largely been pearl

merchants, and the Anavla and Auditshastra or other Brahmans, who supply, besides other professional men, most intelligent clerks in the Government offices.

Very typical, too, are the Kolis, a unique race of hardy seamen, fishermen, and labourers, whose neatly clad women are as hardworking and bold as the men. Only one great fault have these people—over-fondness for the toddy cup, which the countless riverside palms (under Government control) supply, and for the less wholesome factory-made liquor which Government distils for the Indian public-house. Surat has the credit or discredit of being perhaps the most drunken place in India. Here again perhaps we have a trace of fashions set by the old English merchant adventurers; but potations which would be taken as moderate in England would create scandal or alarm in frugal, well-regulated India. Like the wild tribes the Surat Kolis did yeoman service (as lascars) in the war, very many, alas! being drowned in torpedoed ships; but they earned rich wages, and their loyalty, well paid or ill paid, never wavered. They are a cheery folk, of a Brahmanism so recent as to be almost of historical origin, and they are a valuable asset in the growing prosperity of India.

Descending lower in the caste hierarchy, we come to the much prized Surati domestic servants. Biologically these persons are, I think, merely a subdivision of the Dhed or village scavenger race who have specialized in private service. No doubt they began as servants to the early European traders. Now their descendants are much sought after by those English folk who wish for intelligent and adaptable servants, and do not object to their "untouchability" according to Brahman ideas. Unfortunately these servants are now very hard to obtain, and perhaps scarcest of all in Surat itself.

A word now as to the smallest but still most important caste in Surat, the English, and as to the chief institutions of the town and its surroundings, and this slight sketch will be finished.

Till the sixties the English maintained troops at Surat. These are no longer needed, though when, in 1919, Mr. Gandhi's anti-Government movement caused murderous and destructive riots in neighbouring Ahmedabad, 200 Sikhs were drafted into the city for a few days as a precaution, and quartered at the railway station and in the castle. The old military lines, pleasantly placed along the river between the ancient city and the official bungalows, are now occupied by the police. Surat, though it suffered about the sixties from a serious brief affray between Parsees and Mahomedans, is a peaceful district, and the inhabitants are uncommonly law-abiding. The city has its small and ardent group of political extremists, but they have made less way perhaps here than in most places ; and the town possesses, or possessed till lately, in the *Surat Mitra* one of the few loyalist newspapers in India. The head of the district has more than once been an Indian, but the European community usually includes the Collector-Magistrate, the Superintendent of Police, a Superintendent of Customs and Excise, a " Bank-walla," and often the District Judge, with perhaps the manager of the liquor distillery, an institution which is likely to be soon removed. These officers and their womenfolk, with the Irish Presbyterian missionaries, are wont to gather daily or almost daily after the evening's airing, at the little shed of a club overlooking a broad and palm-fringed stretch of the Tapti. The Irish missionaries have taken a large part in the educational and general communal and intellectual life of Surat, and their printing press is a famous one. The missionaries are broad-minded men and women, well educated, and devoted to the general upraising of the inhabitants in a way which extends beyond the mere idea of their spiritual salvation, and they are popular with Indian and English alike.

Doubtless the earliest English at Surat kept entirely within their factory, which yet exists as the residence of a courteous old Parsee gentleman. Later on they ventured out into bungalows, down the river and near the city, many

of which remain, now for the most part in Indian occupation; and, following the usual trend of events, the English have had to find themselves dwellings farther and farther out as the Indian city extended. But they naturally cling to the health-giving, sea-scented river, where, on the hottest days—and the days in Surat can be cruelly hot, with an indescribably burdensome clammy heat, while the cold weather is a matter of a few days—on the hottest days the rising sea-tide will fill the town with a fresh breeze as through a funnel. By the river, then, the English generally dwell, where they can gaze out towards the Gulf of Cambay, where the river-mouth is guarded still by the whitewashed lighthouse-like tomb of the old factor Vaux, there drowned, and on the opposite side, beyond the large Koli village of Swally, by a greater mausoleum among the sand-dunes, very doubtfully said to be that of the crazy seventeenth-century wanderer, Tom Coryat. When I myself found this tomb after much search among the sandhills, the villagers were unable to tell me anything more about it than that it was a holy shrine (*devdi*).

A mental picture of Surat below the bridge would give us in order the following points of interest: the old castle with its public offices, the Bank of Bombay, the public garden, the old quays, French, Dutch, or other, the villas of some rich Indians, the "French Garden," which I have described, the English Club, the parade ground of the old cantonment, the little so-called "dockyard"—shadow of Surat's old shipbuilding activities—where the Customs boats lie along a tiny jetty, the Collector's small new bungalow, unimposing but compact and well placed, and then pleasant riverside country stretching for ten miles, beside Koli villages and cotton fields and palm orchards, to where, at Dumas on the coast, a small ruling chief, who gave loyal service in the war, has his palace and a hot-weather garden city along the sea-sands, to which in modern style he seeks to attract the jaded citizens of Bombay.

We may perhaps quit Surat here, at the open sea, from

which the old voyagers turned inland to reach it. Much might have been said of Surat handicrafts, still represented each by its street of workers, though little remains of any artistic interest. And with these industries I must also dismiss the two or three large cotton mills—overshadowed in importance by the sixty, or it must be now a hundred chimneys of Ahmedabad, 100 miles away—and the silk industry, which, having gone through many vicissitudes, now seems inclined to revive. I have hardly touched, either, on Surat's educational activities, on which it prides itself, on the excellent Dufferin Hospital, on the large and beautiful Demonstration and Experimental Farm of the Agricultural Department, on the well-planned water-works upstream, near the great railway bridge, or on the somewhat small but most interesting territory of the Collectorate and Political Agency, of which Surat City is the headquarters. But I trust I have said enough to bring before you at least a dim and imperfect picture of the loyal and dignified city which was the cradle of our Indian Empire.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 20, 1921, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, at which a paper was read by Mr. A. L. Emanuel, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S., entitled "The City of Surat : Our Old Gateway to India." The Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., occupied the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: H.H. the Maharao of Cutch, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Colonel Sir E. Charles Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Sir Herbert Holmwood, Mr. S. H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. T. Summers, C.I.E., Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. N. C. Sen, O.B.E., Mr. W. Coldstream, K.-i-H., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Duncan Irvine, the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. H. R. H. Hemming, Mr. Ed. Cazalet, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Miss Ryan, Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Dantra, I.M.S., Mr. N. N. Wadia, Mr. S. Nell, Mr. and Mrs. H. Batty, Mr. Headley Storey, Miss Irwin, Mr. T. H. Knolles, Miss Haldinstein, Miss Beadon, Miss J. K. Donald, Colonel S. H. Roberts, Mr. Frank L. Emanuel, Miss Apperson, Mr. J. E. Potter-Wilson, Mr. B. C. Vaidya, Mr. R. Sewell, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Mr. M. S. Master, Mr. Bal Krishna, Mrs. Drury, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN : I call upon Mr. Emanuel to read his paper.

The LECTURER : Your lordship, ladies and gentlemen, before I start reading the paper itself, there are one or two prefatory words I should like to say. The first is that I am afraid I have had to write this paper under slightly difficult circumstances, namely, that I was entirely divorced from my own books. I had not been home long from India, and in the exigencies of present affairs I had to get my books warehoused somewhere, and although one can do a good deal with libraries, they are not quite the same thing as one's own books. Secondly, I am afraid there may be a good many inaccuracies in the few remarks I am going to make, but I hope there are plenty of gentlemen here to-day who will be ready to point them out; I shall be only too pleased. My only excuse for offering this paper at all is that I am fond of Surat. I had a good many months there, and was consequently pretty familiar with it, and I used to be constantly wandering about its picturesque streets. Besides wandering about the town, I supplemented that direct information to a considerable extent by reading books on Surat, and some of that information has stuck, and I have tried to incorporate it in my paper. In particular I would like to mention a very recent book on Surat by my friend Prof. Rawlinson which is called "British Beginnings in Western India," published by the Clarendon Press. That book contains some pictures of Surat, which I would like to have reproduced here. I mention that book as one which I have read, and the results of which I hope as far as possible I have incorporated in this paper.

The other thing is as to the pronunciation of the word "Súrat." I find myself already calling it "Surát," and not "Súrat," which it is called by the inhabitants ; and that is how the word sounds as written in the Gujarati language ; and I fancy that is more etymologically correct, and therefore more correct for all purposes ; but for some reason it is a difficult word to fit one's tongue to, and it comes more natural to call the place Surát. I suppose it is an Arabic word really, and I rather think that in Arabic the word "Súrat " means beauty.

The lecture was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Is there anyone who wishes to address the meeting?

Mr. COTTON, while congratulating the Lecturer on the excellence of his paper, said there was one matter with regard to which he was obliged to offer a word of comment. He could not agree with the Lecturer's description of Tom Coryat as a crazy seventeenth-century wanderer. The probability was that if he were alive to-day he would be the subject of columns in the newspapers, and in any case he could not help thinking that the "Odombian leg-stretcher," as he loved to style himself, was deserving of a better fate in the remembrance of the reader of the paper. A reference to Mr. William Foster's excellent volume of "Early Travels in India" would show that a very different estimate had been formed by that authority. In Mr. Foster's opinion Coryat had a true gift of observation, and if he had lived to publish a full account of his Indian journey it would have ranked in all probability as high as the works of Fryer and Tavernier. As a matter of fact, he was really a humorous fellow, and not a bit crazy, unless craziness consisted in the feat he had accomplished of walking all the way to India by way of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Aleppo, and then on to Tabriz, and thence from Kandahar to Ajmere, where he spent some fourteen months with Sir Thomas Roe. He died at Surat in December, 1617, and it would be interesting to know if the Lecturer had been able to trace his tomb in any way. It was said that he was buried with two small stones, one at the head and one at the foot—without any inscription—on the west side of the road leading to Broach outside the city on the north. The large mausoleum among the sand-dunes at Rajgari near Swally was no doubt simply a Mohammedan monument, although the Admiralty chart might describe it as "Tom Coryat's Tomb."

With regard to the rest of the paper, perhaps he was not a competent judge, but he had been unable to find any inaccuracies in it ; on the contrary, he regarded it as an admirable summary of the history of modern and ancient Surat. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. OWEN DUNN said the paper which had been read had revived in his mind many pleasant memories of a short official period spent in Surat in 1883—before Lord Reay went to India—and there were one or two points which occurred to him. The Lecturer had told them the city of Surat was celebrated for "fires and floods," but there was another "f" they used to attach to the place, which was characteristic of it—*i.e.*, "fleas." (Laughter.) Fires, floods, and fleas used to be said to characterize Surat. He might also mention another "f." There was a fig-garden, as far as he could remember, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the railway station.

where they used to have evening parties; they used to pay eight annas a head, and they were allowed to eat as many of the luscious fruits as they liked.

With reference to the Surat Musulman who spoke excellent French, it reminded him that he once had a *patiwalla* (*chuprassi*) who also spoke French excellently, and he also had been in Mauritius under the French. In describing the European population the Lecturer had given the titles of the Collector and the Superintendents of Police and Customs, and so on, but there was no reference to any Executive Engineer! Perhaps there was not one there now? or maybe only an assistant. He had been Assistant Engineer there at one time and he had a good deal to do with the designing of the system of protection works for the city against floods; he did not know whether they had been carried out or not, but he believed they had to a certain extent—and he felt he ought to resent the fact that the Executive Engineer was not mentioned amongst the others (laughter) in the paper, which otherwise was exceedingly interesting, and gave a very accurate description of the city of Surat. (Hear, hear.)

The SECRETARY, in thanking the Lecturer for his paper, said it was not very often they were able to get the services of up-to-date men to read papers, and it was very rare to get men willing to occupy their leave hours in giving such a paper as Mr. Emanuel had done. He had only just come home from India, and they ought to be especially grateful to him. (Hear, hear.) In his preliminary remarks he had stated that Surat probably meant “beauty.” He had a sort of impression, although he did not profess to be a scholar in West Indian languages, that Surat really meant “form” or “shape.” An Indian friend present confirmed that impression, but he could not vouch for its accuracy except on the information he had received. Probably Surat by itself was intended to mean “beautiful form.”

As memories had been awakened in Mr. Dunn, so also were his memories awakened, but not about Surat. It reminded him very much of a place in India called Tranquebar—an old Danish settlement—whose name, like Surat, had even less affinity to the original. He did not wish to dilate on the particular features of Tranquebar, except to say that the general description of Surat might almost be applied to it. One point that occurred to his mind was an incident when he went out fishing one day in a catamaran; in talking to the fishermen he asked how they spent their money, and they replied, “Chiefly in drink;” and on being asked, Supposing they got more money? replied, “More drink,” saying that their life on the sea was so hard that they could not do without it! That was their explanation, and it went a long way towards explaining the drunkenness which they were told prevailed. He would also like to add a fifth “f” to Mr. Dunn’s four. Surat to the ordinary Englishman might chiefly be known because of the fanatics which appeared at the time when the Congress was broken up.

At this juncture the Maharao of Cutch arrived at the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, before continuing the discussion, it gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to give a most cordial welcome to His Highness the Maharao of Cutch (Hear, hear), whom I left in Bombay—almost a boy, and whom I now greet as a man of mature years, but,

I have not the slightest doubt, as keen as ever he was to benefit his own country as a most loyal feudatory of His Majesty the King-Emperor. (Hear, hear.) It is a striking feature of Indian progress that the Maharao comes here as a representative of India on a most important mission. I am sure that, when we last met, if anybody had told us the next time we should meet the Maharao would be representing India at this Conference, it would have been thought a dream. (Hear, hear.) Now it is a fact, and I am sure the Maharao will discharge his mandate with tactful sagacity. I was delighted when I saw that he would be the representative of India, because of his long career, and it has been a most distinguished career. We may congratulate Cutch on having had for so long a time so admirable a ruler. I hope that His Highness will prolong his visit to England, and I hope that the result of the business transacted at the Conference will lead to the greater prosperity of the British Empire, its Dominions, and India. In your name I extend to His Highness a most cordial welcome, and thank him for his kindness in coming here to-day. (Hear, hear.)

H.H. THE MAHARAO OF CUTCH said it had been a great pleasure to him to attend the meeting. He had had a most important engagement with the Secretary of State for India, and anxious as he was to attend, he was not sure he would have been able to do so, but he found the interview was over sooner than he expected, which had enabled him to attend. He little expected to be given such a cordial welcome as he had received. In Lord Reay he felt that he had a very old friend—one of the best—and he was exceedingly grateful to him for the kind references he had made to him personally, and to the affairs of India, in reference to the Imperial Cabinet meeting. He could only say that all right-thinking Indians wished to see the relations of the Empire cemented as firmly as possible. (Hear, hear.) And he wished to state on behalf of himself personally and his brother Princes, whose territories formed one-third of the Indian Empire, that no one could be more loyal than they were. (Hear, hear, and applause.) He was afraid his visit had caused an interruption of the discussion, and therefore he would conclude by thanking everyone present most cordially for the kind reception he had received. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN : We have had a very interesting lecture on Surat, which will not be unknown to Your Highness, and I beg to move a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Emanuel for his very clear and admirable description of Surat, which is certainly one of the most interesting spots in India. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to hear that the cemeteries, which are so full of the records of the past, are well kept up, and that the necessary money is forthcoming for their preservation ; they are very interesting, and I found there the names of many Europeans who played a part in their day.

With regard to Surat, fires and floods were mentioned, and I remember on one occasion while I was Governor a terrible fire breaking out. I heard of it and left immediately for Surat, and when I arrived it was nearly subdued. What struck me most was that, in the absence of the higher authorities in the districts, the city was in charge of quite a youth. I wish I could remember his name, and if by any chance he should be in this audience I hope he will at once make himself known. I trust he will

read our discussion to-day, because I wish to say that I found he had done everything which was required; a grey-haired man could not have done better, and it was to me a confirmation of the admirable services rendered in critical circumstances to the population of India. I asked the people, who were all very perturbed by the fire, whether anything further could be done, and they all admitted that nothing could have been done better than this young official had already done. It was remarkable that there was perfect order. I am sure if there had been a calamity of that sort in London there would not have been the orderly scene that I found in Surat.

Well, that is one of my recollections of Surat. Then I was very glad the Lecturer paid such a cordial tribute to the work of the Irish missionaries. In the present disastrous condition of Irish affairs we must be thankful Ireland is so well represented in India. It is a remarkable fact that the Irish members of the Civil Service—and Dr. Pollen justifies this observation—seem to be extremely well received by the Indians, and that is a fact which must not be forgotten at this moment; we are apt to forget that there are very gifted and loyal Irishmen.

Now I have only one or two further remarks to make. It is very important, of course, that the Dufferin Hospital should be maintained. With regard to the Demonstration and Experimental Farm, I heard recently that there was some danger of the very famous breed of cattle there becoming extinct, and I should like to know if the Lecturer can give us any reassuring statement, because they were very fine cattle. I was glad to see the reference to the Nawab of Sachin. I remember the Nawab of my day as a Chief with whom it was a pleasure to have dealings, and I hope the present one follows in his footsteps.

In conclusion, I may say that the lecture gives a very good description of one of the most picturesque and interesting cities. I gather that after the fire it was very quickly restored. It is remarkable how soon reconstruction took place there when we see how difficult it is to have reconstruction in France after the war. I will now ask Mr. Emanuel to reply to some of the questions which have been put to him, and I beg to move again that our best thanks be given to him for this very interesting lecture. (Hear, hear.)

Miss SCATCHERD said that Dr. Pollen had followed his usual practice of sending a letter, and she would just like to read the part which referred to Mr. Emanuel's paper, which was as follows:

"I have read Mr. Emanuel's paper with deep pleasure and appreciation. I have spent many pleasant days at Surat with 'Lot's wife,' and the Tapti was the first river I knew in India. Don't be startled at the allusion to 'Lot's wife.' She was merely an 'official wife,' the name of the Government yacht built by Sir Charles Pritchard to help the 'King of Salt and Lord of Lighthouses' (*i.e.*, the collector of salt, abkari, and opium for the time being) to protect the salt revenue. She was known as the 'Pillar of Salt,' and many is the happy day I spent on board sailing round the West Coast.

"Reading Mr. Emanuel's paper recalled many pleasant memories of the

'one-time greatest city of Western India,' and of the group of 'rocky jungle islands,' now 'Bombay the Beautiful.'

"I don't think Mr. Emanuel has said half enough about the Parsees—the Pilgrim Fathers from Persia—those enterprising traders and intermediaries who have always *preceded* the British flag, not merely followed it.

"I should prefer to call Sivaji 'the Clan Leader and Empire Builder.' At first he was really a kind of Scot Chief, and led his great clan to proud pre-eminence. And I think 'rainbow-coloured hoods' is a description that hardly does justice to the lovely graceful Grecian Saris of the Bombay ladies. Would that our sisters of the Western Strand would adopt similar robes instead of the varied and variegated Parisian motley creations they pile up in every shape and form upon their pretty heads. But a mere man must not criticize !

"Congratulating and thanking Mr. Emanuel, and hoping that both the General Meeting and the paper may prove a great success, I am, with kindest remembrances to Lord Reay and you all,

"(Signed) J. POLLEN."

The CHAIRMAN : You must allow me to add just one further observation, and that is, with how much pleasure I saw that Sir Theodore Hope was not forgotten, and that his name is kept alive by the Hope Bridge. He was one of the most distinguished representatives of the Indian Civil Service in my day, and therefore I am glad to see that his name is still kept in veneration by the present Government.

Now I will ask Mr. Emanuel to answer the questions.

The LECTURER, in reply, said that although the paper had not been a very controversial one, he was glad to see that it had evoked so many pleasant memories and so many friendly criticisms. As to Mr. Cotton's remarks on Tom Coryat, he felt he ought to apologize to Tom Coryat's shade for having called him "crazy"; he was merely using the sort of epithet which was always applied to him. He agreed that the title was probably not in the least deserved, and if Tom Coryat had been living to-day he would no doubt be found addressing learned societies, and would be generally fêted and petted. As to his tomb, he agreed with Mr. Cotton that the great structure on the sand-hills was probably not really his tomb; it was far too grand an edifice to have been built over such a wanderer as he was, but it was still kept up by the Public Works Department, and annually whitewashed, and was referred to in all the maps as "Tom Coryat's Tomb." Coryat was far more likely to have been buried on the Broach Road across the river, and his real grave must have unfortunately been allowed to perish.

With regard to Mr. Dunn's observation that he had not referred to the Executive Engineer, the reason for that, no doubt, was that in his time the Executive Engineer was not an Englishman, and he was only giving a list of the English colony. He did not know whether Mr. Dunn was the last of the English engineers or not, but either his or some other engineer's flood-gates, he was glad to say, were still in a state of preservation and doing very good work, especially near the Judge's bungalow.

As to the "f's" in Surat, he was glad to say they had no fanatics such as

Mr. Rice remembered in Tranquebar. Floods and fires he had been luckily spared in his time, and he hoped that the breed of fleas had perished; he certainly did not come across them, and he was sorry that he had never come across the fig-garden referred to. He might say that the old tomb of Vaux which still existed at the mouth of Tapti, and which was used as a lighthouse, was a very merry place for picnics with the old factors—rather a queer sort of ending for a sepulchre.

He agreed with Mr. Rice as to the meaning of the word *Súrat*; it did properly mean form, and not beauty; and he supposed that, just as in Latin, where *forma* meant both "form" and "beauty," the Indians identified those two words.

Perhaps he ought also to make an apology to Sivaji for calling him a freebooter. He had a great admiration for his clansmen and for Sivaji himself, but he could not help thinking he was at the same time both a freebooter and an Empire-builder.

Then, Dr. Pollen in his letter regretted that he had not said more about the Parsees. Well, the only reason for that was that he thought the character and the habits of the Parsees and their works were so well known. They were another caste in India for whom he had the greatest admiration, and he numbered many friends among the Parsees.

The Chairman had expressed a hope that the Gujarati cattle had not been allowed to die out. He was glad to say that they had been preserved by another much-honoured Governor of Bombay, Lord Northcote. He did not know whether anyone present knew the Gujarati cattle, but they were most beautiful beasts, snowy white, and of enormous strength and placidity. They had been nearly wiped out by the great famine in 1900, but Lord Northcote had managed to get a few together and preserve them and started a completely new cattle farm with them west of Ahmedabad, and he hoped that gradually the Gujarati farms would be restocked with them, although they were not yet much in evidence.

One final word he would like to be permitted to say, and that was to thank the Chairman for so kindly staying on for the lecture, and honouring him by his presidency, when he was afraid a long sitting might possibly be somewhat of a trial to him. He would also specially like to express his pleasure at seeing again for the first time since he had the pleasure of meeting him in India His Highness the Maharao of Cutch. He wondered whether he remembered coming to Larkána in Northern Sind, where he had the pleasure of meeting him, and where he was, especially struck by seeing that the great loyalty which His Highness displayed towards the British Ráj was equalled by the loyalty of His Highness's own subjects, who flocked round him in large numbers, immensely pleased to get a sight of their own ruling Chief.

The vote of thanks to the Lecturer was then put to the meeting, and carried with acclamation.

On the proposition of Mr. Pennington, seconded by Mr. Hemming—who said that he was a contemporary of Lord Reay's when he was in Bombay, and well recollected his work out there in India—a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT AND EMPIRE COTTON

By THOMAS SUMMERS, C.I.E., D.SC., M.I.C.E.

GLOSSARY

<i>Words.</i>	<i>Meanings.</i>
Bale - -	400 pounds.
Bersim - -	Egyptian clover.
Bosi rabi - -	Crops grown in the rabi season on land previously flooded from a canal in the inundation season.
Bund - -	Embankment (generally applied to river embankments).
"Capital invested"	The "capital invested" in any work includes direct and indirect charges and all accumulation of interest.
Crore - -	100 lakhs.
Cusecs - -	Cubic feet per second.
Discharge - -	The discharge of a river or canal at any point is the number of cusecs passing that point.
Doab - -	The tract of land between two rivers.
Dry crop - -	In Sind, any crop except rice or sugar-cane.
Full supply - -	The maximum supply carried by a canal.
Hari - -	A field worker.
Intensity of cultivation - -	The percentage of the cultivable area cultivated in one year.
Inundation - -	Season when rivers are in flood.
Jagir land - -	Land granted revenue free, either in perpetuity or resumable in part on the death of the guarantees.
Kharif season - -	Inundation or flood season (April to September).
KMSL - -	Karachi mean sea-level.
Lakh - -	100,000 (Rs. 100,000 = £10,000 at Rupees 10 = £1).
Maund - -	80 pounds.
Productive work	According to the P.W.D. Code, to admit of a project being classed as a productive public work, "there must be good reason to believe that the revenue derived from it will, in the case of an irrigation project, within ten years after the probable date of its completion, repay the interest on the capital invested."
Protective work -	Works designed as a protection against famine, the capital for which is usually met from the annual grant under Famine, Relief, and Insurance.
Rabi season -	The cold weather season, when the river is low (October to March).
R.L. - -	Reduced level (in Sind, height above KMSL).
Seepage - -	Water returned to the river—when its level falls—from its banks (see Paper on Development of Cotton in India, p. 35).
Silt - -	Sediment brought down from the mountains by the river
Sind Sudhar - -	Sind Improvement (Sindhi name for Rohri Canal).
Volume - -	Same as discharge.
Zamindar - -	Land-owner.

REASONS FOR LECTURE

SEVEN years ago I read a paper before the East India Association on this subject, a subject to which I have devoted my undivided attention for nearly twenty years, and if I return to it again it is because the latest phase of a question of vital importance to Sind is the sanction by the Secretary of State for India of a project estimate involving an expenditure of probably twenty to twenty-five millions sterling. This project, in my opinion, is dangerous from the engineering point of view, and will prove a gigantic financial failure. It is therefore not in the best interests of India, in which I have spent all the best years of my life.

DESCRIPTION OF SIND

Sind is a country in many respects not unlike Egypt. They have both been formed by the natural deposition of silt through countless centuries, and consequently have practically inexhaustible soil, if only a proper system of cultivation is followed. The rainfall, which is very scanty and precarious, averages about six inches, but in one year out of five it is less than two inches, so that as far as irrigation is concerned it is negligible. The land, fertile enough as long as water is procurable, would, in the absence of irrigation, be an arid and barren waste. But just as Egypt has the Nile, Sind has the Indus, which carries bountiful perennial supplies.

In the time of Alexander the Great, as gathered from old records, the Indus flowed on the top of the great ridge which runs along its left bank from Sukkur to Hyderabad, till about 900 years ago, when it left the ridge for a lower level, as clearly shown on the sketch map of Sind (Fig. 3).

The level of this ridge has been raised as follows: When a river like the Indus overflows its banks it deposits silt on each side in the form of a flat embankment. This may go on for many years, till the river breaks away from the land which it has raised, taking another course and

repeating the process, so that in time great areas of land are raised. It is recorded that when the Indus flowed on the top of this ridge, Alexander sailed down it from Sukkur past the town of Nawabshah, which is destined to become a large cotton centre. It is also said that the great city of Brahmanabad used to be on the bank of the Indus.

I have known the Indus to change its course by six miles in one day owing to its cutting across a great bend.

Sind has hitherto been irrigated by means of inundation canals, which receive a deficient or plentiful supply, depending upon the height of the inundation. These canals have been of great use, and now irrigate about three and a half million acres annually, including a million acres of rice. There is need, however, of a more assured supply of water than inundation canals can give, especially in parts of Sind, which are particularly suited for cotton cultivation, and the better kinds of long-staple cotton require water for a longer period than that at which the river is at a high inundation level.

SIND'S THREE BARRAGE PROJECTS

The Province naturally divides itself into three tracts—Upper, Central, and Lower Sind—which, it is anticipated, will in time be irrigated by perennial canals taking their supplies from the river above weirs at Kashmor, Sukkur, and Kotri.

This paper deals with Central Sind, which is by far the largest and best of the tracts. The fate of Upper and Lower Sind will be decided by the success or failure of the Sukkur Barrage Project, so that every endeavour should be made to make it a success.

AREA OF CULTIVABLE LAND

There are about fourteen million acres of cultivable land in Sind, out of which only four million are cultivated, so that ten million acres, much of which is capable of growing good cotton, lies waste every year simply for want of water.

THE INDUS AT SUKKUR: ITS VOLUME AND LEVEL. (See Appendix I.)

The Indus as shown on the sketch-map flows from north to south through the province, from Kashmor to Keti Bunder, a distance of 300 miles as the crow flies, and 400 as the river winds, the curves adding roughly about 33 per cent.

This great river carries ample water to irrigate over 12 million acres in the hot weather season and 8 millions in the cold weather, or say 20 million acres in all. In time, if rice is restricted to its present area of a million acres, and when the ordinary Sindi Zamindar has been taught to realize that, within certain limits, less water gives better crops, the Indus will have ample water to irrigate 25 million acres. Thus, there is now, and is likely to be for generations, sufficient water to irrigate two crops annually on every acre of cultivable land in Sind—i.e., 200 per cent. of the cultivable area, which is the intensity aimed at in Egypt, when fully developed.

COTTON AND WHEAT GROWING IN SIND

There is a general impression that India is not destined to add much to the Empire's cotton crop. For instance, the *Indiaman* of December 29, 1916, remarked in an article on Lancashire and Indian cotton, that "the Council of the British Cotton-Growing Association, in conference with representatives of spinners and operatives, take a somewhat gloomy view of Indian cotton." Again, in an article on "Poverty and Waste in India," in the *Times of India* in June, 1920, it was stated that "the very large irrigation works in India are nearly complete."

From the above remarks it seems that Sind is still looked upon by many as a great sandy desert, quite incapable of adding much to the Empire's resources in the way of cotton and wheat, not to speak of sugar-cane, rice, and other food crops.

The remark in the *Times of India* as to the large irrigation works in India being nearly complete shows how little is known about this great Province and its three barrage projects, which together will cost about £50,000,000.

It seems to me that one reason why a large quantity of cotton is not expected from Sind is that in statistics Sind cotton is generally included in the returns for the whole Bombay Presidency, so that the great producing power of Sind soil is lost sight of.

For example, the average yield of cotton for the whole Presidency is about 85 pounds per acre, while the average yield in Sind is about 160 pounds, and in 1906—a very good year—the average yield of cotton in Sind was 250 pounds per acre. Considerably larger yields have been obtained from small areas, but with perennial canals an average of 250 pounds may be taken for good cotton tracts in which cotton has been grown for generations.

THE ROHRI CANAL TRACT

Consider the Rohri Canal Tract alone, as it is the best cotton-growing soil in Sind, and I think I may safely say in India.

In a speech as President of the British Cotton-Growing Association, on June 7, 1921, Lord Derby stated that the total amount of cotton produced in new fields in the British Empire during 1920 was 105,800 bales (400 pounds) of an estimated value of £3,600,000 (£34 per bale).

Now, as shown in Appendix II., the lowest estimate by the two agricultural experts of the area of cotton which might be grown on the Rohri Canal was 800,000 acres. The Cotton Committee of 1918, however, estimated a much lower area of 470,000, of which they allowed 60 per cent., or 280,000, as long-staple cotton.

Assuming that an average area of 600,000 acres will be grown annually, and that the yield will be 250 pounds per acre, the number of bales produced would be 375,000, and its value at £20 per bale would be £7,500,000.

Deducting the 40,000 bales now obtained from the Rohri Canal Tract, the net increase from this one canal alone would be well over 300,000 bales, and its value about £6,000,000.

Taking a moderate rate of construction for the canal, half of this cotton crop could be obtained in five years, and the whole of it in about eight years.

THE COTTON COMMITTEE OF 1918

On the three great projects under consideration in the Punjab, the Cotton Committee anticipate an area of 525,000 acres of cotton, of which 200,000 should be American. After discussing these projects, they point out in par. 38, that the construction of the Sukkur Barrage and the connected canals is "far more essential to the extension of long-staple cotton in India than any, or, in fact, all the projects mentioned above."

The Cotton Committee's forecast for long-staple cotton under the Sukkur Barrage Project Canals is 400,000 acres, compared with 200,000 acres under the three great Punjab projects.

WHEAT

In addition to this great quantity of cotton, Messrs. Baker and Lane, who made the revenue forecasts for the 1920 Project, guarantee an area of 800,000 acres of rabi from the Rohri Canal alone. As the present area of rabi in the tract is only 100,000 acres, this means an addition of 700,000 acres, mostly wheat, to the Empire's resources.

They also anticipate that when fully developed the area of rabi crops on this canal may increase to 1,350,000 acres. Those figures show the urgent necessity for the early development of Sind by perennial canals.

SIND'S IRRIGATION AT A STANDSTILL

In Appendix III. I have traced the progress of irrigation in Sind for seventy years. These figures show that for the first thirty years, ended 1883, the rate of increase was

20,000 acres per annum ; for the next fifteen, 60,000, and for the ten years ended 1908, it reached 100,000 acres per annum ; but even this was just half the rate of progress in the Punjab.

During the last ten years, ending 1919-20, however, since irrigation on the Jamrao and other canals has been developed, the area of irrigation has been at a standstill, while in the Punjab it has continued to increase at fully 200,000 acres per annum.

These figures speak for themselves, and show that Sind has a very strong claim to be developed.

HOW CAN THIS DEADLOCK BE REMOVED ?

The question now arises as to how this deadlock, which has continued for fifteen years, can be removed. Undoubtedly the best way to do this is to resume construction of the most urgent and most paying parts of the Sukkur Barrage Project.

The items of this project already carried out are :

- (1) The Nara Supply Channel, which was opened in 1859.
- (2) The Mithrao Canal, also opened in 1859.
- (3) The Jamrao Canal, opened in 1899.

The more important items still remaining are :

- (4) The Rohri Canal.
- (5) The Sukkur Barrage.
- (6) The Right Bank Canals.
- (7) The Nara River improvement works (see Appendix V.).

Colonel Fife, the originator of this project, urged very strongly that the Rohri Canal should be put in hand before the Jamrao, but the Sind Committee of 1892 considered that the Jamrao Canal was more urgent.

As the Rohri Canal is looked upon by everyone as the most urgent work in Sind, it should undoubtedly be the next item on the programme, and the Nara River works should be postponed for reasons given in Appendix V.

The table given on the opposite page shows that while

about 50 per cent. of the cultivable area is at present cultivated in the Nara River and Right Bank Tracts, only 27 per cent. is cultivated in the Rohri Tract.

The table also shows that out of about 600,000 acres of lift cultivation, which will be turned into flow, 460,000 are in the Rohri Canal Tract.

This changing of lift into flow is the most important and urgent work which has to be done by the perennial canals, as it will not only bring in an immediate return, but will at once set free sufficient cultivators to treble the area now irrigated, as a man is able to cultivate three times as much by flow as he can by the laborious process of lift.

TABLE GIVING DETAILS OF PRESENT CULTIVATION

Canal Tract.	Cultivable Area.	Present Area of Cultivation.	Per Cent. of Cultivable Area.	Present Net Revenue.	Net Revenue per Acre of Cultivable Land.	Area at Present irrigated by Lift.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	Acres.	Acres.	Per Cent.	Lakhs.	Rs.	Acres.
Rohri ...	2,500,000	673,000	27	12	0·5	460,000
Nara River	1,269,000	568,680	45	15	1·2	50,000
Right Bank	1,772,000	992,069	56	19	1·1	90,000
	5,541,000	2,233,749	40	46		600,000

The figures in Columns 2 to 6 are from Messrs. Baker and Lane's 1920 Revenue Report.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT OF 1910

In 1910 the Commissioner in Sind (Mr. W. H. Lucas, C.S.I.) submitted the original Sukkur Barrage Project to the Government of Bombay. This project was for the Rohri Canal, followed by the barrage and by the Right Bank Canals, as a separate project, without having to bear a share of the barrage. Based on Mr. Lucas's forecasts of revenue, it was shown to satisfy the conditions required for a productive work. Unfortunately, owing to the fear of a

great and immediate fall in the level of the Indus at Sukkur, due to the withdrawals by the Punjab Triple Project Canals, the Chief Engineer, Bombay, did not approve of this Sind Project, and submitted to the Government of India a different project for the barrage followed by the Rohri Canal, the barrage to be completed before the canal was commenced, and the Right Bank Canals to follow as in the Sind Project. This project was hopeless as a productive work, and was not approved of by the Government of India.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT OF 1912

The first project estimate to improve the irrigational requirements of Sind which was submitted to the Secretary of State for sanction was that known as the Project of 1912. It was calculated to cost £7,820,000, and as the accumulation of interest charges to ten years after completion came to £1,190,000, the capital invested was £9,010,000. As the estimated net revenue was £386,000 in the same year, the return on the capital invested was 4·28 per cent.

This project was a large one and the first of its kind in Sind. The Secretary of State decided that it was necessary to have it scrutinized by a committee of expert engineers, and the engineers, after exhaustive examination, found themselves unable to recommend sanction, as, in their opinion, it would not be a productive work. The definition of a productive public work is that it shall cover the interest charges on the outlay (estimate and interest) ten years after completion. The interest on loans was, at that time, about 4 per cent., the margin of 0·28 per cent. was therefore small, and the committee, finding that the cost of construction was, in their opinion, underestimated, held that the scheme would not prove remunerative. The Secretary of State accordingly declined to sanction the estimate, and it was returned to the Government of India for reconsideration and with instructions to act on the advice of the Sukkur Barrage Committee.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE COMMITTEE'S ADVICE

Weir Sites.—As there was nothing in the project report to show if any sites below the gorge had been considered, the Committee suggested, "as an alternative, that the possibilities of a site downstream of the gorge should be examined before the final estimate is prepared." In reply to a reference made to India on this point, while the Committee was sitting, the Chief Engineer, Bombay, reported that a site in the vicinity of the sewage outfall gauge would be unsuitable for reasons which he gave. The Committee agreed with the Chief Engineer that a site in the vicinity of the outfall would be unsuitable, and suggested that a suitable site might be found "a few miles farther downstream." They also said in par. 32 that from the remunerative aspect "it is possible that the only hope would lie in the direction of a scheme for a canal followed by a barrage as a definite project," and in par. 28 that "if the complete scheme is ever undertaken both canal and barrage should be simultaneously *completed*," not simultaneously *begun*, as proposed in the 1920 Project. As the canal would take longer to construct than the barrage, this meant that the barrage would follow the Rohri Canal. Investigations into the financial aspect of the different programmes of construction show that the Committee were right, and that on account of the enormous accumulation of interest charges, if the barrage is built first, and completed before the canals, the only safe project is that suggested by them, to begin the Rohri Canal and to follow it up by the barrage and Right Bank Canals.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT OF 1920

The project estimate of 1912 has now been followed by the estimate of 1920, which, with a curious inconsistency, or through a misunderstanding, has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State. For, if the estimate of 1912 was underestimated in cost of construction, the estimate of 1920 is still more seriously underestimated.

For example, many of the rates for masonry and other items in the barrage estimate are taken at 20 per cent. above pre-war rates. This small increase, which is quite insufficient, is based on the assumption that, as the work will be so large, "it ought to be possible to attain considerably lower rates for works than would be possible for small local works" (see Appendix VI.).

Then, in the case of the Right Bank Canals, the estimate prepared in 1909 was 446 lakhs for a designed discharge of 15,098 cusecs, which is at the rate of Rs. 2,950 per cusec, while in the 1920 estimate the combined discharge for the three Right Bank Canals is 19,446 cusecs, which comes to Rs. 3,180 per cusec of discharge. The increase over the pre-war rates per cusec is only 8 per cent., which is quite inadequate.

On the revenue side the forecasts for the 1912 Project were prepared by Mr. W. H. Lucas, Commissioner in Sind, with great caution, while the revenue forecasts for the 1920 Project are altogether visionary.

Cultivators are conservative all the world over ; nowhere are they more so than in Sind, and the 1920 Project contemplates changes which, though they may ultimately come to pass in the dim future, will not be accepted by the Sind farmers. They are wedded to their hot-weather crops, and the project assumes a great expansion of cold-weather cultivation.

Rates for the use of water, especially for rice, have been proposed which are greatly in excess of existing rates, and which, if applied, would probably tend to discourage the development of irrigation (see Appendix VII.).

The cost of the work has been estimated at £18,430,000. Adding to this the accumulation of interest to ten years after completion, which is £3,570,000, the "capital invested" becomes £22,000,000. As the net revenue ten years after completion is estimated at £1,226,000, the return on the capital invested is 5.57 per cent. As money cannot now be borrowed at 5½ per cent., that fact alone makes the project

unproductive. With the other drawbacks I have pointed out it is justifiable to say that the 1920 scheme, to begin with the barrage as a remunerative work, *must* fail.

An important item which I have not referred to is the annual cost of running the canals, which is called the "working expenses." In the 1910 estimate I allowed Rs. 1.2 per acre, and in the 1920 estimate the same rate of Rs. 1.2 per acre has been allowed. This, however, could not be worked to now nor in the future. For example, the working expenses on the Jamrao have averaged Rs. 1.6 for the last ten years. To show the importance of this item, if the rate is increased to Rs. 1.5, the net revenue on the three and a half million acres to be irrigated ten years after completion would be decreased by ten lakhs.

MISUNDERSTANDING AS TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S ORDERS

An unfortunate misunderstanding has occurred in connection with the 1920 Project. Mr. F. St. J. Gebbie, under whose orders as Chief Engineer, Bombay, it was drawn up, states that this project has simply been prepared in accordance with the orders of the Secretary of State and his Barrage Committee. This, I may say, is a most regrettable error, which has already led to a delay of about six years, and if not enquired into and corrected immediately will inevitably lead to disastrous consequences to the Province.

As the clearing up of this misunderstanding is of vital importance to Sind, as well as to the tax-payer, I give below a few brief notes on points in the project which are not in agreement with the Secretary of State's orders.

Barrage Site (see Appendix X.):

(i.) The Barrage Committee only suggested the investigation of a site "a few miles" below the outfall gauge, while that adopted is only 6,000 feet below this point, and may be held to be in the vicinity of the outfall gauge, which they expressly disapproved of.

In passing through the gorge the water will churn up all

bed sand down to rock, and it cannot be accepted that this water will be as suitable for passing into canals as if it had not been passed through the gorge.

(ii.) The selected site has not been fixed by the Secretary of State's Committee, but is a site apparently selected by the Chief Engineer, Bombay, through a misunderstanding, and which does not appear to meet essential conditions as regards only taking in top water comparatively free from silt.

(iii.) If the barrage is built on the new site below the gorge very costly training works will be required above the gorge, in addition to the training works needed both above and below the barrage, to ensure the river being forced to keep to its present channel (see Appendix IV.).

PROGRAMME OF CONSTRUCTION OF CANALS

(iv.) As already stated, the Committee recommended that the barrage and Rohri Canal should be *completed* simultaneously, but in the 1920 Project they are to be *begun* simultaneously, and the barrage is to be completed five years before the Right Bank Canals, and six years before the Rohri Canal and Nara River works. This seemingly slight difference in the order of construction is of the most vital importance to the project. If the barrage is built first, as proposed in the 1920 Project, on account of the great accumulation of interest charges, without any large revenue to reduce them, the project cannot be a productive work.

On the other hand, if the Rohri Canal, or part of it, is constructed first, it will immediately begin to earn revenue by changing large areas of lift into flow, and from new cultivation, which will greatly reduce the accumulation of interest charges while the barrage is being built.

There are other points in which the 1920 Project does not agree with the advice of the Secretary of State's Committee as shown in Appendix X.

ALTERNATIVE PROJECTS

There are two alternative projects, however, which seem certain to be successful :

(a) The Rohri Canal, followed by the barrage and later on by the Right Bank Canals, as suggested by the Secretary of State's Sukkur Barrage Committee of 1913 (see Appendix VIII.).

(b) The Rohri Canal alone to begin with, as proposed, in the event of the scheme with the barrage being too costly (see Appendix IX.).

(a) This project has been advocated by nearly all experts, as shown in Appendix VIII.

In Appendix XII. it is shown that by postponing the barrage for four years and beginning with the Rohri Canal, the saving will be over 200 lakhs (£2,000,000). Based on the 1920 Revenue Report forecasts, this project will be productive with interest at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while the barrage first project, at the same rate of interest, would only give a return of 4.9 per cent.

(b) THE ROHRI CANAL ALONE TO BEGIN WITH

The other safe alternative suggested by the Bombay Government in 1906 and again in 1909, in the event of the scheme with the barrage in it proving too costly, is to consider the Rohri Canal by itself. This could not fail to be a remunerative work (see Appendices IX. and XII.).

Both the projects of 1912 and 1920 provide for a barrage to be completed five years before the canals. This means a vast accumulation of interest debt, which deficit it is essential to avoid. The Rohri Canal, if carried out by itself, as suggested in (b), for the irrigation on the left bank of the Indus, should have its off-take above the Sukkur gorge, which is a natural weir.

With this off-take ample supplies of water could be assured at a trifling cost by lowering the canal bed for a few miles at its head, and the barrage could be built when it was found to be required.

The lowering of the bed by increasing the difference in level between the top of the barrage gates and the full supply level in the canal would prevent the canal's discharge being reduced on account of the usual deposit of silt at canal heads, which occurs both without and with a barrage.

If it is proposed to utilize the fall from the river into the canal for the production of water-power, the deepening could be made sufficient for this purpose.

This point should be carefully considered before beginning work at the canal head, as deepening could not be carried out afterwards unless at great loss to Government and to the Zamindars—in fact, it would be almost impracticable (see Appendix IV., par. 22).

The barrage being constructed at a subsequent date, while the canal was earning revenue, would not be a serious financial error, and the right bank irrigation could subsequently be linked up with a harnessed Indus.

I have no hesitation in stating, as my firm conviction, that only in this way, by commencing with the Rohri Canal, is it possible to frame a remunerative scheme.

COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

My views are therefore wholly at variance with the 1920 Project, which has been prepared by the engineers in India under a misunderstanding as to the Sukkur Barrage Committee's recommendations, and I contend that, when the Secretary of State considered it necessary to appoint a Committee to examine the scheme of 1912, it is *a fortiori* necessary that the much more expensive and more dangerous project of 1920 should receive expert investigation. I claim that the 1920 Project has been very seriously underestimated in cost, that it has been just as seriously overestimated in revenue receipts; that the works as designed and the programme of execution constitute a menace and might easily lead to a catastrophe. I consequently plead the urgent need for investigating, by a competent committee of experts, before it is commenced,

an immense project which might prove to be a huge financial failure and even worse.

Taking everything into consideration—in my opinion—the annual loss to Government, which will have to be made good by the tax-payer, cannot possibly, under the most favourable circumstances, be less than £250,000 per annum, and will probably be more than £500,000 (see Appendix XII.) for an indefinite time.

DISCONTENT AMONGST CULTIVATORS

I have just received a letter from the Chief Engineer in Sind, in which he discusses the measures lately put in force to curtail the quantity of water used for rice in the Right Bank Canal Tract. He shows the grave danger of trying to make any sudden changes, and states that on account of these measures “complaints from all parts of the Province are frequent and bitter,” and that “something will have to be done to allay the present discontent.”

If the barrage and Right Bank Canals are postponed for only a few years till the Rohri Canal is earning, say, 8 or 10 per cent., these rice assessments could be much reduced, and so made practicable.

It may be that these high rates were based on the assumption that the recent high prices of rice would be kept up. If so they should be revised, as prices of foods have been falling fast in India. For example, the price of all food articles in Bombay which, in September, 1920, averaged 90 per cent. above the price in July, 1914, had fallen to 53 per cent. by April, 1921.

I am certain that if an attempt is made to curtail the present rice areas in the northern and southern areas of the Right Bank Tract, to make the canals workable, as proposed in this 1920 Project, and to increase the assessments on rice by anything approaching the great increases of 80 to 120 per cent. proposed, this discontent will be much aggravated, and might lead to very serious consequences in a province which has hitherto been loyal and peaceful (see Appendix VII.).

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 25, 1921, at which a paper was read by Dr. T. Summers, C.I.E., entitled "The Sukkur Barrage Project and Empire Cotton." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair. The following members, amongst others, were present: H.H. The Maharao of Cutch, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir H. Evan James, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Lionel Jacob, K.C.S.I., Sir George Buchanan, K.C.I.E., Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate, Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Thomas J. Bennett, C.I.E., M.P., Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Mr. G. O. W. Dunn, O.B.E., and Mrs. Dunn, Mr. W. Coldstream, K.I.H., the Rev. Dr. R. H. Durham, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Summers, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Lieut.-Colonel J. K. Robertson, Mrs. Peebles, Mr. A. L. Emanuel, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Miss Milner, Mr. H. M. Jagtiani, Miss Nina Corner, Professor and Mrs. Bickerton, Miss Webster, Mr. R. H. Balfour Blair, Mr. Headley V. Storey, Miss Sykes, Miss M. Sorabji, Mrs. White, Mr. P. Ibotson Unwin, Mr. A. Rai, Lieut.-Colonel S. H. Roberts, Mr. Duncan Irvine, Mrs. Victor Fisher, Mr. Sidney Preston, C.I.E., Mr. J. S. Beresford, C.I.E., and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I will commence the proceedings by reading two letters; first of all, one from Lord Sydenham:

July 23, 1921.

DEAR DR. SUMMERS,

I am very sorry I cannot come on Monday. I retain the views which you know, and I was disturbed at the proposal of a barrage below the gorge. It would, I believe, entail a very large sum for training, and even then there would be constant trouble. It is a case in which it is wisest to follow Nature.

My strong view is that the Rohri Canal should be begun at once. (It ought to have been begun long ago.) Then let the site of the barrage be further investigated. Has there not been an idea that the Indus might some day leave the gorge and find a channel west of Sukkur? It seems to me that, if this possibility exists now, the danger would be much greater by putting the barrage either above, or especially below, the gorge.

I am afraid I have not time to write more.—With kind remembrances, I am, yours sincerely,

SYDENHAM.

Then there is another letter, from Sir Walter Hughes, who writes:

July 25, 1921.

MY DEAR SUMMERS,

I very much regret that my engagements will not allow of my being present to hear your paper read this afternoon.

My long connection with the project for the Rohri Canal, and my intimate association with General Fife, its originator, were referred to on the last occasion on which the matter came before the East India Association.

It is with a grave sense of the seriousness of the issues involved that I very strongly support your contention that what you refer to as the "1920 Project" should not be adopted until it has been submitted to and

approved by a committee of independent experts, who should be most carefully selected for their practical experience in such questions. Off-hand, I think the Chairman and Chief Engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission, or an officer nominated by him, an engineer with experience in training works on the Mississippi, an experienced officer of the French Ponts et Chaussées, and an English engineer would be a suitable combination.

(Signed) WALTER S. HUGHES.

I will now ask Dr. Summers to read his paper on this very important work in connection with the irrigation of Sind. I will not say anything about the project at this stage. I will only say that you are aware that Dr. Summers' opinion must be well worth considering. I think for upwards of thirty-five years he served the Public Works Department in the Bombay Presidency, and for a great proportion of that time he was Engineer-in-Chief at Sind. He always had his heart thoroughly in his work. It was then that I had the privilege of knowing what a very ardent and energetic official he was, therefore his views must carry weight. I am afraid it is, perhaps, rather late in the day now, but if it is the consensus of opinion of this meeting that his views are worthy of further consideration, I do hope that it is not too late, and that the India Office may still consider whether or not it is desirable to revise their opinion before proceeding with the very great and expensive work of erecting this Sukkur Barrage. The danger of it has been alluded to by Lord Sydenham in his letter. I will not now stand between you and the paper which we are going to hear read by Dr. Summers.

THE LECTURER read the paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your Highness, ladies and gentlemen, I think you will agree with me that we have listened to a very instructive paper on a theme upon which Dr. Summers is well qualified to advise us. I confess that my feeling is that his case is unanswerable. I am not an expert myself, although when Governor of Bombay I had the projects of further irrigation of Sind before me, but at the same time all the facts which he has brought to our notice seem to me almost unanswerable. I hope there will be some gentlemen here who will be able to criticize his figures, as surely the Government must have some reason or argument on their side. If they have no solid reasons to offer, then it seems to me that the Government must be made to reconsider a scheme which is extraordinarily costly, perhaps dangerous to the whole working of the system of the River Indus. As I understand from what Dr. Summers says, the Rohri Canal Project would come almost at once into operation and be productive, whereas the Government scheme would take ages before it could be in working order. That is, however, quite a minor point in comparison with what he sets forth as being the enormous expense, and also, as I say, that it might be destructive of the present river system of the Indus. I hope that there are some gentlemen here who will give us the benefit of their advice, and possibly of their criticism on this matter.

There is one gentleman here, Sir Lionel Jacob, who is well qualified to address a gathering like this. He was, I think, a member of the Committee of 1913, and therefore I am sure that his views will be listened to

with great pleasure by this meeting. I therefore now ask Sir Lionel Jacob to address the meeting.

Sir LIONEL JACOB said that in making a few remarks on Dr. Summers' excellent lecture, he would not enter into ancient history, although the subject had occupied the attention of administrators and engineers for a great many years. He would just briefly refer to three projects which were, after all, the outstanding features of the whole question. The first of those projects, the project of 1910, was prepared by Dr. Summers himself. He had framed an estimate for the construction of a great canal, called the Rohri Canal, which was designed to take off from the Indus at the Sukkur gorge, and to irrigate a very large tract of country on the left bank of the river. This scheme did provide for the construction of a barrage, though it had generally been held that Dr. Summers was an opponent of the barrage idea. But that was a mistake on the part of the public. All that Dr. Summers said was that he believed that the Rohri Canal, as designed by him, could obtain its supplies from the Indus at the gorge, and it would be time enough to build the barrage at a later stage, if and when it was required. Dr. Summers even went as far as to say that he had no objection to the barrage forming a definite item of the scheme, only it should be completed to synchronize with the completion of the canal in order that it might be built just at the time when the project was arriving at a full development. But just about that time there arose a great outcry that the Punjab was going to ruin Sind. The Punjab is a province of India which lies to the north of Sind, and the canals of the Punjab, which are numerous and important, derive their supplies both from the Indus and its tributaries. It was therefore not unnatural for people to suppose that the withdrawals of water from the Indus and its tributaries in the Punjab would have the effect of reducing the supplies at Sukkur. An exhaustive examination of the statistics has, however, shown that in spite of the Punjab withdrawing more and more water from the Indus basin, there has been no adverse effect whatever, either on the volume of water in the Indus at Sukkur or upon its level. Still the outcry continued; it was thought Sind would be ruined, and that was how the next project—a barrage project—came to be conceived. It was the project which Dr. Summers had referred to as the scheme of 1912. It provided for a barrage in the position that had been pointed out, and the barrage was to be started simultaneously with the canal in order that there might be no doubt that the canals in Sind would obtain water. But, all the same, the early commencement of the barrage was based on a mistaken idea, and the very fact that the project was framed on these lines made it unproductive. The Committee of Experts appointed by the Secretary of State to examine the scheme unanimously held that the project would not be remunerative, and it was rejected mainly for that reason. The Committee made some further suggestions, but that may be said to have been the chief reason why the project was not sanctioned. When the experts' opinion was communicated to the Government of India, it remained for the Bombay engineers to arrive at some revisions of the

former scheme, and they prepared the project which Dr. Summers had called the project of 1920. The speaker had not had the privilege of seeing the 1920 papers, but he had heard a great deal about them from Dr. Summers, and while the experts found that the project of 1912 was underestimated in cost, he was perfectly certain that the project of 1920 had been much more seriously underestimated; and in the matter of revenue, while the Committee of 1913 found that the Chief Commissioner of Sind had based his revenue forecast on very safe and cautious figures, the revenue receipts as anticipated by the 1920 Project could only be described—as Dr. Summers had described them—as visionary. He did not think that they would ever be fulfilled, and it seemed quite certain that the project would be, as had been said by Dr. Summers, a gigantic financial failure. He did not, however, wish it to be thought that he put money before every other consideration. If the position were that, in order to exploit the potentialities of Sind, an immense irrigation work is necessary, and that in no circumstances could the cost of that work be productive, he himself would be quite prepared to agree to an unremunerative project for the sake of the future of Sind. But even so, there was no reason to waste money, and the 1920 Project would lead to an incredible amount of waste. He was certain that the necessary work could be done more cheaply and more efficiently. Then, in addition, there was the danger which Dr. Summers had pointed out of an Indus avulsion. If the barrage was built at the site chosen in the 1920 Project, and in the way it had been designed to be built, the speaker thought that it was not only conceivable, but even probable, that the Indus would break away to the west of Sukkur and lead to a disaster which would be so calamitous as to be almost unthinkable. It would cut off many canals from the sources of their supplies, and one had to remember that in Sind the great bulk of the population were dependent upon canal cultivation. It would also very seriously damage the railway system and disorganize traffic. The speaker therefore wished to cordially support Dr. Summers in his views that it was highly essential that the Secretary of State should appoint a committee of the best experts he could obtain to exhaustively examine the project before he allowed it to be commenced.

Sir EVAN JAMES said that it was very curious that twenty years after he had left India he found that a project in which he was very much interested when he was there was still only a project. He did not wish to take up time by inflicting a layman's views upon the audience because he thoroughly agreed with what Sir Lionel Jacob had said. If they could have, and he knew they could have, a thoroughly well paying new canal, it would be the Rohri Canal that Colonel Fife was so keen upon, and it was no good making a barrage which possibly might interfere with that. Those who knew Sukkur must know how peculiarly dangerous it would be to make a barrage which would risk the sweeping away of the town of Sukkur as had happened to other towns before. If the Rohri Canal could be constructed and a thorough reinvestigation made as to whether a barrage should also be carried out, then a very great benefit would be con-

ferred on Sind and the whole of India. He was of opinion that they must "gang warily." It would be a most terrible mistake to make a barrage and send the whole of the water of the Indus round Sukkur. He remembered one of the chairman's predecessors as Governor of Bombay standing on a high point and looking at Sukkur and the river, and saying: "You do not tell me that you are going to risk getting the whole of the waters of the Indus round the gorge behind Sukkur. It would be a most frightful calamity!" Anybody who had ever gone up the Indus during the inundations, and seen the river eating into its banks half a mile or a mile at a time, would know that the danger was not problematical. If once the river began to eat, as it was termed, in a few days it would have eaten through the bank above the town of Sukkur, and run round and left the gorge and the great bridge as monuments to posterity. The speaker also cordially agreed with what Sir Lionel Jacob had said as to the propriety of making the Rohri Canal first. It had been designed by Colonel Fife, and if that canal could be made without a barrage there was no reason why it should not be; and afterwards if water was wanted on the right bank there could be a barrage; the cultivation on the right bank was already the very best in Sind. The speaker had always hoped that it would be possible, but he had not gone into the subject, to have a barrage that would bring in a quantity of water on a high level, not only along the left bank which Dr. Summers loved so well, but also along the right bank to improve and extend still further the rice cultivation. He hoped that a direct representation would be made by the Chairman and others to the Secretary of State for India not to be in a hurry, but to commence with the Left Bank Canal, and when that had been made—and apparently there was already plenty of water for it—then the most scientific men could consider whether the barrage was possible and would be advantageous. If it was possible to have a perennial supply of water on the right bank and also on the left it would be magnificent, but it was no use incurring risk to get it.

Mr. G. OWEN W. DUNN, O.B.E.: When Dr. Summers read his paper in 1914 on "The Development of Cotton Cultivation in India," advocating the very early commencement of the Rohri Canal, I remember remarking on his dogged persistence, and expressed the belief that he would resolutely refuse to "shuffle off this mortal coil" until he had seen that work commenced. Dr. Summers is gifted with more than the usual tenacity of his race, and this great project has absorbed his entire energies for many years. He lives for it, his whole existence is permeated with it, and the very house he lives in he has named "Rohrimede." Such consistent and persistent devotion to a cause must command our warm admiration, and this paper is evidence of the immense energy and the painstaking research, as well as the high technical knowledge, he has lavished on his case. It may be said that the Institute of Civil Engineers would be a more suitable body than this before which to read so technical a paper, and I hope that the Council of that Institution will be furnished with copies. The subject, however, is one which is vital to the interests of

the province of Sind and of the great mass of its agricultural population, while, as regards the possibilities of extensive cotton cultivation, it has Imperial importance, so that this venue is not unsuitable, and I think this Association is to be congratulated on the opportunity afforded it by this paper to discuss the highly important point which is its main topic—viz., the order in which the different sections of this vast project should be undertaken.

I may say at once that in my opinion Dr. Summers is right, though I confess that I am not fully conversant with all the arguments on the other side. I served, however, as Superintending Engineer of the Indus Left Bank Division for four and a half years when the Jamrao Canal was being constructed and brought into operation, and I thus know something of the Indus, of the area commanded by the proposed Rohri Canal, and of the agricultural population. I have traversed the Indus from the extreme north of Sind to its mouths, and the gorge at Sukkur-Bukkur-Rohri I have at least seen more than once. I am therefore able to follow Dr. Summers' arguments and figures, and on these I say he is undoubtedly right in urging that before the barrage is commenced the Rohri Canal should be undertaken and brought to the revenue-producing stage in at least its upper reaches. I will not attempt to go into all Dr. Summers' arguments, and if it be said that figures can be made to prove anything I retort that this applies with at least equal force to the other side! An estimate is after all only an estimate, and we have here estimates, both of prime cost and of revenue, upon the approximate accuracy of both of which the financial success of the project depends. There is also an estimate of annual progress on works any serious departure from which must materially affect the charges for interest during construction. Now I am in agreement with Dr. Summers that an increase of 20 per cent. over pre-war rates for construction is quite inadequate. I am in agreement with him that an annual expenditure of two crores of rupees on works is impossible. I am further in agreement with him that to attempt to increase the rates of assessment to the extent proposed and to reduce the area under rice would result in very serious trouble indeed. We have heard much in recent years of the psychology of peoples: the Sindhi zamindar has his peculiar psychology, and to assume that you can afford to disregard this is merely asking for trouble. He is wasteful of water, and he likes to see his canal running full whether he wants to use it or not. He is intensely conservative, and he must be treated gently and be gradually—very gradually—educated into more scientific and less wasteful methods of irrigation. He is inflammable material, and is quick to take alarm at the first hint of interference with his water supply. The revenue estimates must give full consideration to these points.

It is freely acknowledged by Dr. Summers that the barrage will be eventually required. It is merely, with him, whether it should be commenced simultaneously with the Rohri Canal, or whether the latter should be first undertaken and its first one or two sections be brought into operation and made revenue-producing before the barrage is begun. The

bogey of insufficient supply in the river because of the large draw-off in the Punjab is effectually killed by an examination of the river gauge readings and discharges, and there is no reason that I can see why the canal should not be begun first, while it is evident that the net charges on the whole scheme must be reduced if a portion of it can be made remunerative before the years of unremunerative expenditure with its attendant interest charges while the barrage is being built are faced. This would, moreover, give time for a further consideration of the site for the barrage. To me the selection of a site *below* the gorge appears grotesque. Possibly there is something in it that I fail to understand, but, if the water level at the head of the canals taking off above the barrage is to be maintained, it must involve a higher, and probably more costly, structure; it must mean enormous additional training works (which are in any case an element of danger), and it must cause a rise in the subsoil water-level below the gorge the effect of which cannot be foreseen. The matter is so serious that it should, in my opinion, be re-examined by a committee of fresh expert minds, unprejudiced by any former connection with the project.

I sincerely hope that some member present will take the opposite view, for Dr. Summers, I know, will welcome the opportunity to bombard him with facts, figures, extracts, and experiences, and I express my sympathy with that member in advance.

I apologize for the length of my remarks, and congratulate Dr. Summers on his monumental work, which I trust may receive from the authorities the serious consideration it deserves. I think that the Association might well send a copy of the paper with this afternoon's discussion on it to the Secretary of State for India, with the expression of their anxiety for a very careful review of the whole matter as being one of first-rate importance both to Sind and to the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN: I hope, as Mr. Dunn has said, there is someone prepared to criticize this paper, because it seems to me to be inconceivable that there are not some arguments to justify the proposed action of the Secretary of State.

Professor BICKERTON said that when he noticed the title of the lecture he thought he would like to say a word or two upon it. He was at a meeting of the British Science Guild, and could not help feeling that one of the things to be done was to submit the matter to that Guild for their opinion and any advice they could possibly give on this subject. Irrigation was a great feature, but it was now recognized clearly that all water projects had to be considered, as Dr. Summers had so ably put it, also from the electrical side, from the point of view of the canals and the rivers dammed with their barrages being used for traffic purposes. Also we had to consider the tremendous danger that there is in connection with the changes of rivers. Only this week there had been notices of the great holes that had been wrought in the Thames by scouring action. It was a noteworthy thing that eighteen centuries B.C. the first great revolution in China was due to bad engineering deflecting two rivers from their beds, so that they lost their former courses and never went back to them again.

He thought, therefore, from the political standpoint the subject was one that required very great care. In New Zealand, where he had been a Professor for thirty years, a lake had been tapped, and in that particular case there was no barrage required. In the city where he lived for so many years electricity could now be produced at something like a half-penny per unit, which showed the tremendous importance of adapting a work properly for electrical as well as other purposes. He earnestly urged that Dr. Summers' sound advice should be taken, and no money expended till the subject had been thoroughly investigated in all its aspects.

Colonel Sir CHARLES YATE said that it was a unique experience for him to be present at a meeting of the East India Association, and to find a project which had obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State so universally and unanimously condemned as the project they had before them that day. He took a great interest in Sind, having joined the 1st Baluchis at Haidarabad, Sind, more than fifty years ago, and having ended his service in Baluchistan. He thoroughly realized what had been said by Mr. Dunn and others of the great danger of enhancing the revenue assessment of the Sind cultivator to the extent proposed. He could not speak from an engineering point of view, but he hoped that what had been suggested, that the Secretary of State should be approached on the matter, would be agreed to by the Association, with a request that a careful investigation should be made into the problem before the Secretary of State took any further steps in the matter.

Miss SCATCHERD asked whether it would not be possible for someone to speak who supported the Government scheme, because she agreed with the Chairman that it was inconceivable that there was not some reasonable justification for such an enormous project, and that, if necessary, they should have a further discussion at a future session on the subject, because it seemed a most important matter.

Mr. STANLEY RICE said that he would like to know whether Dr. Summers could supply any arguments on the other side; he must know them, even if he could confute them, and the meeting would like to know what they were.

Dr. SUMMERS: One reason is that "in the unfavourable conditions of a low river, combined with a scanty flow from the catchment area, the withdrawals (Punjab) might have an appreciable effect in lowering the water level at Sukkur at the beginning and end of the inundation season, which are the critical periods for inundation canals." For this reason, "though the dangers of further withdrawals in the Punjab have been very much exaggerated, there is still good reason to say that Sind ought to be protected by the construction of a barrage from the chance of such misfortune as that just indicated." This reason is replied to on page 18 of Appendix I.

Another reason is the fear that the withdrawal of about 10,000 cusecs by the Rohri Canal will seriously affect the supply in the Right Bank Inundation Canals below Sukkur till the barrage is ready. Appendix XIII. shows that there are no grounds for this fear.

A third reason is that the 1920 Project has been prepared according to the recommendations of the Secretary of State's Barrage Committee of 1913. This is a misunderstanding which is fully explained in Appendix X.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, may I say on your behalf that we are very pleased to have present His Highness the Maharao of Cutch. I am sure all who are present have appreciated the lecture, although there might have been a little adverse criticism, because the only one has been supplied by the writer of the paper himself. I may say that I did write to Lord Lytton, the Under-Secretary of State, some time ago in connection with this proposal, and I received a reply from him to this effect:

June 18, 1921.

DEAR LAMINGTON,

A revised Sukkur Barrage Project was recently received from India, and has been considered by the Secretary of State in Council, who has decided to accept the recommendations of the Government of India, subject to its being shown that the project can be financed to completion without undue difficulty.

I understand that the arguments of Dr. Summers, who has also been in frequent communication with this office, were considered by the Government of India before they made their recommendations.

The Secretary of State in Council has not failed to pay due attention to the representations of Dr. Summers, but the weight of the expert opinion at his disposal is against Dr. Summers' views, and he cannot therefore accept them. I am convinced that all aspects of this project have now been fully considered by all the authorities concerned, and that a further inquiry on the lines you suggest could serve no useful purpose at this stage.

I return the enclosures to your letter.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) LYTTON.

That is rather a final letter, but I think, perhaps, we might see whether we cannot make further representations; but it is not the habit of this Association to pass any resolutions.

We are very grateful, and I should like to express the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Summers for the very careful collaboration and preparation of this complex question, which must have necessitated an enormous amount of toil. He has no personal axe of his own to grind, but simply does it as a lover of India, and particularly with regard to the wish to develop Sind on the best lines. I think that the thanks not only of this meeting, but of all those who have at heart the interests of India and the development of that wonderful territory should be given to Dr. Summers, not only for coming here this afternoon to read the paper, but for his careful preparation of the whole subject.

Mr. STANLEY RICE said that Dr. Summers ought to have an opportunity of replying to criticism, but as there had been none to reply to it was not necessary to call upon him. He would propose a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Lamington for presiding, which he was sure all would endorse, and at the same time, as this was the last meeting of the particular session, he would like to wish everybody present a pleasant holiday.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you. That concludes the business of the afternoon.

Mr. W. L. Strange, M.I.C.E., late Chief Engineer in Sind, writes : "This excellent paper is Dr. Summers' crowning effort to present facts for decision in connection with the immense irrigation scheme to which he has devoted many years of study, and his unique experience of irrigation conditions in Sind. It is sure to be appreciated by those interested in the development of the Province and of the Empire, and should be welcomed by those with whom lies the great responsibility of coming early to a wise and final settlement of the many problems involved, which have engaged the attention of many experts during the last seventy years. The first matter which he has established from official gaugings is that the discharge of the Indus at Sukkur has not, as was originally anticipated, been materially affected by the increased draw-off by the Upper Punjab Canals, as these return to the river by seepage a considerable portion of the water they pour on to the area irrigated by them. This being the case, Dr. Summers holds that the barrage is not wanted at the start of the construction of the canal systems, and that its execution should be deferred until it becomes necessary by the expansion of irrigation. If the barrage is built before it is thus required, there will not be any revenue from it as a set-off to the heavy charges for its maintenance and for interest on the sum expended on it, and, therefore, the whole scheme will fail to produce the return which would justify its being undertaken as a productive work. These opinions are eminently sound, for it should be a financial axiom that, when a large scheme can be carried out in progressive stages, it should not be commenced of full size. The latter procedure will result at first in comparatively small gross revenue when irrigation is being started, and the net revenue will be out of proportion smaller, owing to maintenance charges being increased by the size of the project.

"It seems out of the question to contemplate the starting of construction in these abnormal times, when labour, materials, and English stores are all inflated in cost, and when the rate of exchange is low and the charge for interest is very high. All prices, it is hoped, will fall shortly, and their drop should be awaited, or the scheme will be carried out at such increased expenditure that a proper return on it will not be possible from the future irrigation assessments, which themselves must be greatly reduced below the rates taken into account in the 1920 Project revenue estimate. It is for this reason that the execution of several large schemes in England, Egypt, and the Soudan is being suspended till more favourable times.

"This delay will, moreover, be advantageous, as it will enable the 1920 Project to be examined by a committee, and such examination appears all the more necessary as that Project has not, in respect to the location of the barrage, carried out the recommendations of the 1913 Committee. The proposed committee should be independent, expert, and impartial, and might therefore consist of a few retired officials—revenue and engineering—with recent local experience, but not immediately connected with the submitted Projects, and of an American or Egyptian engineer, or both, conversant with the technical problems which have to be solved."

Mr. W. L. Cameron, C.S.I., late Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and a member of the 1913 Sukkur Barrage Committee, writes :

1. The Rohri Canal, the construction of which Dr. Summers has so long and so strenuously advocated, is designed to irrigate a tract of country, part of which now obtains a precarious supply from inundation canals. A considerable area of the land so served lies high, and irrigation is possible only by lift. All this and other land, which cannot at present be irrigated at all, will receive a perennial supply *by flow* from the proposed canal.

2. A canal of this kind has been proposed twice before, and in neither case did a barrage at Sukkur form part of the scheme. Dr. Summers is aware that to render the irrigation really safe at all times and for the whole length of the canal a barrage is necessary, but what he urges is that part of the canal should be opened for irrigation before work is undertaken on the barrage, and he bases his proposal on grounds that appear eminently sound.

3. In the first place it is necessary to begin earning revenue at the earliest possible moment, so as to avoid the accumulation of charges for interest during construction, which might otherwise be so heavy as to destroy all chance of the work being productive.

4. According to my recollection of the drawings in Dr. Summers' project and data of the river, the first two sections of the canal might safely be opened independently of the barrage. By this means not only would the scheme become revenue-producing at an early date, but by using the water power of the Falls, energy would be rendered available electrically at the barrage, both during construction and after completion, to work the gates.

5. Dr. Summers lays stress, and I think advisedly, on not allowing the energy at the Falls to be dissipated in pounding the brick pavements. As he points out, paying crops cannot be grown without the assistance of fertilizers when nearly all the culturable land under command is to be cultivated every year. The fixation of nitrogen from the air has now become an important business in Germany, and I agree unreservedly with Dr. Summers that every endeavour should be made to encourage the establishment of an industry of the kind in Sind. If turbines are provided by Government, I believe that private enterprise would do the rest.

6. Dr. Summers is emphatic that the site for the barrage has been badly selected, and he states that the site below the gorge has been chosen under the mistaken impression that the Committee of 1913 recommended it. He asserts, quite correctly, *that it did nothing of the kind*. There were serious objections to the upper site, and what the Committee did was to recommend that, if this had not already been done, some site below the influence of the gorge should be investigated. I have not seen any of the papers connected with the 1920 Project, but I cannot believe that the experienced Indian engineers can have read this suggestion as being a definite recommendation that the barrage should be constructed below the gorge. They must know that a responsible Committee would not so stultify itself as to make a definite recommendation on a matter on which

the members had nothing to guide them. To suggest investigation is one thing, to make a definite recommendation is another. Neither site can be free from certain objectionable features, and the presumption must be that the Indian engineers have come to the conclusion that the balance of advantages over defects in the lower site is greater than in the upper.

7. One objection raised to the lower site is that for it extensive river training works will be necessary above the gorge. But from the head of the gorge to the site that appears to have been selected—a distance apparently of rather more than three miles—the river is stable and fairly straight, the Sukkur and Rohri shores form efficient guides, and a weir could be constructed with the axes of the piers approximately parallel to the direction of the stream. I use the word “approximately,” for in the Pass, when the river is in flood, is observable the phenomenon termed “breathing.” At regular intervals the water is piled up, at one time on the Rohri shore and then on the Sukkur shore, and during the periods of transition local currents may be produced which would impinge obliquely on the piers, first on one side and then on the other. With long guide banks the intensity of the “breathing” might be reduced, but I do not think it would ever be stopped altogether. I have observed the same phenomenon on a small scale in large canals.

8. For the upper site training works would certainly be necessary, and I am not sure that the formidable nature of the task of forming artificial training banks, even three or four miles long, is appreciated. It would not be a mere question of conserving the river, but it might, and probably would, be one of diverting the bed, so that the water might flow in the channel desired.

9. Some years ago an attempt was made to save the town of Dera Ghazi Khan, which was threatened by the encroachment of the Indus, and failed. The river demolished the protective works as they were erected, and proceeded to cut away and swallow up the town. It was stated that the work would have been successful if orders to commence it had been issued earlier, and that the six weeks' delay that occurred was fatal. That need not be discussed now, but I believe that the task of stopping encroachment by the river would be child's play compared with that of forcing the river to cut for itself and to flow along a certain defined and fairly straight channel some miles in length. I do not for a moment mean to say that this would be beyond the capacity of the engineers in India, *provided that money was no object*. Any attempt to do the work cheaply would be foredoomed to failure.

10. Another objection raised is that a barrage on the lower site might cause the river to cut a new channel for itself behind Sukkur, or to flow down the Nara River, which at one time may have been the course of the Indus, or more probably of the Sutlej. But the sill of the weir will probably be at the level of the sandy bed, and as the gates would be raised clear of the water the only obstruction, when the river is in flood, would be the piers. They would cause some afflux, but I do not believe that its effect would be felt on the Sukkur Begari bund.

11. With regard to the possible danger of the gorge silting up, it is

678* *The Sukkur Barrage Project and Empire Cotton*

sufficient to say that when the river is in flood the velocity through the gorge is some 13 feet per second. Such a velocity would rapidly remove any silt that might have been deposited when the river was low and the flow stopped by the closing of the gates.

12. With regard to the remarks made by Dr. Summers on the apparently low rates provided in the estimate for work, the high rates *per contra* of land revenue in the forecast of revenue, and the ill-effects that might be produced by trying to force a conservative population to alter too rapidly their methods of cultivation, I have only to say that I agree entirely with him.

13. It remains but to congratulate Dr. Summers on the part of the project which is his child—the Rohri-Hyderabad Canal. It is no exaggeration to say that for nearly a generation past the canal has been his “morning thought, his midnight dream, his hope throughout the day,” and though at one time he was faced with some opposition he has triumphed by reason of dogged persistence and clear and sound arguments. Every detail is witness to his wide experience and to the close study he has made of irrigation matters generally.

14. That the canal will prove a complete success I have not the slightest doubt, and I believe that not only will it be a boon to the Hyderabad district and stimulate Sind trade, but it will in itself more than fulfil the requirements of a “productive public work” according to the code definition. May Dr. Summers have the pleasure of seeing it opened!

Mr. Summers' Remarks on Mr. Cameron's Note

Mr. Cameron's opinion is valuable, as he had a good many years' experience of Sind, both in the early years of his service and as Superintending Engineer. He was also a member of the Sukkur Barrage Committee.

Par. 3.—Like the great majority of engineers who know Sind, Mr. Cameron has consistently advocated the construction of a part, at any rate, of the Rohri Canal before the barrage (p. 61). This programme, largely owing to the increase in the estimate of the barrage, is now the only hope of a remunerative work. (See p. 62, par. 32.)

Pars. 4 and 5.—Mr. Cameron is of opinion that the Rohri Canal should be designed to make use of the potential energy in the 40 feet of falls which have to be provided in the first 120 miles of the canal, owing to the comparatively steep fall of the ground. This power may be used for the production of fertilizers from the fixation of nitrogen, for pumping the barrage foundations and for other purposes. (See p. 49.)

Par. 6.—In this par. *Mr. Cameron states emphatically that the Sukkur Barrage Committee did not recommend that the barrage should be built below the gorge.* This is an important point, and it seems to me, from the papers connected with the present project, that through a misunderstanding it has been taken that the Committee and through them the Secretary of State recommended a lower site. For instance, in par. 16 of Letter No. 10,515 of September 22, 1915, from the Government of Bombay to

the Government of India, it is stated that "the abandonment of the original site for the barrage and headworks, and their location at some distance below the gorge," is "*entirely the outcome of a suggestion made by the London Committee.*"

Then in a printed note, dated July 8, 1915, the Chief Engineer, Bombay, states that "the London Committee have recommended that the barrage should be placed at some distance below the gorge." (See Vol. II., 1920, Appendix C.)

Again, in a letter dated March 8, 1921, the Inspector-General of Irrigation, referring to the preparation of the 1920 Projects, writes that they have simply been "carrying out the orders of the Secretary of State." As a matter of fact, what the Committee said was, that if a suitable site was found below the gorge, it should be *a few miles below the outfall gauge*, because at this place, as pointed out by the Chief Engineer, Bombay, "the heavy rush through the gorge seems to continue its scouring action to a certain extent at the outfall gauge site." (See pp. 12 and 13.)

Pars. 7-11.—In these pars. Mr. Cameron discusses the question of sites, and states that he prefers the lower site. In my opinion, after studying the question from every point of view, I prefer a site above the gorge, as fixed originally by Colonel Fife, after most careful examination, seventy years ago. An upper site was recommended by all experts for sixty years, and was finally fixed upon by Sir John Benton, while Inspector-General of Irrigation. (See p. 55.)

The reasons given by Mr. H. F. Beale, while Chief Engineer, Bombay, for the upper site, which are given in Appendix XV., are almost incontrovertible. Mr. Beale afterwards recommended the lower site, but his change of opinion was apparently influenced by the assumption that the Sukkur Barrage Committee actually recommended the lower site.

However, as there is still a difference of opinion as to the sites, the best solution of the difficulty, so as not to cause any further delay, seems to be to proceed with the excavation of the Rohri Canal, which must be made under any circumstances, while, as Mr. Cameron has suggested, "the battle of the sites is being fought."

Par 12.—Mr. Cameron agrees with every expert whom I have consulted, and who knows Sind and the Sindis, that the rates for work are too low, while the forecasts of revenue are too high. He also hints at the ill-effects which might be produced by trying to alter their methods of cultivation too rapidly.

Par. 14.—There is no room for doubt that the Rohri Canal would be a great success, and would suit admirably for the initial stages of Sind's long-awaited-for development.

Mr. Cameron also gave his opinion, as a member of the Sukkur Barrage Committee, on certain points in connection with a misunderstanding regarding the detailed project for the Right Bank Canals and their inclusion in the project.

This most unfortunate misunderstanding, which has caused several years' delay in Sind's development, is explained in the following extracts from letters :

Letter dated July 28, 1919

1. "*For the Rohri Hyderabad Canal I think we were all of the opinion that the barrage was not essential—that is to say, in all probability the canal would work well without the assistance of the barrage.*" (See p. 62, par. 32.)

2. "*The figures you give of gauge readings in June and September are more than interesting, and, as far as the Rohri Hyderabad Canal is concerned, I believe, as I have said, that the canal would give good results without a barrage.*" (See p. 34.)

Letter dated February 29, 1920

1. "Nothing had been stated, as far as I remember, in the papers before us of any site for a barrage having been investigated other than that above Sukkur. We therefore recommended that, if that were the case, a site below Sukkur should be examined. We hoped that one season's work would have sufficed to make observations which would decide the best site—*i.e.*, the site with the smallest number of objections to it—and I could not understand why, even after six years, the project had not been resubmitted." (See p. 45, par. 9.)

I heard a little while ago, however, that the delay was due to the preparation of a detailed project for the Right Bank Canal.

"*I need not say the Committee never suggested that a complete project for the Right Bank Canal should be prepared before the whole scheme could be considered.* But they did suggest that an approximate estimate of the cost should be made, and in considering the financial results the whole scheme should be looked upon as one. At all events, the Government of India should know the worst." (See p. 74, par. 20.)

2. "*I agree with you in thinking that there is no reason why excavation of the Rohri Canal should not be commenced while the battle of the sites is being fought.*"

"THE TIMES"

Leader on July 26, 1921

IRRIGATION IN INDIA

The Secretary of State for India seems to have decided to sanction the construction of a great barrage across the Indus at Sukkur, at an estimated cost of £18,500,000. Thus, by a stroke of the pen, Mr. Montagu contemplates settling a long-standing and hotly contested controversy. On no great engineering project have experts differed more seriously. One school maintains that the barrage should be constructed before the making of a canal on the left bank of the Indus. The other school has maintained, and still maintains, that the construction of the barrage, before making the canal, will involve grave risk of a total loss of all the money expended on the barrage. The whole question was discussed at a meeting of the East India Association, yesterday. At that meeting no single voice

was raised in favour of Mr. Montagu's decision, whereas many competent authorities expressed the conviction that the economic, financial, and political issues involved are far too grave to be decided by the mere *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of State for India. Lord Lamington, the chairman of the meeting, read a letter from Lord Lytton intimating that the Secretary of State in Council has decided in favour of giving the barrage preference, subject to its being shown that the project can be financed to completion without undue difficulty. The estimates of expense, which have apparently influenced the Secretary of State, were gravely questioned yesterday by Sir Lionel Jacob, who was a member of the committee which advised the Secretary of State in 1913. He declared that these estimates greatly understated expenditure and overstated probable receipts, and he expressed his opinion with much confidence that the whole scheme would be a financial failure.

It is not only the construction of the barrage before the canal which is in question. The position of the barrage itself is also a matter of controversy. For many years it has been understood that the barrage, when built, would be placed at the head of the Sukkur Gorge. The present proposal is to construct it some distance below the gorge, and experts who spoke at yesterday's meeting evidently believe that this may have the result of deflecting the course of the Indus, notoriously a river liable to change of course. If these fears should be realized, and the river should change its course as the result of the construction of the barrage, economic ruin might fall in a night on unnumbered people. Unless we mistake, the estimate for the construction of the barrage includes no calculation of the cost of works which might be necessary to prevent this calamity. In such a matter partisanship is out of the question, but it seems evident that any decision by the Secretary of State under these conditions must be premature. That view was strongly urged yesterday, and many of the speakers pleaded that, before any decision is taken by Mr. Montagu, independent expert advice should be obtained. The idea that a committee of independent experts should be asked to report on the whole project is not a new one. It was advocated yesterday by Sir Walter Hughes, who gained his early engineering experience in Sind, and is not the least distinguished engineer of our day with long Indian experience. The Secretary of State, we believe, will be well advised to take note of these suggestions. If he decides to appoint such an independent committee, their report should be the final arbiter in a matter which clearly requires the most expert decision that can be obtained.

INDEX OF THE APPENDICES

- I. LEVEL AND DISCHARGE OF THE INDUS AT SUKKUR
- II. EXTENSION OF COTTON AND WHEAT GROWING IN SIND
- III. PROGRESS OF IRRIGATION IN SIND
- IV. EFFECT OF THE SUKKUR BARRAGE ON THE INDUS
- V. POSTPONEMENT OF NARA RIVER WORKS
- VI. REASONS FOR POSTPONING THE SUKKUR BARRAGE
- VII. RICE ASSESSMENTS
- VIII. OPINIONS IN FAVOUR OF COMMENCING THE ROHRI CANAL
BEFORE THE SUKKUR BARRAGE
- IX. ROHRI CANAL ALONE TO BEGIN WITH
- X. THE SUKKUR BARRAGE COMMITTEE'S REPORT (1913)
- XI. HISTORY OF THE SUKKUR BARRAGE PROJECT
- XII. SAVING BY COMMENCING WITH THE ROHRI CANAL
- XIII. EFFECT OF ROHRI CANAL ON RIGHT BANK INUNDATION
CANALS
- XIV. REASONS FOR ROHRI CANAL FIRST AND FOR BARRAGE FIRST
- XV. SUKKUR BARRAGE SITES
- XVI. QUESTIONS IN PARLIAMENT

By arrangement with Dr. Summers, copies of the Appendices can be obtained by application to Messrs. East and West, Ltd., 3, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1. The price of each copy has been fixed by the author at 1s., and 3d. postage (1 rupee for India).

OBITUARY

THE LATE LORD REAY

K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.C.

IN Donald James Mackay—Lord Reay—Knight of the Thistle, and Chief of the Clan Mackay, the Commonwealth of Great Britain has lost one of its most thoughtful and broad-minded statesmen, and India one of the best and truest of her friends.

The last public gathering over which his Lordship presided a short time before his death was the Annual General Meeting of the East India Association, whose deliberations and activities he had guided as President, in succession to Sir Richard Temple, for more than a quarter of a century.

At this annual meeting he had the pleasure of greeting, in a graceful and felicitous speech, his old friend the Maharao of Cutch, who had come to London as a Representative of India on the Imperial Conference; and soon after this meeting it was made known that H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, at his Lordship's invitation, had been graciously pleased to become a Vice-President of the Association. Like these, there are many instances of the lively interest Lord Reay took in that body.

Lord Reay's high scholarship, administrative experience, deep sympathy and interest in all questions connected with the welfare of India had a most beneficial influence on the usefulness and success of the East India Association, and in directing its affairs he always displayed the same tact, kindness, and broad-minded toleration which had distinguished him as Governor of Bombay.

Educated as a jurist at the Leyden University, trained in the colonial system of the Dutch Government, having acquired some years' experience in its Legislature (where he had made secondary, agricultural, and industrial educational subjects his special study), and from 1877, when he became domiciled in Great Britain, having made himself

thoroughly familiar with questions concerning her Imperial responsibilities and obligations, it may well be doubted if the long list of British rulers of India affords any parallel to Lord Reay of a home statesman so fully equipped for the duties of governing one of her largest provinces (and perhaps the most important), to rule over which he was appointed in 1885. To add to these antecedent qualifications, Lord Reay sought by personal contact with prominent people of Indian experience, in the short interval before he started for India, an acquaintance with the conditions of life in that country, and the character and aspirations of her people; and on the eve of his departure, at a dinner given in his honour under the presidency of Lord Northbrook in London, he revealed such a knowledge of the duties and responsibilities of the office upon which he was about to enter, and gave pledges of the sympathetic attitude which was to mark his career in such clear and emphatic terms, that on his landing in Bombay he was at once welcomed by the people as a friend and well-wisher. This reputation he was fortunate enough to maintain unchallenged up to the date of his departure from her shores five years afterwards, and indeed up to the very close of his illustrious career.

Nothing but a very shadowy outline of the events of those five years could possibly be attempted here. Nor is it necessary, for, in fact, into the details of every department of his administration Lord Reay entered with such diligent care, introduced so many changes and reforms, established so many useful precedents, and elevated its standard to so high a level, that a record of his activities has been worthily chronicled in a large volume by no less an authority than Sir W. W. Hunter. This unique tribute to the unexampled success of Lord Reay's administration of an Indian province deserves careful study by all interested in India.

Here we can only briefly allude to the personal and public features in the character and career of Lord Reay which contributed to his remarkable success as a Governor.

A broad-minded policy, backed by a sympathetic regard for the reasonable aspirations of the people committed to his charge, was the keynote of all his activity. Soon after he entered upon his functions in actual government he began to cultivate personal acquaintance with prominent citizens of Bombay, with the result that he found among the younger generation able men whom he could call into his councils or to public duties in preference to those who previously had occupied those positions in a more or less ornamental capacity. By this means he inspired confidence in the public mind as to the genuineness of the official desire to secure non-official co-operation in legislation, and at the same time won over to the Government side possible opponents; and it is believed by many that, had Lord Reay's methods of mediation and conciliation been subsequently continued, the support of men of the Tilak class and the extreme Opposition might have been secured in the best interests of the Bombay Government and the people of the Presidency.

The relations of rulers of Native States, usually amicable, with the British Government and officials were also greatly stimulated for the better by the intimate personal intercourse which Lord Reay assiduously maintained with the Chiefs themselves. He gave early proof of his earnest desire to respect their rights, privileges, and dignity; and the critical appreciation from close study of their personal characters and their methods of administration which he formed enabled him to reward merit or to give timely caution against misrule, thus securing their confidence in him as a true friend. This was shown in a marked degree by the Valedictory Address from the Chiefs of Kathiawar, in which they prayed that Lord Reay might return to India in a higher capacity, for they really felt that on his departure from Bombay they were losing a sincere well-wisher and genuine guide.* His relations with them were

* The following sentence occurs in the address, which was drafted by Mr. (now Sir) M. M. Bhownaggee under special instructions from the Chiefs: "May you continue to take uninterrupted interest in the welfare of

based on the principle of non-interference, so that even when in some rare cases of persistent maladministration he was compelled to resort to severe measures, the fairness of his decision was acknowledged, and the belief of the general body of Chiefs in him as a guardian of their rights was not shaken. Indeed it may be said that their attachment to the British Crown was strengthened to a considerable extent during Lord Reay's régime.

Thus entrenched, as it were, in the confidence of both the Princes and the people, Lord Reay found that he could secure their agreement and co-operation even for those radical measures which, conceived by him in their interest, might still have provoked distrust and opposition on account of their novelty or as being repugnant to the popular conservative instinct. Land and Municipal Administration, Forestry, Excise, Public Works, University, Secondary, Elementary, Technical, Agricultural Education, Medical and Sanitary Improvement, the Establishment of Hospitals, Nursing Homes, and Dispensaries, the Extension of Railways, and almost every other department of administration which admitted of reforms and development, all fell within the scope of Lord Reay's far-sighted activities. They were the result of his own personal study and research, of his firm conviction of their necessity; and it is a signal proof of his hold over the public mind that while none of these reforms of any importance called forth serious resistance, many which required voluntary financial help, like educational endowments, hospitals, etc., were generously supported by Chiefs and opulent citizens without any official pressure whatever.

In recording this brief note of a highly successful and eventful gubernatorial career, it is but fair to recall that Lord Reay had the advice and help of two powerful colla-

the land over whose destinies your Excellency has presided with such conspicuous success for the last five years, and may the experience of that eventful period be devoted to the service of the Queen-Empress and of this Country even in a more exalted sphere of activity than the one you are just relinquishing."

borators. The memorable tenure of office by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army and as a Member of the Bombay Government synchronized with that of Lord Reay, and from him and his Royal Consort on the one hand, and on the other from Lady Reay (whose popularity was deservedly unbounded amongst all classes), the Governor derived invaluable and constant support in the accomplishment of his many-sided philanthropic schemes. With their help, too, it was rendered possible for him to break through much of that racial prejudice and aloofness which had till then prevented the social amenities of Government House and official circles from being freely extended to even the upper classes of Indians, not excepting high functionaries and Native Chiefs. This exclusiveness had, Lord Reay discovered almost at the beginning of his régime, resulted in an estrangement between the two communities, British and Indian, and been a source of much misunderstanding ; and its removal with a firm but courteous determination in the teeth of much opposition is perhaps not the least of those achievements which, even after the lapse of a generation, still endear the name and memory of Lord Reay to a people over whom he ruled so sympathetically and successfully for five eventful years.

It may well be claimed for Lord Reay that he was one of the makers of modern Bombay ; and it was hoped by many that he would have returned to India as Viceroy. But this was not to be. And India's loss proved London's gain. For, upon his release from office as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India, his Lordship devoted his energies to home educational problems, and on the resignation of Lord Londonderry he was elected Chairman of the London School Board, where, by his sound judgment, great charm of manner, and tranquil yet determined courtliness, he succeeded in stilling the wild sectarian and political tempests which often shook that turbulent body. He thus rendered admirable service to the cause of Education in the Metropolis of the Empire.

Lord Reay was a great master of languages, speaking French, German, Dutch, and Spanish with the slow stateliness and clear enunciation which distinguished his utterance of perfect English. One of his last educational acts was to bestow his blessing on "The International Language," evolved by the genius of Dr. L. L. Zamenhof, by becoming a Patron of the Twelfth British Esperanto Congress held at Harrogate two months before he died.

He held in his time many offices. He was the eleventh Baron Reay in the Peerage of Scotland and the first Baron Reay in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, besides being Baron Mackay of Ophemert in the Kingdom of Holland. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Roxburgh in Scotland, a Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews, Chancellor of the University of Bombay, President of the East India Association, of the Royal Asiatic Society, of University College, London, and of the British Academy.

In recognition of his services to India he was created a G.C.I.E. in 1887 and a G.C.S.I. three years later, and in 1906 he became a Privy Councillor—the Knighthood of the Thistle being added to his honours in 1911.

He was a British Plenipotentiary at the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907, and was an earnest advocate of peace. But when the war broke out he threw all his influence into helping the British Army; and the Clan Mackay, of which he was the Chief, rallied gloriously to the pibroch call. Eleven hundred of them joined the colours, and no fewer than seventy came over from New Zealand in one transport.

Full of years and well-won honours, Lord Reay bore up bravely to the end, and then, not without a certain dramatic fitness, the Chief of the Clan Mackay passed tranquilly away in the land of his forefathers from the noise and bustle of an August holiday

"To where beyond these voices there is Peace."

M. M. BROWNAGGREE.

JOHN POLLEN.

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE IRON AND STEEL POSITION IN INDIA

THE basis for a successful iron and steel industry is not simple. High-grade iron ore alone is insufficient, as in addition it must be near a coalfield containing coking coal, have supplies of limestone or dolomite, and, unless the internal demand is a large enough one, be near the seaboard.

There are thus four conditions to be fulfilled, other than labour, and it is curious how few countries do fulfil all. The United States has excellent iron ore (50 per cent. iron), but the haul from the iron mines to the coalfield is 800 miles, and the distance to the seaboard 250 to 300 miles. In the North of England the Cleveland district fulfils three conditions, but its ore is relatively low grade—30 per cent. iron. South Wales uses 50 per cent. ore, but has to bring it from Spain. India, in fact, is the country which most nearly fulfils the four conditions, and is thus destined to become one of the world producers of steel.

Until 1911 one ironworks existed in India, using a low-grade coal obtained in the ironstone shales of the coalfields, and leading a somewhat precarious existence.

The discovery of the rich, extensive orefields of Orissa and their use has since 1910 revolutionized the industry and made it a most prosperous one. Schemes already in operation make it certain that the output in five years' time will be $\frac{1}{2}$ million tons pig-iron and $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 million tons steel. The average percentage of metallic iron in the Orissa ores is 62 per cent., as compared with 50 per cent. in the American and Spanish ores, and 30 per cent. in the Cleveland ores.

The distance of the orefields from the coalfields is 150 miles only.

The ores exist in low hills, are worked in quarries at a low cost, and the quantity available is estimated at 3,000 million tons. The cost of mining and transporting to the coalfields (where ironworks are usually situated) the iron ore necessary to make one ton of pig-iron is—

			£	s.	d.
India ... ..	...	...	0	7	0
United States (Lake Superior ores) ...	...	...	2	0	0
North of England...	...	...	1	6	0
South Wales ... ..	...	...	2	0	0

Limestone or flux is plentiful in India within 200 miles of the coalfields, and can be cheaply worked, but the same applies to most iron countries; and the cost of putting into works the flux necessary for making 1 ton of pig-iron is much the same in all the countries mentioned above, and is 3s. per ton pig-iron. Indian coal is the dearest of the three products necessary for making steel, and the quantity of first-class cokeing coals is by no means limitless.

India possesses a number of coalfields, stretching from the Singeni coalfields of Hyderabad Deccan to those of Assam, but the most valuable, from extent and proximity to seaboard, lie along the valley of the Damuda River, west of Calcutta.

The Ranigunj coalfield, lying 140 miles west of Calcutta, is 500 square miles in area, and as the railway passed through it early in the development of the country (in 1857) it was opened out first.

It contains large quantities of first-class coal, and in the Deshegur Seam coal furnishes the best-known Indian coal, while its reserves of second-grade coal are literally enormous. It is poor in cokeing coals, however. At one time contributing 95 per cent. of the output of India, it has long been passed by its younger brother the Jherria coalfield.

The Jherria coalfield, thirty miles farther west, was not developed until 1886, when a railway was put into it. Its area is not as great as that of the Ranigunj (Jherria, 150

square miles), but there are few places in the world where more coal in a concentrated area exists—for instance, in Central Jherria the first 400 feet of strata from the surface contain 100 feet of good coal. It has rapidly increased its output to twelve million tons, but 1920 showed, for the first time, a serious decrease.

Practically all its coal is coking—half of it first-grade coal. A further thirty miles west lies the Bakaro-Jherria coalfield, 260 square miles in area. It has been developed in the last five years, but the useful seams are limited in area, and the field is not likely to become a large producer.

Again forty miles to the west are the Karanpura coalfields, 540 square miles in area, and at present being prospected. Large quantities of good coal have been found in the southern portion, a railway is being constructed into it, and its early and vigorous development is certain.

Until recent years the equipment of Indian collieries was poor. Working conditions, such as dip roof and water, were favourable, and when working near the surface no elaborate machinery was required. The last ten years has seen a great advance in equipment, and several groups of collieries exist in which all operations—winding, hauling, and pumping—are done electrically, from current generated at a central general station.

First-class Indian coal is not as good as English, as the ash percentage is 11 to 12 per cent. compared with 2 to 5 per cent., but the coking varieties make a fair, serviceable hard coke. While the quantity of first-class coking coal in the Bengal coalfields is great, the output is nothing like as large as it would be if mechanical coal-cutters were used, and the coming years must see a large increase in the use of mechanical coal-cutters.

Before the war Indian coal was amongst the cheapest in the world. For instance, the Indian railways usually paid 5s. 6d. per ton at pit's mouth for their coal. During the war prices were controlled, but the last year has seen a

steady rise in price of coal, and the price railways have contracted to pay for the next three years is 13s. per ton. The causes of the increase are two—first, a sensational drop in output from $22\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1919 to $17\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1920, due to labour not working so hard, a feature common to labour all over the world; and, secondly, to the increasing internal demand.

Labour will recover from the slackness from which it is now suffering—as labour all over the world will—but it will take some time to reach the figure of 1919, while the general industrial development of India and the special development of the iron and steel industry, based on coal, makes the question of coal-supplies one of the most urgent industrial problems of India. The development of other coalfields than Ranigunj and Jherria is an urgent matter, since they will tap fresh labour areas and increase output quickly.

The Indian coal trade seems to have certainly three prosperous years ahead of it.

Taking the price of Indian coal at 13s. per ton, the cost at the works of the coal necessary to make 1 ton of pig-iron is 24s. per ton.

The similar cost is 27s. in the case of the United States, 30s. in the case of South Wales, and 35s. in the case of the North of England.

It is difficult to estimate the prices of raw materials in England at present, where the economic situation is in such a state of flux, but in the figures given an endeavour has been made to give ample allowance for the recent drop in prices. For instance, coal in the case of England has been taken at £1 per ton, Spanish ore for South Wales at £1 per ton, whereas recent prices were £2 10s. and £1 15s. per ton respectively.

To sum up the raw material position in the various countries, and taking as an index figure the cost of delivering to an ironworks all the raw materials necessary for making 1 ton of pig-iron, this figure is—

	£	s.	d.
India	1	14	0
United States	3	10	0
England (Cleveland)	3	14	0
England (South Wales)	3	13	0

The Indian figure is less than half the others, or £2 per ton lower.

The item so far left out of consideration is labour, which now bulks so largely in every industrial proposition.

Indian labour is in a sense both cheap and dear—cheap in that the sum paid per day is low, dear in that the output per man is low.

The true criterion—cost of work done—while lower than European countries, is not abnormally low. The Indian workman, on the whole, is not a difficult proposition. Lacking initiative, he is a good imitator, and on the repetition work characteristic of modern industrial operations is quite useful, once properly taught.

Having customs and habits which are perhaps suitable, or which were once suitable, to a tropical climate, he resents interference with them.

Wages have risen considerably in the last three years, and present rates are from 3 rupees per day for skilled labour to 12 annas for unskilled. In spite of the relatively low rates of pay, the adoption of labour-saving machinery is always desirable.

The percentage of Europeans to natives in ironworks in India is not large, and the total labour and supervision charge not excessive.

At the present time, with present prices, pig-iron can be produced at a cost of 40s. per ton, or put on board ship in Calcutta for £2 5s. a ton.

Prices in other countries have fluctuated to an extraordinary extent recently, and while pig-iron in England has been as high as £14 per ton, and steel rails as high as £24, in the last two years, prices in July this year were as low as £6 for pig-iron and £14 for steel rails.

Even these prices are above the prices at which Con-

tinental makers are willing to deliver in England. It is considered probable that the pig-iron price in England will stabilize near £5 per ton. India is thus certain, in virtue of its rich ore and proximity to ore, coalfields, and seaboard, to be the cheapest producer of pig-iron, and consequently of steel, in the world.

The Indian market for all pig-iron and steel must be lost to England and the Continent as soon as the existing works and those under construction are capable of satisfying the demand.

In countries such as South Africa, South America, and the Far East, the Indian steel industry will eventually be a keen competitor with England, the Continent, and the United States.

THE NATURAL AND COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS OF NORTHERN KURDISTAN

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ALTHOUGH Kurdistan has never been considered rich, the prevalent opinion seems to have been founded on ignorance of the commercial prospects of the country; for there is evidence of an abundance of minerals as yet almost wholly unexploited, and considerable scope for the rearing of sheep and other cattle, and, to a lesser degree, for the development of agriculture. This view was shared by the ancients, for only one Roman writer, the historian Sallust, mentions any article of commerce exported from the land of the Cordueni (Kurds); in a fragment of his lost "Histories," which has been preserved in the writings of another author, it is stated that "balsam and other light spices are produced among the Cordueni."* A Jewish writer in the Talmud refers to the corn of Qardû,† and Ibn Khurdâdhbih, a Persian postmaster in the province of Jibâl in the ninth century, mentions that salt was prepared in large quantities at Bâsûrîn, near Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar, and exported by water to 'Irâq.‡

Of the earthy minerals, gypsum and salt are both found in the Jazîrah; while gypsum of an inferior quality is also found from the Persian Gulf to Kirkûk, and seams of brown coal occur to the north of Mârdîn, at Harbul, near Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar, and in the valley of the Bukhtân Şû in the neighbourhood of Sairt. Coal has also been worked at Şalâhiyah,

* Sallustius, "Historia," Fragment iv., 72.

† "Hullîn," 54 b. The dinars to which reference is made in the same passage are probably coins, not of the Gordiæi (Kurds), but of one of the emperors named Gordianus (Neubauer, "Géographie du Talmud," p. 379, n. 2).

‡ Ibn Khurdâdhbih, "Book of the Roads and Countries," p. 245.

near Kifri, though there it is said to have been of poor quality. Iron ore is found in various localities to the west of Lake Urumîyah, and lead is found in the same parts, in the valley of the Bukhtân Şû, and in the upper valley of the Greater Zâb, while copper occurs in the valley of the Mûrad Şû and to the west of Lake Urumîyah, in the Uramar district, as well as in the neighbourhood of Dahuk. In the mountains of Arghana Ma'dîn there used to be copper-mines which are now extinct.

In Persian Kurdistan various ores of a low grade have been found in the Qarâ Dâgh, and gold has been found in the valley of the Bukhtân Şû at Kawand, near Zinjân, and at Şamighân in the Qûh-i-gard mountains. In the Qarâ Dâgh Mountains copper occurs in numerous localities, while zinc and tin have both been reported along the same belt of hills. In the same district, at Takht-i-Sulaimân, and elsewhere in Kurdistan, mercury and cinnabar are known to occur.

The minerals of the Zagros mountains are of the greatest importance, for in them are the famous oil wells,† as well as deposits of rock-salt and of gypsum. Borax occurs near Lake Urumîyah and in several places in Persian Kurdistan. The Persian oilfield extends well into Southern Kurdistan, and some of the wells, like those of Kirkûk, are of great antiquity. But the most promising field is the long belt extending along the foot of the Zagros hills from Mauşil to the Persian Gulf. The district from Qulâb to Ahwâz and Shushtar has already been developed by the Anglo-

- Sir Mark Sykes records that he had seen Kurds working in a copper-mine at Bakîr Ma'dîn at the foot of the Taurus range ("Last Heritage of the Caliphs," p. 364).

† About one and a half hours' journey, for example, to the east of Zâkhû are two areas of petroleum springs. Part of this petroleum is purified by the local Kurds in a caldron installation near the springs, but the larger part of the supply is sent for preparation to Zâkhû, where there are two similar installations. The residue, consisting of the by-products of tar, serves for fuel to heat the caldrons, but the whole management of the business is very wasteful. The springs need cleansing; they should be roofed over and enclosed to prevent the entrance of impurities, while an estimate also of their capacity is required.

Persian Oil Company, and has yielded a profitable return. Its economic value is well established, and until 1916 its wells produced more oil than the capacity of its line and refinery could carry, and the residue had to be burnt. In the Zagros group, which extends from Baghdad north-westwards to the Tigris and Hammâm 'Alî, the numerous oil springs and deposits of gypsum occur along three lines. The largest, which is over a thousand miles in length, and is the biggest oilfield in the world, begins at Hammâm 'Alî, about twenty miles to the south-east of Maûsil, where there is a series of hot sulphur springs; extends through Kirkûk, where there are many oil wells situated amongst ridges of sandstone and conglomerate; and then splits into two lines. The northern branch continues its south-easterly course past Tûz-Khurmatlî, and terminates at Qaşr-i-Shîrîn, where crude oil has long been obtained from shallow pits and from springs; the other branch begins at a point about forty miles to the south of Maûsil at Kaiyarah on the Tigris, and extends to Şalâhtiyah, near Kifri, attaining a length of two hundred miles. The third and most westerly line starts from Al-Ḥadhr, about fifty miles to the west-south-west of Maûsil, runs through the bituminous limestones and sulphur springs on the bank of the Tigris, and continues down to Mandali, where there were oil wells described by Meissner in 1874, and where in 1892 thirty wells were producing oil, which was carried by camels to Baghdad. The importance of this oil belt lies in the fact that it is situated close to the valley of the Tigris along the track which will doubtless be followed by the railway from Asia Minor to Baghdad.*

The industries of Kurdistan remain almost undeveloped, owing to the lack of facilities for the transport of its products to the sea. There is only one railway, the so-called Berlin-Baghdad railway, which is still unfinished; before

* See "The Geology of Mesopotamia and its Borderlands," compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty (I.D. 1177), § 8, pp. 65-76.

the war it was not connected with the railway system in Asia Minor, the tunnel through the Taurus range having been completed only a few weeks before the Armistice, and even now it only reaches to the neighbourhood of Naşibîn and is consequently still unconnected with the section at Baghdad. Other sectors of the same line, though begun, remain incomplete, and a few *décauvilles*, also in the same condition, are in existence. In Southern Kurdistan there are no railways.

The timber industry, once a flourishing business, is now almost extinct through the reckless felling of trees in a country where afforestation is unknown ; but some wood is still cut in the mountains behind Birtjik, where it is used for the making of a kind of ferry-boat, called a *shakhtûrah*, used on the Euphrates. So scarce indeed is timber that in many villages dried manure and thistles are used for fuel, while in others all fuel has to be imported. Another hindrance to the development of the land is the lack of artificial irrigation, which is practised hardly anywhere except in the orchards round Wân and Bidlîs. Further, the natural indolence of the Kurd leads him to prefer millet and rye to other crops as needing the least attention, or to confine himself to the rearing of vast flocks of sheep and goats and

The chief towns in Northern Kurdistan, which are those lying along the caravan track from Aleppo to Mauşil, are, with their populations, Birtjik (7,000), Urfah (30,000), Diyârbakır (40,000), Mârdîn (40,000), Naşibîn (5,000), and Jazîrat-ibn-'Umar (5,000) ; to these must be added Bidlîs (35,000), Wân (28,000), and Mûsh (1,400).

In April, 1914, a concession was granted to a French company, the *Régie Générale de Chemins de Fer et de Travaux Publics*, for the execution of a comprehensive scheme of railways in Armenia. In return for the negotiation of a loan of 800,000,000 francs to the Turkish Government through certain French banks, the company was empowered to build the following lines : (1) Connecting Samsun, Stwâs, Kharpût, and Arghana ; (2) connecting Arghana, Bidlîs, and Wân ; (3) connecting Arzarûm and Trebizond ; (4) connecting Arzarûm, Arzingân, and Stwâs. These lines were to be completed within three years, and the concession granted the company the reversion of the ports of Samsun and Trebizond, in the event of the lapsing of the agreement then in existence with the National Bank of Turkey.

large herds of horses and cattle, especially in the provinces of Diyârbakr* and Wân; in 1906, indeed, there were said to be over 3,000,000 sheep in the latter province alone, but since then their number has been much reduced. Still, however, merchants come every spring from Constantinople, Syria, and Egypt, and make extensive purchases of sheep and cattle, as well as of the mules raised in the hills in these provinces.

Of manufactures there are very few. The most widespread industry is the weaving on hand-loom of *manussah*, a cloth made of native cotton, which is worked into Oriental garments worn at Diyârbakr, Aleppo, and Mauşil. Similar clothes of native cotton are woven at Wân and elsewhere, while a few native hand-loom weave cloth and *muhair* also at Wân and Shattakh. A coarse white cloth is made for native shirting on a small scale at Mûsh and also at Bidlîs, where it is frequently dyed red. In Diyârbakr the local silk-cocoons are reeled and the produce woven; silk goods to a less extent are woven at Wân, where, too, some velvet is made. Woollen goods are hand-woven at Khunûs; at Shattakh in the *wilâyah* of Wân Persian shawls are imitated, being woven from the fleecy underwool of sheep; and a material of mixed wool and cotton, known as *shâl*, is made from goats' hair at Wân. Another very important industry throughout Kurdistan is the weaving of rugs and carpets, which is especially practised in the provinces of Diyârbakr and Wân. There are two kinds of these articles: the *kali*, of which there is a smaller variety called the *kalichah*, is prepared on the Persian model with a pile, and is cut like plush; the *killim* is a smooth fabric, often used in Europe, to which they are exported through the Persian Gulf, for curtains, hangings, and the covers of chairs. The Kurdish women make the *killim* of an inferior quality, but their main occupation is embroidery. The work is done on wool or linen in

* In Diyârbakr a special breed of Angora goat is reared for the sake of its wool, called *muhair*.

silk and tinsel, and shows considerable artistic skill. For purposes of export it is customary to use the fabric of the country to which the finished product is to be sent instead of the hand-made native cloths. Wân is especially noted for its embroidery and tapestry, and in some districts the dress of the people is covered with the former material.

Other industries are the production of china and glass at Diyârbakr and pottery at Mûsh; linseed-oil is refined at Wân, and the oil used for lighting; soap is prepared at Wân from the saline deposits of the lake; and there are flour-mills at Diyârbakr and elsewhere.* There are also in every town purely local manufactures, which contribute nothing to the export trade, such as the making of red slippers at Mârdîn, the mention of which would be tedious and of no value to the reader. But it must always be borne in mind that there is considerable wealth, chiefly obtained by the rearing of horses, goats, and sheep, already to be found in Northern Kurdistan, and it is highly probable that the natural resources of the country, if carefully developed, can yet be made to yield a substantial revenue.

* On the whole question of the products of Northern Kurdistan, see 'Armenia and Kurdistan' (No. 62 of the Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office), pp. 32-79.

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

EDUCATION OF INDIANS—AT HOME AND ABROAD

BY SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

LIKE everything else, education is drifting in India. Nation building, constitution building, building up of trade, industry, commerce, and agriculture are all in the melting-pot and the immediate future, though uncertain and dim, is bound to be big with events. How all this is to turn out and how society is going to shape itself will depend upon the turn that education takes and upon its extent, character, and depth—education, that is to say, in its modern and latterly accepted sense—in all departments of human activity.

So far as knowledge, thought, information, culture, and spirituality are concerned, there would not be lack of materials for building up of sound educational machinery to suit modern requirements, if all concerned would loyally help and co-operate. But this machinery would have to be carefully co-ordinated with past history, present surroundings, and future requirements. You cannot ignore the past and its history; there is no "clean slate" of the modern politician for a fresh and irresponsible start in the domains of education. As a recent writer, Mr. Frederick Gould, contends, the aim of education should be the service of family and commonwealth expressed through industry, inspired by history, and perpetually responsive to the claims of humanity. Hence, he says, history should be unfolded by teachers as the record of economic, intellectual, artistic, and moral evolution from the times of the primitive man.

Education not in proper perspective with the requirements, traditions, capabilities, and achievements of the people concerned, would have all the weakness, vice, and disabilities of an exotic. Education such as is understood in

modern India has gone through phases largely dominated by these disabilities. But a sort of working compromise has been achieved, which has in a manner become a part and parcel of our system. It cannot be lightly disturbed without grave unbalancing all round. This has been one of the principal difficulties in the way of evolving what ordinarily goes under the name of national education—a name used by various people in various senses and from divergent and sometimes antagonistic points of view.

There is hardly a country known to recent or ancient civilization where education in all its aspects has been beset with so much difficulty as in India. The poverty of the people and their unwillingness to avail of education are not the chief difficulties. In fact, with regard to national education, such as one school would advocate, people's poverty had nothing to do with the question at all. So far as the teacher was concerned—the *Guru*, the *Bramhan* of the best and the truest type—his was a vow of poverty, and he would accept no fees or remuneration for teaching, though society in some shape or another had the high obligation cast upon it of keeping him. But it was no more than keeping body and soul together, in view of the vow of poverty, under which one eats to live and does not live to eat. On the other hand, in some cases the *Guru* housed, fed, and taught the disciple free of all charges. *Gurus* of classic fame, *Kulapatis* of revered memory, would look after ten thousand students. Everything that was done, said, thought, or formally taught was, under this system, an essential part of education, upon which society, as was conceived and constructed, largely rested. And there was, and could and need be, no demand or agitation for what in later days came to be called "free compulsory education." Statisticians who figure out educational percentage according to latter-day notions should therefore have to remember that every man, woman, and child, if he or she was and is a good *Hindoo*, a good *Mahomedan*, a good *Buddhist*, or a good *Jain*, is bound to receive and

does receive a certain amount of education. It is in many senses education of the highest type, an inseparable and essential part of their life, enabling a fine discrimination between right and wrong and assisting in development of citizenship in all its domains. All this might be and often would be without any reference to the three R's, so dear to the latter-day Directors of Public *Instruction*, into whose calculation *education* may not often enter.

People are not only not unwilling but are more than willing to imbibe, and in fact are obliged to imbibe, *education* of this high order. And what is absolute and downright commonplace with them, as a result of this universal system of "free and compulsory" education, has, when charmingly translated into English and other European languages, been the wonder of Europe and America, starving for such-like life-giving draughts.

Indian contact with the East and the West has been long and wide. Assyrians and Egyptians, Babylonians and Chinese in the remote past, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Jews in recent times, have been in constant intercourse with her for some reason or another. And, later on, Moslems and Europeans have been in a similar position. That in the recently found correspondence—found by German scholarship and enterprise—between the Hindoo kings of Mesopotamia and the Ptolemys, the Vedic gods *Rudra*, *Maruts*, and *Varuna*, and others often largely figure, that *Vaisnava* and Christian teachings are similar not only in ethics, sentiments, and almost expressions, that ancient and lost Sanskrit works have been found translated in Tibetan and Chinese, that Goethe was charmed by *Sakunlala* or Schopenhauer was consoled by *Dara Shekoe's* translation of *Bhagabhat gita*, subsequently translated into Latin, are not the only bases of a fairly sweeping generalization about India's broad-based catholicity in education. Wide-visioned scholars and historians will have no difficulty in appreciating that education, in the most comprehensive sense, was not merely the backbone

and essence of Hindoo society, but was practically its only integer. Religion, economics, politics, civic administration in all its branches, were in their turn but the branches of this all-absorbing element of national existence, the all-absorbing nature of which had its strength and weakness. To the Indian, therefore, education need have been or be no matter of compulsion. It is the very breath of his nostrils, and he will have as much of it as any system can supply ; and there is room for all the systems that anyone can conceive or furnish. The plane has only changed ; so, it is hoped, has the angle of vision.

The difficulty is not to get our schools, colleges, and universities well filled, but to find and maintain enough of them. And the greater difficulty is to make our schools, colleges, and universities do the best in the existing state of things. To the true-hearted son of India, its admirer and devotee, there can be no more real and exacting politics than that of education ; and everything else pales before it. And it is up to him to overcome the handicap, if he will really serve the Great Mother. The subject is of appalling vastness, intricacy, and difficulty, which is being daily added to for lack of resources. As a leading morning paper observes about another matter of all-absorbing interest, "there is plenty to be done at any given moment." One reads with relief and reassurance that the recent Moral Education Conference at Geneva, overwhelmed with a multiplicity of topics, resolved to concentrate thought upon international motive applied to education and the service motive as the impelling force to all departments of education whatever—household, kindergarten, primary, secondary, scientific, æsthetic, literary, spiritual, and professional.

And starting upon international motive, as applied to Indian education, one is met with difficulties at both ends, which it is up to the Indian educational philosopher to reconcile as best one may. At one end are hoary traditions, old as the hills, and much older than the hills, for

both the ancients and the moderns would look upon the Himalayas as an uninteresting young anthill. But they are traditions not merely based on idle and fancy speculation, as fashionable "unthinking" ones thought. They are traditions that have, at all events, enabled Hindoo civilization to survive all other ancient civilizations and to give a distinct lead to modern civilization if nothing more. At the other end are stern realities and exacting demands of modern life, which to the bulk of the Indian even at the present time are matters of no moment. Our schools, colleges, and universities, as now conceived and conducted, touch but the outermost of the outer fringe areas, and will continue to do so for many years, if not many hundreds of years, to come. When we talk of education now it is about this outer fringe.

Charged, or likely to be charged, with the solution of live questions like government of the country and development of its resources, it is these outer fringes, exposed to influences from inside as well as outside, that must be the first care of the practical educationist, whom matters of the moment trouble most. The points of view of those viewing the question from outside have been powerfully portrayed in the monumental Report of the Sadler Committee that, for the moment at least, propose to serve no more than monumental purposes. The more is the pity of it. Under the dual system of government, slowly becoming familiar in India, education is, in administrative parlance, a "transferred subject." The people's representatives can, through their responsible ministers of government, make their influence felt. If they do not rest content to thrive on drink and litigation, as ill-fated Bengal must, if they have or can create other than existing resources, ministers and popular representatives are capable of effecting great good.

But how are they likely to do it? In Bengal, which the Sadler Committee primarily advised, neither the central nor the provincial Governments have yet attempted to

touch the issues. Other provinces had their own special Committees, and have adopted, either in original or modified form, such of the Sadler suggestions and recommendations as suited local requirements or local purse, and in the United Provinces the responsible minister in charge of education, with show of considerable pleasantry, referred to the Sadler report as the storehouse of Hindoo scriptural texts to which either disputant could refer for fortifying his own views. That is the fate of all commission reports—those of Arnold, Haldane, Asquith being no exception—and people have at every stage to rely more or less upon empirical solutions limited by the power of the purse. It will depend upon the minister, and all that is behind him, how much of primary, secondary, college, university, or industry education are to benefit by the extremely limited resources at his disposal.

The modern educational structure in British India has been built downwards from the cornice. The foundation has still to come. The East India Company, bent only on dividends, and afraid that education would have untoward administrative results, refrained from all educational outlay long, till Parliament compelled it to take some steps during the first third of the nineteenth century. Missionary and private enterprise alone were long responsible for educational achievements, such as they were, and the Sepoy War of 1857 was followed by the foundation of universities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Schools and colleges, that were almost non-existent, came afterwards. Instead of universities following them, they followed the universities—non-teaching examining bodies that set the standard and the pace, and achieved wonderful results. Calcutta was responsible for the educational supervision, not merely of Bengal proper, but also of the North-Western Frontier Provinces, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Behar, Orissa, Assam, Burma, Nagpore, and Ceylon. And to-day, in addition to these three universities—none older than 1858—we have Lāhore, Aligarh, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Dacca,

Rangoon, Lucknow, Mysore, and Hyderabad. Agra, Cawnpore, Nagpore, and Gauhati are wanting their universities, and may get them before long; and among the Native States, Baroda may not long lag behind. And the corollary schools and colleges will also come as far as resources allow. One wonders whether more educational activity will come in the train of the Moplah Revolt, as was the case in the train of the Sepoy Revolt during the last century.

But even when they all, and others on national lines, come, what will it mean for 320 millions? Very little indeed. These modern institutions may probably be helpful in creating learned professions and developing certain features of commerce and industry, when these long-neglected subjects come to be considered worthy of recognition and promotion. But the bulk of their work ought to be, and must be, training of the army of teachers that we shall require from the "international" point of view. University education can, therefore, not be deprecated and belittled by those aiming at, or insisting on, primary or secondary education. Without a full complement of teachers, and capable teachers, no system of primary or secondary education, however well devised or organized, can be of any value. While this is quite true, it must be conceded that without primary and secondary education being adequately strengthened betimes, the best of results from the university system cannot be looked for on any large scale. The two points of view are so inextricably mixed up with one another, that without thorough strengthening both ways the resultant is bound to be poor.

Therefore, for a certain time at all events, and for certain purposes, we have also to look abroad for relief and reinforcement. The number of students leaving India for studies is getting larger every year, but in nothing like the alarming proportion depicted in certain quarters. What the exact number is would always be difficult to ascertain, particularly because students come not only to Great

Britain, but also go to America, Japan, France, Germany, and some to Italy. The number of Indian students in Great Britain is believed to be not larger than three thousand, and many of them would not come here at all unless, for some administrative reason or another, they were obliged to come. Of the rest, some come for professional qualifications, higher or ordinary as the case may be. Those who go to the other countries have to do so either for professional or industrial objective. The number seeking qualification as teachers, though steadily growing, is extremely small. Educational strengthening of India, from what may be called the international point of view, building up of its teachers who would be helpful in the spread of education according to modern methods and notions, ought to be now accelerated most if means are forthcoming.

And statesmanlike treatment of the question by Great Britain, at all events for furtherance of this view, is India's right to demand and expect. "Sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts" are once again out in India, and the difference in outlook hitherto prevailing must now give way to real "imperial thinking," particularly in the domain of education, where the "little thinker" has no further use. And big thinking is not "merely a matter of quantity." As has been very truly said, "To gain you must give, to grow you must serve, and to reap you must first sow."

It is unworthy and inexpedient on the part of those responsible for British educational institutions and industries to tell our two thousand students—out of a 320 million population—that they are not wanted, that they must not crowd institutions that the British rates and revenues support, that they must not expect facilities in the development of industries because British industries may, in the long run, suffer by Indian competition. If our students have not facility here they will go elsewhere, for nothing and nobody will stop the "quest" or block the stream.

Harmonious work is, therefore, needed more than ever.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN DUTCH EAST INDIA.—II

BY P. J. GERKE

(*Dutch Colonial Service*)

Teaching for Native Children

Schools for the People.—When at the beginning of this century the question was considered how the Dutch Indies with more than forty millions of inhabitants could further efficiently the development of the people in general, without overtaxing the treasury, it became clear that the existing system of first and second-class native schools could never lead to a rapid and efficacious spread of teaching for the native population. This consideration led to the organization of the native popular teaching (*désa*-, or village-teaching).

The principle of this institution is “eradication of analphabetism.”* These schools for the people, in which very simple teaching is given, and which have to adapt themselves to the needs of the lowest classes of the population, are established in every village, and in the main paid for

* At the end of the year 1917 the number of natives in the islands Java and Madoera amounted to upwards of 33,600,000; the number of “alphabetes”—*i.e.*, such as can write Malay with Latin or the native language with its own letters—was not yet 2 per cent. Outside Java and Madoera the number of natives was at the end of 1917 upwards of 12,500,000; the number of “alphabetes”—*i.e.*, such as could write Malay with Latin or Arabian letters—was very high in some districts (Menado, north of Celebes, 21·3 per cent.—here are many schools of the Protestant Mission; Lampongs, 10·5 per cent.), but much lower in other parts. Of four districts the number is not known, and so an average for the outstations would have no value. “Alphabetism” increases faster than the population, and in a short time the low percentage given for Java (and Madoera) will rise very much.

by them (in Java, the *dèsa*) and by a very moderate school fee. The Government gives them support, especially by assisting in their establishment, and giving an extra allowance to the teachers. These teachers may be the holders of a certificate of the second-class native schools, who have also passed an easy supplementary examination.

At the close of 1918 the number of these schools was in Java and Madoera 4,473, and outside Java 1,142; the number of pupils respectively 271,000 boys and 27,000 girls, and 55,100 boys and 8,600 girls. The treasury subsidized them in 1918 to an amount of f. 1,300,000.

Second-class Schools or Standard Schools.—Since the first-class schools were reorganized (1914, see below), and received another name, the distinction between the first and second-class schools lost its significance, and the part played by the second-class schools has changed.

At the beginning they had four forms, of late years a fifth form has been added to many of them, whereas in the future they are to have six forms. Their teachers have been trained for their task in special training colleges. In the large centres of commerce, industry, and traffic they are now the normal primary schools for the greater part of the people; in the country, however, they have had in many parts to make room for the schools for the people (*dèsa* schools), and to assume the part of central Standard Schools amidst them.

The relation between these two kinds of schools now is twofold: children who have gone through the People's School may follow a more extended programme in the Standard School (as a rule, they are admitted into the third form), and the second-class (Standard) school is the place where the future teachers of the People's School get the first part of their training.

In some parts "Continuation Schools" have been established in the centre of People's Schools, consisting only of the third, fourth and fifth form of the Standard School.

Holders of the final certificate of Standard and Continua-

tion Schools may be further trained for their profession in native Technical, Agricultural, and Teachers' Schools or courses (no Dutch language is taught here). For most of them, however, it is the school from which they enter into practical life.

Among the pupils of these schools and the above-mentioned training schools there is a strong desire to learn Dutch, as some knowledge of the language better their chances to obtain a post in a Government office or in business, and, furthermore, raises their social standing. Private courses to learn Dutch are very popular at present.

At the end of 1918 there were in our archipelago 1,635 of these second-class or Standard Schools, with 220,000 pupils; 31,000 of them had been at a People's (*dèsa*-) School before entering.

Schools of the First-class or Dutch-Native Schools.—Formerly the difference between the two kinds of native schools was that to those of the first class only children of higher social rank could be admitted, and that the course was extended over six instead of four years; in later time also Dutch was taught in them. In 1914 the first-class schools were organized in such a way that the teaching was, as far as possible, made equal to that given in the second-class European and the Dutch-Chinese School; so that also these native schools give admission to the Primary schools with extended programme (Mulo-schools). Since then the name has been changed into Dutch-Native (Dutch-Javanese, Dutch-Malay, etc.) Schools.

This school is still only accessible to children of higher social rank. This cannot be helped, because it is absolutely impossible to establish many of them as long as not enough efficient and qualified teachers are available, and the social condition of the natives is such as to allow only the higher classes to follow a long (and rather expensive) course of intellectual training.

* The Dutch language is not taught here, only Malay, and, if possible, the vernacular (Javanese, Soendanese, Madoesese, Boeginese, etc.).

When these schools were reorganized, the number of forms was increased from six to seven, that of European teachers from one to three; the other four teachers are natives, and the headmaster, formerly a native, must be a Dutchman. The branches taught are the native language, Malay and Dutch; in the higher forms the medium of teaching is Dutch.

Since 1914 there are special training colleges for native teachers, who have, in the future, to take the places of two Dutch teachers in the Dutch-Native Schools.

The European Primary School, the Dutch-Chinese, and the Dutch-Native School, as we said before, prepare for the Primary School with an extended programme (Mulo), which, consequently, is a school for all the races. Besides giving final teaching, these Mulo-schools, as we saw, also prepare for some special colleges, which were in the beginning destined for natives only, but are, with one exception, also open to European and Chinese. The teaching given here is not University teaching, as it is given in Holland, although it is fairly advanced. Meanwhile, higher teaching has become both necessary and possible. This could not be established on the basis given by the Primary Schools with extended programme (Mulo-schools), which do not go far enough; therefore in 1919 a new school was founded, the General Secondary School, with a six years' course, which is to form the link between Indian primary and Indian higher teaching. This school, of course, is open to all races and nationalities. The education given here may be grouped in two parts, each lasting three years. The first three years, the so-called foundation, is formed by the Mulo-schools, whose plan has been slightly altered; the three years' superstructure is a continuation of the teaching in the foundation, but differs according to the direction into which the students wish to go at the University. So it is of three kinds, viz.:

- (a) The mathematical and physical section for such as wish to study medicine and philosophy;

- (b) The Eastern-literary-historical section for those who wish to study Eastern languages and literature, geography, and ethnology ;
- (c) The Western literary section, for law, classical and Western languages and literature.

As soon as this General Secondary School has trained pupils who wish to begin their University studies in one of the directions above-mentioned, the Indian University will be founded. The opening of the Medical and Law Colleges may be expected in 1923. The Indian University teaching will be of equal standing as that at the Dutch Universities, though the circumstances under which it will be given will, of course, be less favourable in the beginning, owing to the lack of a scientific centre and of extensive libraries.

Of course, the holders of a final certificate of the existing secondary colleges for Indian doctors, veterinary surgeons, native judges, and the like, will have certain facilities for attending the lectures and examinations in the University which is to be founded.* Some of these colleges will develop into University colleges. It is probable that the training at the above-mentioned secondary colleges (for boys that follow only the "foundation" course of the General Secondary Schools) will be continued for some length of time for the formation of secondary professionals.

In July, 1920, the Technical High School was established at Bandoeng (Java) with the aid of private initiative. The enormous demand for engineers in the Indies, caused by economic development and financial and material expansion, made it necessary to have higher technical training (equal to that at Delft) in the Indies.

The entrance to this college is, up to the present, only possible for holders of the final certificate of Secondary Schools—*i.e.*, for Dutchmen only ; at the opening, however, one Javanese and one Chinese were also admitted, who held the required certificate.

* As matters stand now, they already enjoy certain facilities for entering the Universities in Holland, where they can take their degree within a short time.

Of course, the number of native and Indian students will rapidly increase as soon as the General Secondary Schools have been at work for a couple of years (mathematical and physical section).

Plans for a secondary technical college (for secondary engineers), in rank above the lower technical school and lower than the Technical High School at Bandoeng, are already in an advanced state of preparation.

There is no more space to describe further the organization of teaching in the Indies, and so we must pass over the teaching arranged locally by municipalities, Christian missionaries (especially in Celebes), humanitarian and native corporations, private native girls' schools (Kartini and Kaoetamaän Istri schools), infant schools, training for native teachers, physical and moral training and boarding schools. Neither can we dwell on the wishes of the natives regarding education, as they have utterance in their Press and associations and in the representative board—the People's Council (Volksraad, opened 1918), as also in the Education Congresses held in 1918 and 1920, and the Education Board.

Of great importance also is the question, which has already been amply considered, in what way the Standard and the Dutch-Native schools might be linked together so that clever native children of lower social rank might also have a chance of enjoying secondary (and higher) instruction.

The main principles of the system may, however, have been made sufficiently clear by what has been given in this article.

The powerful way in which this work of colonial civilization has been taken up is, in the first place, due to Government, which—as was said in its message to the People's Council—considers this task as one of its most important duties, and the far-reaching policy of the Governors-General Idenburg (1909 to 1916) and Count Van Limburg-Stirum

(1916 to 1921), who in their Directors of the Education Department—Drs. Hazeu, Moresco, and Creutzberg—found advisers of the greatest ability.

That the existing state of things, and even the prospects in view, do not yet satisfy everybody is clear. Conflicting interests existing in every colony, here too, cause opposition to the management of the teaching problem, coming from various directions. The Administration, whose aim it has been of late years to do away with the different treatment of the races, as far as possible, also follows this policy in matters of teaching. Where this difference cannot yet be overlooked—as is the case with primary instruction—it is maintained ; where it would be wrong, it is done away with, as in the matter of secondary and higher teaching.

The complaints of short-sighted Europeans in the Indies who maintain that far too much money is spent on native teaching—though absolutely unfounded in the eyes of such as are intimately acquainted with the actual state of things—have found an echo in larger circles and a certain portion of the Dutch-Colonial Press ever since we have experienced difficulties in securing a sufficient number of able and competent teachers from Holland. There is now a sad shortage of teachers in the Dutch Primary and also in the Dutch-Chinese and the Dutch-Native schools. However, Government will eventually succeed in conquering these difficulties inherent to this transitional period, and, fortunately, it has not been led by them to change its education policy.

The Dutch Government has frequently admitted that there are shortcomings in the system, but has as often shown that it is always on the alert to do away with them as far as is in its power. Certainly its policy is approved and trusted by the native intellectuals, by the Javanese national-democratic elements, organized in the oldest Javanese corporation, Boedi Oetomo, and is supported by large groups of the Indian population, who begin to realize the importance of teaching, and—a most important thing

in the teaching of the people at large—now oppose it no longer, but, rather, further it. In the execution of this part of its task the Dutch Indian Administration can now moreover reckon on the support and sympathy of the Dutchmen in the Mother Country and the colony itself who are convinced that a policy aiming at a rapid raising of the intellectual, economic, social, and political standard of the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indian Archipelago is the only chance Holland has of keeping up its name as a Colonial Power.

DRAMATIC NOTES

"IF" (*Ambassadors' Theatre*)

BY LORD DUNSANY

THE public taste for plays dealing with the Orient shows no sign of abating. These have so far been chiefly of the spectacular variety. The greatest spectacle of them all, "Chu Chin Chow," has, as is known, broken the records, and is to be followed at His Majesty's Theatre by another play also set in the East. It has been said that these plays are not largely attended by travellers who have been most of their life in Asia, that the real attraction of this kind of play is for those to whom all these things are a novelty. However that may be, Lord Dunsany's appeal is not thus restricted. "If" is the supposition that two average Londoners who are friends, and one of whom makes the chance acquaintance of a garrulous young lady in a suburban train, suddenly go out with her to the Middle East at her request in search of treasure. In this new environment, in spite of a very promising beginning, tragedy befalls them. The woman appears in a very unfavourable light, for the one man is killed on her account, and the other, who had given up everything at home for the adventure, only escapes by a miracle, leaving her to marry the local chieftain. It is all a dream, and our friend of Suburbia wakes up to find himself in his home with his own wife safely beside him. He is very thankful, for, although his dream had meant unlimited sway over an Asiatic population for many years, he had lost his only friend in this dream, and the woman with the hidden treasure had been, not grateful, but extraordinarily the reverse; nor had the tribesmen appreciated in the least the benefits of security and prosperity that his rule had bestowed on them. It is all very satirical and, we trust, overdrawn; but that is inevitable in such a play, where clearly everything must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*. The acting of Mr. Henry Ainley and Miss Madge Titheradge was praise-worthy, and the audience was most appreciative.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

THE CULT OF THE ORIENT

BY STANLEY RICE

No nation is enslaved which can find the sole expression of its ideals in its art; no nation is without dignity which still has its message for the world. And this is true whether the expression and the message be conceived in terms of architecture, of painting, of music, or of literature. Nor need the expression be in the language of to-day. That which was written centuries ago, that which was painted, composed, or built, is alive at the present time and is wielding its influence, provided that the national spirit remains the same, be it in times of war or of peace, in times of prosperity or adversity. Ruskin has taken as his theme the stirring influence of war upon national expression, yet one cannot help suspecting that he was only viewing one aspect of the question, suitable to his audience of the moment. Tracing history through the Egyptians and Greeks to the Romans and the later Venetians, he comes to the conclusion that art has only flourished during the periods of war, and then only if the warlike nation has also the artistic instinct. Thus, the Egyptians and Greeks delighted to depict the scenes of war, and the latter clothed their young and glorious gods with the weapons of war—Apollo with the bow, Athene with the helmet and shield, Ares the personification of war with the spear. But there are explanations for these things, and art has flourished in the times of inglorious war, in the times of national despair. Painting is not the sole, perhaps not even the most divine, art. Rather would it be true to say that triumphant nations have delighted to celebrate their glory in the recital of their wars, whether it be in painting or in song: it was the proud privilege of bard and painter to enshrine the national tradition in deathless work, in the "Song of Roland," in the Epic of Homer, in the "Nibelungenlied," and painters shared the exaltation of the national spirit. Yet distracted Italy saw the birth of Palestrina, and the long roll of musicians down to Verdi passed through those troubled centuries which preceded the "Risorgimento." Prussia, going in fear of the French Revolution and wavering under the weak-kneed Frederick William III., dragged Germany with her down to the disaster of Jena; yet Goethe lived through the French Wars, Schiller died only a year before Jena, Heine was a devout worshipper at Napoleon's shrine, and Beethoven composed his symphonies all but the Ninth in the dark years that preceded the War of

Liberation. Nor was Ruskin speaking solely of painting and architecture, for he says :

"When I tell you that war is the foundation of *all the arts*, I mean, also, that it is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men."

There is, then, truth in what he has said, but it is only a partial truth, and it applies more nearly, perhaps, to painting than to any other art. Yet the generalization which he has adopted need mean—and probably does not mean—more than that a warlike nation at the height of its triumphs, which also is possessed of the artistic temperament, will produce on the whole better art, and in more abundance than the same nation at peace or enervated by long years of luxury. The sun of Greek art had risen when Persia was overthrown, but it might have set prematurely if Persia had been victorious. The splendour of the Elizabethan age blazed upon an England whose military spirit was weak on land, and whose exploits at sea were but the magnificent adventures of a few great-hearted men. Can it be said with any truth that Spenser and Shakespeare drew their inspiration from the glory of the Armada?

The great epics of India were conceived in that age of chivalry when the warrior spirit was the most highly prized virtue of a man—the spirit which the Greeks extolled in Hector and Achilles, the Germans in Siegfried, the English in Lancelot, and the French in Roland. Hear, for a brief moment, Roland's apostrophe to his sword as the type of all that is chivalrous in all ages and all countries :

"Vast indeed
The lands I gained with thee, my Durendal,
For Charlemagne, my master ; very sore
I sorrow for my sword ; far rather die
Than that should ever fall into the hands
Of heathen !"

Yet in spite of the prowess of the archer Arjuna, of the doughty deeds of Bhima the strong, of the exploits of Rama, and the valour of wise Bhishma, the message which India has to give to the world is not that of strong men, but of pure women. After many centuries of winter sleep, such as the trees know, signs of a new spring are dawning in the East. The genius of one man has compelled the attention of the West. Sweden has crowned him with the laurels of a continent's praise, and England has honoured him with the flattery of imitation. Publishers will tell you that the proper medium for Oriental writing is the *vers libre*, not because it is of necessity more suited to the subject than the more recognized cadences of our noble English, but because, when Tagore translated his Bengali verse, he was compelled, as it were, to use the medium of the *vers libre*, or to write in simple prose. And with the sun of Tagore other lesser lights are shining upon Europe from an Oriental sky, and the light is permeating and influencing European art.

We have said that the message of India is that of pure women, and there is no more noble example in all literature than Savitri. That her name is not already a household word in educated homes, enshrined with that of Alcestis and Antigone, with Penelope and Polyxena and Makaria,

is due to the Renaissance of the Middle Ages, to the ascendancy of Greek and the eclipse of Sanskrit. She did not, it is true, actually give her life, as did Alcestis, to save her husband; perhaps she did more. For she married him with the full knowledge that he must die within a year; she accepted the decree, and set her woman's wit to work to defeat it. She

"Poured oblations to the god of fire
If haply she might have her sole desire
And win her husband's life."

And when all would not do, and she was face to face with Death, who had come in person to execute his own decree, she did not flinch. Again and again the god warns her that she cannot go with him. She is not to be persuaded:

"Alack! my lord' (she says), 'thou wilt not say me nay;
I think not of my sorrow, only this—
That to remain with him is all my bliss.'"

If she cannot release him, she will at least die with him; life without him is nothing to her. Death is not proof against such constancy; the woman's wit has prevailed. The man's way was different:

"Among the dead
I lay, and sprang and gripped him as he fled."

Thus, as everyone knows, was Alcestis rescued by main force.

Small wonder that Indians, and especially Indian women, adore the name of Savitri, perhaps even above that of Sakuntalá, whom Goethe apostrophized in the well-known lines. The wonder, indeed, is that hitherto these Sanskrit heroines have not appealed to European artists, and that such a story as Savitri's has been neglected by poet, painter, and musician alike. We ought, perhaps, to remember that one hundred and fifty years ago the very existence of the Sanskrit drama was unknown in Europe. For five centuries no one had ever heard of the name of Kalidása, and even now the subject is almost more for the criticism of the scholar than for the appreciation of the artist. But the times are changing. There is an awakening interest, not only in the legends of India, but in the poetry of China and Japan also. It must have been clear, had we given the matter a thought, that nations which could express themselves in exquisite design, in delicate traceries and gossamer fabrics, in rare porcelain, or in carved ivory, could not have failed to produce literature of similar quality. And yet we did not suspect it.

Thus it is that we may rejoice to find such a work as Holst's little opera "Savitri," not merely on account of its artistic merit, but because it is a sign of Oriental influence upon our art. Not that we have any wish to turn the artistic workshops of Europe into museums of the East. But art does not belong to Europe alone; like science, it is a world possession. To ignore Oriental art is to acknowledge the existence of undiscovered lands; to refuse to learn what the East has to teach betokens a spiritual pride, and a contemptible ignorance comparable only to ecclesiastical bigotry. That Holst has fully succeeded in his attempt is open to doubt: there seems to

have been no necessity to degrade the prince into a mere woodcutter and to turn Savitri into a peasant woman. Death, moreover, is too easily persuaded; the Indian poem is more artistic, for Death there gives way very gradually, granting this gift and that, but steadfastly withholding the one on which Savitri's heart is set. In the opera it comes upon you as rather a shock that Death, who has just sternly rejected the prayer to restore the prince, should suddenly relent for no very obvious reason,

"And vowing he would ne'er consent, consented!"

The music, however, which is the main consideration, is excellent. Here and there a bit of Scandinavia will show through the artist's Oriental cloak, and yet, without slavishly imitating the Indian modes, he has succeeded in being Eastern. The orchestra throughout is thin, so thin that one can hardly call it an orchestra: unaccompanied declamation occurs frequently, and the atmosphere is cleverly maintained by the use of unseen voices, singing without support off the stage. The composer has apparently recognized the truth that a European musician cannot copy Indian music; he can only seek to reproduce the Oriental in terms of Europe.

Nor is "Savitri" the only sign. It is perhaps significant, not of itself alone, but taken in conjunction with other things, that the most astounding success of the London stage was based upon a tale from the "Arabian Nights," served up in a Chinese dress. It is true that the sceptical might point to "The Mikado," which without being in the least Japanese either in sentiment or atmosphere was at least laid in Japanese surroundings. It is true, too, that the "Arabian Nights" are not the exclusive possession of the East. Like the "Rubaiyat," they have become the property of the world. Let us admit that in any case a musical comedy which happens to have an Eastern theme is no good example. "Madama Butterfly" stands on a different footing. Though it breathes Puccini in every note, it yet has something of the Oriental about it, not merely in the poignancy and pathos of it, but in a certain resignation to the inevitable, and in that quiet acceptance of sorrow which leads to a death unsought for but embraced as the only way of escape. In Delibes' "Lakmé" we have yet another example of the Oriental theme to which the eyes of Europe are turning, slowly it may be, and, as it were, with but a dim perception of the meaning and purpose of the East.

Music, then, has, one might say, led the way towards admitting the cult of the Orient. She, the most glorious goddess of the artistic hierarchy, has begun to open up for us lands of which our fathers never dreamed, and sparkling seas whereon they never sailed. Nor need we be content with names alone. We look upon the Russians as half Asiatic, and the taste of the cultured public has of late inclined towards Russian dance and Russian music, groping, as it were, after the Oriental, not through Tchaikowsky, who is half German in sentiment and is always looking westward, nor even through Glinka, who belongs to a past age, but through the flaming nationalism of Moussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakoff and the ultra-modernity of Scriabin and Stravinsky. Debussy, with his whole tone scale reminiscent of the Greeks, whose interpreters to us are the Indians, has set the

fashion of the new French school. In all these nationalism is not lost, and yet the influence of the Orient is discernible.

This, let us hope, is the heritage of the twentieth century. When we wish to commemorate the sons of India who shed their lives to prevent the world from falling under German domination, we no longer design monuments of the Victorian type. We do not even seek, as not so long ago we should have sought, to express our admiration in symbolic architecture. Out upon the lonely downs we have erected a simple memorial, designed in the Asiatic style, severely restrained, as the true Asiatic art ought to be, in spite of the flamboyance of some Hindu temples. We have seen some of the masterpieces of the Hindu theatre upon an English stage, adapted by loving hands to an English audience, and presented to us in true Oriental colour.

But the end is not yet: we have still far to travel before we reach the goal. And that goal is not the absorption of Asiatic art into our own, thereby, perhaps, only spoiling what is good and effacing what is characteristic. For too long we have looked upon Europe as the only part of the world which mattered. We have been inclined to think that she was the sole repository of the higher types of art, even if we allowed to China her porcelain, to Japan her delicate painting, to India her rare and beautiful fabrics. Now we are beginning to recognize that even Europe has her limitations; our eyes are opening upon other scenes, and if as yet they are vouchsafed only to those whose vision is the clearest, may we not hope that with time and education the art of Asia will be more surely recognized? This is our goal: the fuller recognition that if we leave out Asia—and perhaps Africa, too, awaits the explorer—we leave a gap in the complete picture of the world's art.

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

INDIA

- (1) *BENGAL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*. (2) *INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*. By J. N. Das Gupta, M.A. (Oxon). (Calcutta: *University Press*.)

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

These volumes contain a series of lectures delivered during a two years' tenure of the University Readership in History at Calcutta. In the first a study is attempted of the social and economic conditions of Bengal in the sixteenth century as illustrated by contemporary vernacular literature. Mr. Das Gupta has chosen Chaitanya, Haridas, and Mukundram. The first-named (1486-1533) is worshipped to-day by the Vaishnavs of Bengal and Orissa, and, says Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his "*History of Bengali Literature*," whether he be an incarnation or not, he was "a god-sent man

vouchsafed to Bengal in order to raise her out of the stupor of ignorance in which she had sunk for ages." Haridas, who died in 1534, was originally a Mahomedan who attained great celebrity in the Vaishnava community by his staunch devotion to Chaitanya. Mukundram wrote his famous poem "Chandi Kavya" in 1589, when Rajah Man Singh of Amber was ruling Bengal on behalf of Akbar. He has been called by Professor Cowell the "Crabbe of Bengal," for the Bengali home of the sixteenth century is closely mirrored in his pages. Copious quotations are given by Mr. Das Gupta in English from the works of each, and the picture thereby afforded is the more valuable because it will be sought in vain in the treatises of the Persian Court historians.

In the other volume, authorities of an entirely different character are laid under contribution. Mr. Das Gupta traces the beginnings of the East India Company, and draws largely upon the descriptions of Mughal India left to us by Fryer, Fitch, Hawkins, Hedges, and Streynsham Master. Khafi Khan's account of his visit to Bombay in the reign of Aurangzeb is printed as an appendix, and may profitably be compared with the sketches of factory life in Surat and Bengal drawn by English hands.

AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT

ZAFAR UL-WALIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ALIH: AN ARABIC HISTORY OF GUJARAT. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E. Volume II. (Indian Texts Series.) (*John Murray.*) 21s. net.

(Reviewed by H. E. A. COTTON, C.I.E.)

In this, as in the earlier volume, which was published in 1910, the learned Director of the London School of Oriental Studies presents the text of an unique and autograph manuscript discovered by him in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah. The author, Abdallah Muhammad bin Omar Al-Makki, Al-Asafi, Ulughkhani, was generally known as Hajji-ad-Dabir, that being the name given to him by Muhammad Ulugh Khan, the Abyssinian, a prominent noble and general of Gujarat, whose service he entered as under-secretary or clerk in 1559. Four years earlier he had come to India with his father from Mecca, where he was born in 1540, and had settled at Ahmadabad. The period of his activity synchronizes with the reign of Akbar, who conquered Gujarat in A.D. 1573, and with whom he was on more than one occasion brought into personal contact.

The manuscript is divided into two daftars. The first contains a history of the Muzaffari kings who ruled over Gujarat from A.D. 1396 to A.D. 1572, and the second gives an account of the various other Mussulman dynasties which ruled in Northern India from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. In these two volumes the whole of the first daftar and half the second are printed. The remainder will appear in the third volume, together with a full index and an apparatus criticus; and subsequent volumes will, no doubt, be devoted in due course to a translation which will be eagerly awaited.

Two matters of considerable historical interest are touched upon by Sir

Denison Ross in his Introduction to the present volume. The first relates to the authorship of the *Tarikh-i-Bahadurshahi*, which so many Moslem historians of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries claim to have consulted. No copy of this work is known to exist, nor is the name of the author quoted by a single Indian writer. Sir Denison Ross has succeeded in identifying this work with one Husam Khan, darogha of the port of Cambay under Sultan Bahadur Shah, who ruled in Gujarat between A.D. 1526 and 1536. From the references made by Hajji-ad-Dabir, it is clear that he continued the narrative from the point at which "the pen of Husam Khan dried up."

The second matter discussed is connected with the chiefs and nobles of foreign origin, whose battles and intrigues almost monopolize the history of the reigns of the last two independent rulers of Gujarat. Prominent among these were the Abyssinians, or Habshis. They were for the most part the prisoners or sons of the prisoners taken during the Muhammadan invasion of Abyssinia by Imam Ahmad "Grañ" in A.D. 1527, and were known by the generic name of Rumikhanis. From the island of Kamaran in the Red Sea, where they were brought up as slaves, they found their way to Gujarat in A.D. 1531 in the army of Mustafa bin Bahram, who arrived under orders from Constantinople to help the Gujarat sovereign against the Portuguese.

Many of these Habshis rose to fame. Hajji-ad-Dabir served under several of them who held high office in Gujarat. Of African descent also was Malik Ambar, minister at Ahmadnagar at the opening of the seventeenth century, who died in 1626, and whose success in arms won from the Mughals the title of "The Hateful." It is even asserted, in a note on p. 361 of Mr. Henry Bruce's recently-published edition of Meadows Taylor's "Story of My Life," that there were short-lived negro kings in Bengal. Be that as it may, it is certain that as late as A.D. 1820 Sidi Ismail, a Habshi from Cambay, distinguished himself in Northern Gujarat as minister to the Babls of Radhanpur. Finally, the African eunuch nobles of Delhi and Lucknow figured conspicuously in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and "Bob the Nailer," who did such execution with his gun against the Residency, was a negro.

Two Habshi dynasties survive on the west coast, and are represented by the Nawabs of Janjira and Sachin. Abyssinian rule in Janjira dates from about 1490, and the chiefs of Sachin belong to an older branch of the family which was expelled from Janjira at the close of the eighteenth century. Both Nawabs are descended from the Habshi admirals who controlled the coast of the Southern Konkan first under the kings of Bijapur and then under the Mughals.

Apart from these two chiefs, the modern Habshis occupy a very humble position. They are known as Sidis, a modification of the Arab word Sayyid, and are found in all parts of Gujarat, in Bombay city, and in the State of Janjira itself, which is colloquially spoken of as Habsan (the Abyssinian's land). They talk a broken Hindustani, and among themselves use a kind of debased Swahili. The Bombay and Janjira Sidis supply the P. and O. steamers and the coasting vessels with a portion of their

crews. Those in Gujarat are principally house-servants and beggars, and they live and dress like low-class Muhammadans. Their reputation is not very high, if we may judge from the local proverb, "*Habshi ka bal banka*" ("As crooked as a Habshi's hair"). Nominally Sunnis in faith, their chief object of worship is Baba Ghor, a Habshi saint and great merchant, whose tomb stands on a hill just above the Ratanpur corneelian mines in Western Rajputana. There is much more that might be said about negroes in India; indeed, there is ample material for a monograph. Sir Denison Ross observes with perfect justice that sufficient importance hitherto has not been attached by European scholars, following in the wake of Muhammadan chroniclers, to the part played by the Habshis in Indian history.

THE SECRET OF ASIA: ESSAYS ON THE SPIRIT OF ASIAN CULTURE.
By Professor T. L. Vaswani. (Madras: *Ganesh and Co.*) R. 1.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

It is a sad reflection that no Indian writer seems to be able to discuss the culture of Asia without importing invidious comparisons with Europe. The consequence is that the reader is always reminded of a certain kind of racial jealousy, which, in spite of efforts to eliminate it from the mind, will keep obtruding itself. For this attitude of mind Europe is, at least, partly to blame. It is the revolt of Asia against the arrogant assumption that Europe is and always has been the repository of wisdom and the cradle of art. This attitude of mind is happily passing away. It is only the bigotry of ignorance, whether ecclesiastical or lay, which sees only idolatry and superstition in the Hindu religion, only a grotesque bizarrerie in their art, only fantastic speculation in their philosophy, and only a horrible series of unrelated sounds in their music.

Professor Vaswani tries, as usual, to assert too much, for proof there is hardly any. We are treated for the most part to a rhapsody in which the writer is overwhelmed by his enthusiasm for his subject. We must, however, guard against that very racial prejudice which was deprecated above, whether it be shown for or against; and if we accept with discernment and discount some of the overstated generalities of the book, we shall find much that is true and much that is thoughtful in it. There are those among us who recognize the true greatness of Hindu art, even if we do not subscribe to all that the author claims for it, and even if we cannot admit, without many qualifications, that Europe has either copied or assimilated the East. It is shallow criticism, for example, to call the *vidushaka* of Hindu drama "the forerunner of the fool and clown" merely because the rôle is much the same.

The truth is—and the discovery causes a certain disillusionment—that the book has an underlying political purpose. From an advertisement on the cover it appears that the author favours "non-co-operation," and his excursions into the realm of art and literature are only meant to subserve the end of Gandhi's creed. The discovery detracts from the merit of the work; one hoped for a dispassionate criticism and found a passionate

special pleading. Yet in its appeal to the younger generation to seek those things that are above, and in its attempt to glorify all that is good in Hindu culture, there is a point of view which is, at least, worth investigating; for, after all, it is well that the Hindu should develop on national lines, and that he should seek to cure what is wrong within before addressing himself to mere externals. That is the very core of Gandhi's creed, admirable in itself, and only vulgarized by its application to political purposes.

TO THE NATION. By Paul Richard. A new translation by Aurobindo Ghosi, with an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. (Madras: Ganesh and Co.) Second Edition, 1921. R. 1, A. 8.

(Reviewed by J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S., RETD.)

As a note on the cover observes, the author of this little book "lays bare the causes of war in all ages, and enunciates the doctrine that lasting peace can only be found in the free dedication by all nations of all their powers to the service of humanity." It is well worthy of the most careful perusal, and I have no wish to criticize it in detail, but, with reference to the remarks on p. 23, I will just observe that India is "a congeries" of nations, and that it is only by the spread of the English language and English ideas of liberty that educated Indians have conceived the idea of its being one nation. The Aryans were themselves foreign conquerors in India and never thoroughly assimilated the south, where the feud between the newcomers, represented by the Brahmins, and the older Dravidians, is almost as strong as ever, and has only been kept under by English law and order. The *Pax Britannica* is still essential to the equal rights and the peaceful development of all the small nations that make up that enormous Empire. Take away the present settled order and you let loose the days of internecine war, as the Moplahs are showing us now.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF TORU DUTT. By Harihar Das. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M.P. Pp. xiv + 364. (Oxford University Press.) 1921. 8vo. 26s. net.

(Reviewed by C. B. OLDMAN.)

Mr. Das has written a book of unusual interest. The name of Toru Dutt conveys little to the average English reader of the present day, and yet the story of this Bengali girl, who, in a brief life of twenty-one years—she was born in 1856 and died in 1877—succeeded in mastering three European languages and produced work of considerable literary merit in two of them, forms one of the most fascinating chapters in the history of the mutual intercourse of East and West.

Toru had, it may be admitted, many advantages. She came of an old and cultured Hindu family, and of a branch that had recently been converted to Christianity. Her father, too, who held various posts of importance under the Government of India, devoted himself wholeheartedly to the encouragement of his daughter's talents. Moreover, in 1869, the

family visited Europe, stopping first in France and then in England, and returning to Calcutta in 1873. The visit was brief; but it inspired the whole family with a love for all things European that never left them. Toru's letters to her English friend, Miss Martin, which form the bulk of Mr. Das's book, are full of wistful recollections of those happy years; and, in her case, while she was living on her memories, she was doing everything by the character of her reading and writing to absorb more and more of the European tradition. She died too soon to show what the final outcome of this development might have been. Of her literary work much, like her unfinished English and completed French novel, shows obvious signs of immaturity—although the latter work won high praise from its French critics for its astonishing mastery of the language.

Her literary reputation really rests on two works, the translations from French poetry, published in 1876 under the title of "A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields," and the collection of "Ancient Legends and Ballads of Hindustan," published in London in 1882 with a highly appreciative Introduction by Mr. Edmund Gosse. Her translations from the French are admirable for their fidelity and vigour, and her annotations display an unexpectedly wide knowledge of French literature. There are, of course, occasional awkwardnesses of metre or idiom, but they are always such as further knowledge would readily have eradicated. Her later book shows a firmer touch, and contains one poem, "Our Casuarina Tree," which has been widely acclaimed as the most remarkable poem ever written by a foreigner in English.

Mr. Das does not criticize these works at any length. The aim of his book is mainly biographical. Toru's letters certainly provide ample material for his purpose. On every page we find reflected an exceptionally gentle and affectionate disposition. At the same time Toru displays a curious but attractive blend of humility and self-confidence. Throughout her life she remained unspoiled by praise, but on occasion she could exhibit an admirable independence of judgment. Her earlier letters show her rather uncertain in her opinions: book after book is commended as being "very interesting," and that is all; but later she develops rapidly and is soon quite ready to dismiss Charlotte Brontë's "Villette" as a failure, or to discuss the relative merits of truth and fiction with Lord Lawrence.

Where she might have ended, had a longer life been granted her, it is impossible to say. It is hard to imagine that she would ever have found a permanent source of inspiration in models drawn from an alien literature, and the work of her later years, largely inspired by her Sanskrit studies, seems to suggest that she might have achieved even greater fame as the interpreter of the infinite riches of her own civilization. But, whatever the solution, it is an interesting problem, and Mr. Das is to be thanked for producing a book which is so stimulating and likely to prove so valuable as a work of reference.

We are given to understand, although Mr. Das does not mention this in his book, that the trustees of the British Museum have accepted a number of Toru's autograph letters and poems.

NEAR EAST

THE INFLUENCE OF ANIMISM ON ISLAM: An Account of Popular Superstition. By Samuel M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S. (*London Central Board of Missions and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.*) 1920.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

The survivals of paganism in the Christian world have been the subject of many learned and far-reaching investigations by competent scholars, and the whole study of folklore, which has in recent years received rigid scientific treatment, derives a large part of its material from the survivals in Europe of beliefs and practices which have resisted all the efforts of Christian teachers to eradicate them. Abundant materials of the same character are to be found in the Muhammadan world, for the propagandists of Islam were often content with a nominal acceptance of the creed on the part of their converts, and often refrained from interference with pre-existent usages and superstitions.

In the present volume, which contains the A. C. Thompson Lectures for 1918-1919, delivered on the Hartford Seminary Foundation and at Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. Zwemer has collected a large body of facts from the writings of Dutch, English, French, and German scholars, and those he has derived from Muhammadan sources will be new to most English readers. He has given abundant illustrations of the admixture of Animism in the popular beliefs and observances of various Muhammadan peoples, and has dealt at length with the subjects of amulets, charms, and sorcery.

Varied as the material is that Dr. Zwemer has collected, he has only touched the fringe of a vast subject, and there are certain sources of information to which he does not appear to have applied at all. Among these are the works of orthodox zealots, who from time to time have inveighed against the superstitious practices of their Muslim co-religionists, and thus incidentally provided much information about the superstitious practices. He has, moreover, hardly made any use of the great collections of material to be found in the census reports, gazetteers, and other official publications of the Government of India. But despite the limits of space which were imposed upon him by his having to compress his material within a course of lectures, Dr. Zwemer's book will be of interest not only to students of Islam, but to the folklorists and students of magic and demonology, and to most of them the information which Dr. Zwemer gives in his chapters on the Jinn and the Aqiqa sacrifice will be new.

STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA. By Seven Members of Glasgow University Oriental Society. (Glasgow.) 1920.

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

Valuable as are those collections of essays contributed by the pupils of some distinguished scholar, and collected together in one volume dedicated to him, there is sometimes a danger that they may remain unknown, except within the circle of those immediately concerned and of their

colleagues in the University with which the Professor so honoured happens to be connected.

The volume under review is made up of essays written by former pupils of Professor James Robertson, who was for thirty years (up to 1907) Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the Glasgow University, and recently celebrated his eightieth birthday. The majority of the contributions to this volume are connected with Hebrew studies—*e.g.*, "The Synchronisms of the Book of Kings"; "The Site of Capernaum"; "Jewish Everyday Life, as reflected in Hebrew Synonyms"; "The Pre-Abrahamic Stories of Genesis, as Part of the Wisdom Literature." The other two have reference to the Muhammadan world, of which Professor Robertson gained intimate knowledge during his twelve years' residence in Constantinople and Beyrout. They are: "A Translation of an Arabic MS. on Calligraphy," by Dr. Edward Robertson, Lecturer on Arabic in the University of Edinburgh, and "Some Specimens of Moslem Charms," by Professor W. B. Stevenson, who is the successor of Professor Robertson in the Chair of Hebrew and Semitic Languages.

The valuable material collected together in this volume needs only to be better known in order to win the appreciation of Orientalists.

GEORGIA AND THE CAUCASUS

1. DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS REGARDING THE FOREIGN POLICY OF TRANS-CAUCASIA AND GEORGIA. (Published by the *Georgian Foreign Office, Tiflis*, 1919. In Russian.)
2. LES PEUPLES DE LA TRANSCAUCASIE PENDANT LA GUERRE ET DEVANT LA PAIX. P. G. la Chesnais. 3 cartes. (Paris: *Bossard*.) 1921.
3. LA DEMOCRATIE GÉORGIENNE. Wladimir Woytinsky. Preface de M. E. Vandervelde. (Paris: *Alcan*.) 1921.
4. LA RÉSURRECTION GÉORGIENNE. Paul Gentizot, du *Temps*. (Paris: *E. Leroux*.) 1921.

(Reviewed by W. E. D. ALLEN, F.R.G.S.)

Reliable information for the history of Trans-Caucasia since the outbreak of the Russian Revolution is almost unobtainable, and the student of events in those regions is utterly confused by the opposing statements of writers violently partisan of one nationality or of one body of political opinion. The "Documents and Materials" published by the Georgian Foreign Office affords some opportunity of collating facts for the period October, 1917, to January, 1919, and Mr. P. N. Miliukov has supplied, in the lately defunct *New Russia*, an excellent critical essay on "The Balkanization of Trans-Caucasia," which is based on these materials. The "Documents and Materials" is divided into sections, which treat respectively of the formation of the Trans-Caucasian Commissariat (October to December, 1917), the negotiations with Turkey at Trebizond and Batum (January to June, 1918), the fighting near Kars, and the later relations of the Georgian Government with the Germans, with General

Denikin, and with Armenia and Azerbaijan. There are, however, certain "lacunæ" which suggest that the correspondence has, at least in parts, been carefully edited. For instance, the documents published with regard to the differences between Georgia and Armenia on the subject of the disputed zones of Akhalkalaki and Borchalu (Nos. 211 to 259) give a very partial version of a question in which both disputants failed to reconcile their chauvinistic ambitions with their internationalist professions.

The other three volumes under review are examples of a partisanship in historical journalism which is to be condemned the more because the writers are obviously taking advantage of the knowledge that their readers cannot have the requisite information to enable them to judge of the truth of statements made. Mr. La Chesnais has written a book which is a comparatively accurate and impartial account of political events since the Revolution. He gives some interesting new facts about the attitude of the mountain tribes towards the Bolsheviks and General Denikin. But a really excellent and informative little book is marred by an obvious bias against all things Georgian. On the other hand, M. Gentizot appears to have succumbed completely to the proverbial hospitality and charm of the Georgians. He is "plus Georgien que les Georgiens," and his book, though pleasantly written, has little value. He should correct one or two obvious misprints: page 102, the last King of Georgia should be George XIII, not George III.; page 140, "Mongolie" should be "Mingrelie." M. Woytinsky has written the best book on Georgia which has appeared since the Revolution. His account of the rise of the Georgian Social Democratic Party is valuable, and his historical chapters, based, apparently, on "Documents and Materials," are interesting, though sometimes partial. He has added an account of economic and social reforms in Georgia, and his book contains a map and some attractive photographs. It is to be hoped that the publicists of small countries, and their English and French coadjutors, will eventually realize that partisan literature is too often tedious, and that their object in producing a book should be to interest the foreign reader by moderate and judicious statement, rather than to confuse him with obscure revindications.

SUVOROF. By W. Lyon Blease. With an Introduction by Major-General Sir C. E. Caldwell, K.C.B. (*Constable*.)

(Reviewed by F. P. MARCHANT.)

The author, who was on the staff of a Petrograd hospital and afterwards on the Rumanian front, wrote this study of the famous General under difficulties. His library was lost through the necessity of distant travel, but, thanks to the public librarian of Odessa, he was enabled to consult various authorities. Finally, his rough manuscript was reduced to order by Mrs. Blease with the aid of a Japanese typewriter.

In the Introduction Major-General Caldwell discusses Suvorof's conduct at the capture of Ismail, which has been open to question, and shows that it was in accordance with the general practice, as Wellington might have destroyed the garrisons of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and Suchet slew

a large number of the Tarragona garrison. Suvorof's experience of warfare was gained in many different fields, against such dissimilar foes as Kosciusko and his Poles, Osman Pasha and his Turks, irregular Tartar warriors of the steppe, and the skilled armies of Macdonald and Joubert. Suvorof's passage of the Alps after the defeat of Korsakof ranks with those of Hannibal long before and of Napoleon afterwards. Without the Suvorof tradition, would Diebitch, Paskievitch, Tcherniaief, and Gurko have achieved their triumphs?

Alexander, son of Vassily Suvorof, an administrative official of the military department, entered into military studies at an early age. His father viewed this with reluctance, but the well-known negro Hannibal advised that the boy should be allowed to follow his inclinations. When he began his career as a private, Alexander knew far more about ancient and modern campaigns, and the exploits of Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Condé, Turenne, and Vauban than most of his superiors. His first practical experience came in the Seven Years' War, where he saw the secret of the success of Frederick the Great's system, with its accompanying weakness. Suvorof's relations with his men were paternal, and he seemed to revel in their hardships, which he shared. He had a fondness for acknowledgment and recognitions, for which he would write in almost cringing terms. Thus he flattered Potemkin at an extravagant rate. Much has been made of Suvorof's contempt of convention and his buffoonery, and this side of his character is often illustrated. The author shows that it was his eccentricities which were the source of his influence over his devoted soldiers. His conversation was adorned with classical allusions, not always intelligible, and a pious ejaculation was not far off. A "can't tell" was his aversion. The advice to his godson shows that Suvorof could rise to high ideals as a soldier and a man.

The military virtues are: Bravery in the soldier, courage in the officer, valour in the General, but guided by the principles of order and discipline, dominated by vigilance and foresight. Be frank with your friends, temperate in your requirements, and disinterested in conduct; bear an ardent zeal for the service of your Sovereign; love true fame; distinguish ambition from pride and vainglory; learn early to forgive the faults of others, and never forgive your own; drill your soldiers well, and give them a pattern in yourself.

The picture of the military genius which Mr. Blease has drawn justifies the conclusion, "whatever his faults, it is impossible to withhold admiration from him." We even come to regard the unconventional hero with a measure of affection.

There is a portrait of Suvorof, who was supposed to have resembled Nelson, a point on which both touched in mutually flattering epistles. A number of maps and plans add to the military interest of a careful and discriminating work.

THE BOOK OF JOB: ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND INTERPRETATION, TOGETHER WITH A NEW TRANSLATION BASED ON A REVISED TEXT. By Morris Jastrow, PH.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. (*J. Lippincott and Co., Philadelphia and London.*) 1920. 18s. net.

(Reviewed by THE DEAN OF WINCHESTER.)

The Book of Job is one of the outstanding works in the literature of all time; and for that reason any student of ancient and modern poetry may be allowed to have an opinion about its structure, its details, and its meaning. But it has taken so great a place in the world's treasure-house that it is often forgotten that it belongs through and through to Israel. One who is neither a Jew nor a Hebraist must feel that he can only judge it, and inadequately, from outside. A brief notice such as this should, therefore, only call attention to the special points of a new study, and leave it to qualified scholars to estimate the value of the author's conclusions.

Dr. Jastrow's view is that Job as we have it is the result of many interpolations in one or two original documents. As to the earliest material he says:

"The unknown thinker to whom we owe the first draft of the Book of Job is one of the great questioners of antiquity, and those who followed in his wake in enlarging the book often add two interrogation marks to statements that were accepted as a matter of course by the age in which they lived."

On a folk-story has been superimposed a sceptical discussion. Why should a just man suffer? Is there a Divine justice? But if the result is a vindication of God, that is only, Dr. Jastrow would say, because the book has gone through so many recensions, which have entirely changed the original object. There are really, as regards the title character, two Jobs: and there are two conceptions of God: there are two conclusions in the story, and these are independent of each other.

This view is developed in detail; and the question is then asked, in regard to the composite book, as its last recension left it: Is it only to be regarded as a literary masterpiece, or has it a moral meaning, a spiritual message for to-day? Holding as he does that the consolations which many have obtained from it in the past "have generally been based on passages that have been misunderstood and in some cases wilfully distorted by an uncritical tradition," Dr. Jastrow can only conclude that "the final word" in the book is "that faith in the presence of unfathomable mystery is the only secure foundation on which we can build our lives." Job then, if we understand Dr. Jastrow rightly, is not to be regarded as a bulwark of Christianity or Judaism; hardly can its support be claimed even for a simple Theism. It is perhaps the final word of a reverent agnosticism.

This for the general reader is the main interest of the book. Those who know his great work, "*Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*," or his lesser books on the same subject, and on Ecclesiastes, in English, will be prepared for the vigour and strenuousness of this study. But the details of textual criticism, which occupy the second part of the present work, show

him in somewhat of a new light. We might almost say—so drastic are his alterations—that he has rewritten the Book of Job. Certainly there are very few of the familiar passages which he has allowed to stand. This a reviewer must leave to the critical expert to discuss.

THE ORIENT UNDER THE CALIPHS. (Translated from Von Kremer's "Culturgeschichte des Orients.") By Khuda Baksh, M.A., B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University. (Published by the Calcutta University) 1920.

(Reviewed by SIR VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.)

This book is prefaced by some general remarks by Mr. Khuda Baksh, who explains that he was led to undertake the translation by the wish of his father, now deceased. Mr. Khuda Baksh's English style is clear and good; his enthusiasm for the subject of Von Kremer's work is ardent. He considers Von Kremer "the most trustworthy interpreter of the social, political, economic, literary, and legal problems of Islam." He grieves over the gradual dissolution of Muslim empire, and recalls to memory its morning and early development. He does not think that Islam can politically "be ever again what it has been in the past," but he finds comfort in the reflection that, sinking their differences, and casting in their lot with the other peoples of India, Muslims may make that country "in the near or remote future a land of freedom and of just renown."

Von Kremer deals first with the rise of the Khilafat and its "conversion into sovereignty." Then he proceeds to describe ancient town life in Mecca and Medina; the political institutions of patriarchal times; Damascus and the Court of the Omayyads; the development of Government; the organism of the Muslim State; the military system of the Khilafat; the origin and development of Muslim law. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is "Damascus and the Court of the Omayyads," and not the least interesting passage therein is the description of the still remaining gate of the old Byzantine Church of Damascus, with its inscription, left untouched by the Arabs, "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy rule for all generations." On the capture of the town by the Arabs this famous church was divided, one half continuing as before devoted to Christian worship, the other half being converted into a mosque.

Von Kremer is well acquainted with Damascus, and describes the capital of the Omayyads, whose very graves were not spared by the Abbasids, who supplanted them. He describes the development of the power of the dynasty, founded by the man who was appointed governor of Damascus, when he was "without a farthing in his pocket," who after ruling all Syria, ascended to the seat of the Prophet. Von Kremer's chapters on the Muslim Arab system of government and military administration are vivid and interesting. "The Arab army," he writes, "must have created a great and powerful impression as they passed in innumerable columns through the hostile country. Troops of light cavalry in brilliant shirts of mail and shining steel helmets, with long lances, the

heads of which were adorned with black ostrich feathers, formed the vanguard. The archers, of tawny colour, strong and half-naked, accompanied them running and almost kept pace with their horses. The two wings were secured against sudden attack by flying corps. In the centre marched the infantry, armed with javelin, sword, and shield. In their midst thousands of camels carrying provisions, tents, and arms, marched onwards, whilst ambulances and sedan-chairs for the sick and wounded, and war machines, packed upon camels, mules, and pack-horses, followed in the rear. If the Commander of the Faithful himself or one of the princes happened to be in the army, the splendour of the scene was heightened by the divers gold-embroidered costumes of the royal bodyguard."

As is pointed out by Van Kremer, in the early years of the Khilafat the Arab army consisted exclusively of "full-blooded Arabs," grouped according to tribes, who took part in the wars for a substantial sum and an alluring prospect of rich booty. The strength of the Government rested solely upon these tribes. The Arabs' passion for gold had no limits. A foreign element was introduced into the State and the army as the Khalifas began to recruit from races converted to Islam; and when the Omayyads were superseded by the Abbasids, Arab predominance declined.

The last chapter of the book describes the origin and development of Muhammadan law, which derived its main source from the ordinances of the Quran and the Sunna, or collected traditions.

But our readers who are interested in the early days of the Khilafat should read this book for themselves. It requires an index, and might well have contained a clear account of the original difference of doctrine and subsequent quarrel between Shias and Sunnis, which is only vaguely touched on. But this defect is no fault of Mr. Khuda Baksh, who has taken great pains and written a most readable translation.

FRENCH BOOKS

MÉLANGES "AFRICAINS ET ORIENTAUX." By René Basset. (*Maison-neuve*, Paris.) 390 pp.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, LITT.D.)

In these "Mélanges" M. Basset has collected and republished various Opuscula, to the number of twenty-six, which have appeared in learned journals and elsewhere during a period of some twenty-five years, from 1882 to 1907. The high reputation of the author, the value of the matter, and the beauty of paper and typography, should secure this work a good circulation. On the other hand, few readers will be at home in all the subjects covered, and the taste exhibited in reprinting some of the articles seems doubtful; unfavourable reviews of books, with corrections of the errors which they contain, ought not to be claimants for immortality.

The longest paper included in the collection is a record of travel ("Notes de Voyage"), undertaken between the years 1882 and 1885, in Algeria and Tunisia, chiefly, it would seem, in search of materials for the

study of Berber dialects. Attention is called in the notes to some of the changes which have taken place in the country in the period that has elapsed since these notes were first published. It would appear that Arabic has been steadily ousting these vernaculars. The writer's account of his experiences is interesting, and at times humorous.

The first Opusculum, which occupies twenty-five pages, contains a brief history of Algeria, epitomizing the material which is given in detail in M. E. Mercier's "*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*." The second, entitled "*La Littérature populaire Berbère et Arabe dans le Maghreb et chez les Maures d'Espagne*," contains matter which is far less familiar, and gives evidence of profound research. The lays, of which examples are given in translation, are similar in character to those which have been collected in other countries. A point of some importance which the writer emphasizes is the shortness of the popular memory: the oldest of the war ballads are no earlier than the French conquest of Algeria; the latest deal with contemporary events. Had the ballads which refer to that conquest not been collected half a century ago, they would doubtless be lost, or nearly so, by this time. This is not surprising, as new wars naturally dull the interest in those which preceded them, and the number of poets who have produced works in this style capable of attracting a series of generations is small.

In reviews of the treatises on Islam by MM. de Castries and Carra de Vaux, M. Basset gives his own opinions on the subject, which, owing to his great knowledge of Islamic literature and his long experience of and contact with Mohammedan peoples, ought to carry great weight. He criticizes the treatise on Avicenna by the latter of these writers favourably, but finds serious fault with his work on Ghazali. His review of Mr. Weir's "*Shaikhs of Morocco*" is appreciative. Other reviews deal with Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Persian literature, and with folklore. He bestows high praise on M. Joret's "*La Rose dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge*," which he commends as a model to those engaged in similar researches.

IS ANCIENT EGYPTIAN A SEMITIC LANGUAGE?

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA LANGUE ÉGYPTIENNE ET LES LANGUES SÉMITIQUES.

By Edouard Naville, Professeur Honoraire de l'Université de Genève. (Paris: Paul Geuthner.) 1920:

This question has long ago been satisfactorily settled according to the majority of Egyptologists to-day, whose answer is most definitely "yes"; but Professor Naville in his latest work replies with an equally uncompromising "no." The veteran Professor has adhered to the same opinion throughout his life, an opinion which was generally accepted until Professors Erman and Sethe and their pupils, who compose what is known as the "Berlin school," stated their case. Erman holds that the Egyptian language in its primitive state was Semitic, and that its birthplace was the Arabian peninsula. Naville, on the contrary, considers it of African origin, and of a structure fundamentally different from that of al-

the Semitic tongues. He holds that Egyptian was originally pictographic purely, and that in process of time, on the rebus principle, the pictures acquired phonetic values, and stood for sounds rather than actual pictures of the idea to be conveyed. Since all sounds are dependent upon vowels, he argues that to write phonetic signs without vowels is a contradiction in terms. If the original pictures were for the eye to see, the phonetic signs are for the ear to hear, and as in the drawing of a man the outward form is represented for the eye to see, the Egyptians drew a man which they could see, and not his skeleton which they could not see. Consequently, if the figure of a man acquired a phonetic value, it would be written with a vowel sound which the ear could hear, and not with its consonantal skeleton which the ear could not hear, since words written without vowels are unpronounceable. He accounts for the different ways in which the Coptic texts render the same ancient sign by the existence of many local dialects.

Professor Naville, having discussed the origin of ancient Egyptian, passes to that of Canaanite, and argues that Semitic languages passed through analogous stages of development. Having discussed the order of signs and the function of determinatives, he proceeds to the consideration of grammar. A sketch of the views of Champollion, Birch, de Rouge, Brugsch, Le Page Renouf, and others, is followed by an account of the system propounded by Erman and Sethe, to each of whom he devotes considerable attention; but the summing-up is to the effect that the Berlin school has worked out an elaborate theory on false premisses—namely, that Egyptian writing is figurative, the signs themselves having a value, whilst the Semitic alphabet has only a conventional value.

The remainder of the work treats of Demotic, Aramean, Coptic, and Hebrew, and, whether we agree with the author or not, he has stated his case clearly and concisely, and has ably championed a cause which is by almost all Egyptologists of to-day regarded as a lost cause, the only notable adherents to Professor Naville's view at the present time being M. Golenischeff and Sir Ernest Budge.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

FAR EAST

THE TRADE AND ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA (Third Revised Edition).
By H. B. Morse, LL.D. With illustrations, maps, and diagrams.
(*Longmans.*)

(Reviewed by Professor E. H. PARKER.)

The first edition (price 7s. 6d.) of this careful and informative work was reviewed in the July number of the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for 1908, and the second edition in the July number of the same journal for 1913. The "march of civilization" has had the effect of raising the price of the third edition to 25s., but it is well worth the money to those whose economical interests lie in Far-Eastern matters. The chief additions and changes are as follow: To the third chapter on Republican Government have been added twenty pages dealing as far as possible with the confused

political situation up to the end of 1918: it may be mentioned that (p. 91) the title *Hsün-an-shih* for "Civil Governor" had already become obsolete in July, 1916, when it was changed to *Shêng-chang*; here, however, Mr. Morse, always careful himself, has been misled by an error in the *China Year Book* (p. 307) for 1919. To the fourth chapter upon Revenue has been added (p. 113) a short but interesting paragraph upon the Maritime and the Native Customs Revenues for 1916; also, further, two pages (132, 133) upon the 1916 Budget. To the quinquennial comparative trade statistics (p. 294), which were brought up in the second edition to 1911, have now been added figures for 1918; the same thing, "only more so," may be said of the opium statistics (pp. 383-4), which show an advance in value from £106 per picul (133½ lbs.) in 1906 to £5,280 in 1918. He does not mention the alleged Shanghai "opium deal" of President Fêng Kwoh-chang, in alluding to the theatrical but well-meant destruction of the drug at the same place by his successor President Sü Shî-ch'ang; nor, of course, does he quite adequately illustrate the scandalous connivance—ever since, and particularly at this moment—by numerous "Tuchuns" at the wholesale recultivation of the poppy in most of those provinces where the Central Government's general wishes are ignored. At the end of Chapter XII, on the Customs Inspectorate, there is a short addendum explaining the significant change made since Sir F. Aglen's succession, under which the revenue is now not only *accounted* for, but also *received* by the Inspectorate's offices; but, even with this precaution against Tuchun "squeezing," the rebellious South for a year or two managed to get the Powers' consent to their receiving a percentage of the surplus "released" to the recognized North after the service of the loan debts, and recently (though, of course, Mr. Morse could not possibly mention it) the Canton Republican "Directors" threatened to abolish duties altogether and throw their ports open to free trade unless this percentage be continued, they on their part having, so far, pettishly refused to join the China Unification movement engineered by the Peking President; indeed, the very latest news is that Sun Yat-sen has been proclaimed President of China in the South. Two new pages of late statistics are added to the thirteenth chapter, on the Post Office. Chapter XIV., on Railways, is entirely new (to this book and, of course, to the two earlier editions), being a judiciously abbreviated reproduction of the chapter on Railways in Mr. Morse's other *magnum opus*, "The International Relations of the Chinese Empire," Part III, 1894-1911, Chapter IV. Appendix G is also new, being a list of railways, complete, building, or contracted for.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"THE History of the Mahrattas," by James Cuningham Grant-Duff (Milford); "The Gospel of Freedom," by T. L. Vaswani (Ganesh); "Jivatman in the Brahma-Sutras," by Abhayakumar Guha (University of Calcutta); "The Karma-Mimamsa," by A. Berriedale Keith; "Wisdom of the East" Series (Milford); "The Angami Nagras," by J. H. Hutton (Macmillan); "To the Nations," by Paul Richard (Ganesh); "Bharata

Shakti," by Sir John Woodroffe (Ganesh); "Self-Government and the Bread Problem," by J. W. Petavel (University of Calcutta); "Indian Logic and Atomism," by A. Berriedale Keith (Oxford: Clarendon Press); "A Diplomat of Japan," by the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow (Seeley Service); "An Introduction to the History of Japan," by Katsuro Hara (Putnam); "Travels of a Consular Officer in North-West China," by Eric Teichman (Cambridge University Press); "A History of Persia," by Sir Percy Sykes, Vols. I. and II. (Macmillan); "The Secret of Asia," by Professor T. L. Vaswani (Ganesh); "Essays on the Latin Orient," by William Miller (Cambridge University Press); "The Origin and Evolution of the Human Race," by Albert Churchward (Allen and Unwin); "An Empire View of the Empire Tangle," by Edward O. Mousley (P. S. King); "Mélanges: D'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales," by Henri Cordier.

ARTICLES TO NOTE

Mr. J. B. Pennington, in an article contributed to the *Wednesday Review*, recently, entitled, "India and the Cult of Swaraj," writes as follows:

"As to 'Home Rule' in the East—China is a self-governing country, but it did not escape the loss of forty or fifty millions by famine in the first half of the last century and some ten millions in 1875, whilst in 1900 three-tenths of the population of Shansi are said to have died of starvation; and so it has gone on up to date, when famine is raging over 13,000 square miles, and 15,000,000 people are on the verge of death by starvation, even if they have not died already. We have had nothing quite so bad in India since 1878.

"As to India's desire for what is called 'freedom,' it is at least open to question whether the complete personal liberty enjoyed by the subject under a thoroughly benevolent despotism, like that of India, is not better than the risk of Bolshevism, of which we have had some experience lately in Russia. 'Are people not better off, more prosperous, *more free*, and more safe, to say nothing of more tranquil, as part of a strong Power, than under the old régime?' (Mr. Mullett Meyrick in 'Japan's Work in Korea'). Mr. Gandhi complains of our neglect of education, but it is doubtful if more can be spent profitably than has been allotted every year (*Cf. ASIATIC REVIEW*, p. 263); at the same time I should be quite prepared to encourage 'Swadeshi' schools, just as missionary and other private schools are encouraged by the Indian Government if they can be got to accept the Government terms."

The *Bengalee* of July 31, 1921, in a leading article devoted to Mr. Rice's article in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, entitled "Lord Reading's Task in India," writes as follows:

"At the top we may be all right, or nearing a status of 'equal citizenship,' but we lack the rights of citizenship at the bottom. Lord Reading must not overlook it, the Indian people are completely at the mercy of the Indian bureaucracy and police, in spite of the new reform scheme. A member of the Executive Council of any Provincial Government may make and unmake men, change and initiate policies, and turn down and scotch popular projects, a chowdhar becomes the easy master of a village and may hold its whole population in his grip."

The September issue of the *Persia Magazine* contains a very instructive article by Mr. Armitage-Smith on the situation in Persia. He writes :

"The peasantry of Persia are laborious and docile; the upper classes are amazingly intelligent and amazingly courteous. But Persia cannot stand alone. Its military weakness and its lack of communications and, I say without hesitation, lack of solidarity, combined with a vast amount of social injustice and maladministration, render the position particularly formidable when we know that there is a dangerous propaganda going on all round. Disinterested help is necessary. What is wanted is to develop and not to exploit the country, and the Persians know the difference. What is needed is to guide rather than to lead. What is wanted in the advisers, if Persia will have advisers, is insight and sympathy. What is wanted in the Persians themselves is a real and not a sham nationalism, not a nationalism that takes foreign money and abuses foreigners, but a real awakening of the national spirit and a will to survive. I have told all my Persian friends and colleagues, many of whom I esteem greatly both for their ability and integrity and their love for their country, that only Persians can save Persia. But I think myself that a few disinterested Englishmen can help them. It remains to be seen whether Persia thinks the same."

FRENCH VIEWS

The French reviews are paying increased attention to Indian affairs, and we quote the following conclusion from a long article on India in the August issue of *L'Asie Française*, in which Sir Valentine Chirol's articles in *The Times* are discussed :

"Ainsi se termine cette longue enquête, menée sans parti pris par l'homme qui connaît le mieux l'Inde d'aujourd'hui. Le lecteur français aurait souhaité qu'elle fût moins dispersée, que l'auteur ne revînt pas plusieurs fois sur la même question et n'en traitât pas de différentes dans le même article. Telle qu'elle est, cette étude sans coordination a gardé la fraîcheur et la sincérité de pages écrites sur place et au jour le jour. Elle nous donne des renseignements précieux sur tous les grands problèmes actuels : . . . rien n'a échappé à ses investigations.

"Nous suivrons attentivement, mois par mois, le développement de toutes ces questions, dont dépend le sort de l'Inde et, par suite, celui de la mère-patrie. Nous verrons si le peuple anglais écoute les conseils de Sir Valentine. De la tournure que prendront les événements nous pourrions tirer plus d'une leçon utile : en Asie, comme en Europe, l'heure est décisive : *novus rerum nascitur ordo*.—PAUL MARTIN."

THE LATE LORD REAY

The September issue of *United Empire*, in its "Editorial Comments," contains the following interesting passage :

"Students who take delight in the coincidences of history—possibly Lord Reay himself—will have noted the curious fact that both his peerage and Bombay as a British possession were derived from the Stuarts. His views in the eighties were regarded as almost dangerously advanced ; to-day, in the light of developments, they appear exceedingly moderate and quite innocuous. India's movement towards the goal of autonomy was no doubt quickened by his work in the presidency."

POETRY

FLOWERS

(Line-for-line Translation from the Russian of Krilof.)

BY DR. JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E.

AT open window of a mansion grand,
 In marble vases richly chased,
 False flowers, midst living blooms did stand
 On wire-stalks placed.
 There tossed they gaily,
 To lookers-on their loveliness displaying daily !
 A little shower began to patter,
 To Jove at once the wax-flowers turned to pray—
 That He the shower should stay.
 They scold the rain and free abuse on it they scatter,—
 “O Jupiter,” they cried, “this rainfall stop !
 There’s no good in a single drop.
 And what in the wide world is worse
 Than through the streets to flop,
 Where everything it doth in mud and slush immerse?”
 But Jove paid no attention to their petty prayer ;
 The rain came down in rushing torrents everywhere,
 Driving the heat afar.
 It cooled the air, nature once more revived again,
 And with redoubled verdure clothed the plain.
 Then at the window all the living flowers
 Unfolded all their beauty to the showers,
 And for the rain grew sweeter,
 Fresher and neater.
 But the poor art-made flowers have, since that day,
 Lost all their loveliness, and been thrown away
 As worthless clay.
 Of critics’ zeal real talents don’t complain,
 It cannot do their beauty any harm.
 ‘Tis only flaxen flowers that take alarm,
 And dread the rain.

" HE CAME TO FETCH HIS BRIDE AWAY "

*Translated from the Chinese by D. A. WILSON, I.C.S. (RETD.)**

(The Shih III, III, 7, 4 ; C.C. IV., 549 ; S. 27 and 341)

HE came to fetch his bride away ;
His carriages were fair,
With eight bells each that tinkled gay ;
And she was ready there.

Oh, leisurely her maidens wait,
As clouds the moon surround,—
Their splendour fills the spacious gate,
And makes him look around.

The vivid touches follow the Chinese text, and may all be read in Legge's prose. These are worthy of Homer at his best, or Shakespeare. They make us see the bride-groom across so many departed ages. We see him stepping down from his carriage, the bells still tinkling, at the house of the bride's father. We see him embarrassed by the galaxy of beauty and fashion at the gate, blocking his way, and in no hurry to let him through. He stands quietly looking round, making the best of an embarrassing situation. For the purpose of showing us again the long departed, what trash is necromancy, compared to this, the unmistakable real magic of genius ! Surely, good literature is the best thing man can make.

* For previous translations see ASIATIC REVIEW, October, 1920, p. 695, and July, 1921, p. 557.

CORRESPONDENCE

“A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR”

MR. GANDHI AND DR. POLLEN

SOME FURTHER NOTES

With reference to the letter addressed to Mr. Gandhi by Dr. John Pollen, which was published in the July issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, and the reply thereto by Mr. Gandhi in *Young India* (June 22, 1921), Dr. Pollen has sent us the following extracts of his rejoinder for publication :

“(5) You maintain, without a particle of proof, that ‘India is poorer to-day than it ever has been,’ and this you do in face of the facts that the standard of comfort has steadily improved, and that India increasingly absorbs more than its fair share of the precious metals of the world, and spends such enormous sums on litigation, lawyers’ fees, marriage festivals, temples, amusements, etc.

“(6) You insist that ‘the drink evil has never been so bad as it is to-day,’ although you now admit that the drink evil existed in India long before the advent of the British! Surely you must know perfectly well that smuggling and secret drinking and illicit distillation have been consistently discouraged by the British and partially, but, unfortunately, not wholly, prevented. Yet still you insinuate that the sole object of the British system is to raise an ever-growing revenue from encouraging the vices of the people. You say: ‘Dr. Pollen has the effrontery to suggest in the face of an ever-growing drink revenue that the present administration discourages excessive drinking.’ Yes, I have this effrontery, and assert this fact most positively with all the effrontery which has been aptly named ‘the effrontery of truth.’

“(7) You assert that ‘India is held in the last resort by a system of terrorism.’ This I strenuously deny. India is held by India’s own consent for India’s own good, and by something far higher and nobler than the sword or terrorism—by the grace of God and by faith in the good faith of the British people.

“Finally, you suggest to me that ‘an average income of Rs. 2-4-0 per head per month will not feed, clothe, and house the poorest amongst the poor’ (of course I agree—save in the case of infants), and you go on to insist that the ‘average income’ per head in India falls far below even this ‘for the masses of poor men.’

“But, at the same time, you tell us that in your model ‘non-co-operation’ village of Sisodra you were able, apparently without difficulty, to collect for ‘The Tilak Swaraj Fund’ a purse of Rs. 2,000, which, you say, ‘works out at the rate of Rs. 1-8-0 per head.’ I wonder how you

were able to get so much for such a purpose out of poor men whose average income, you say, falls below Rs. 2-4-0 per head per month! But the truth seems to be that the average income of the poor in any community has never yet been accurately ascertained—nor is it indeed anywhere ascertainable with any exactitude.”

LIGHT ON INDIA FROM CHINESE RECORDS

THERE are few countries of Asia whose history cannot be made a little clearer here and there by references culled from the Chinese archives, and Mr. Molony's interesting paper upon Kashmir in the July number of this journal is yet another instance in point. I published in the first number of a missionary journal called *China* (October, 1903) an account of King S'īladitya's dealings with China; in the year 641 he adopted the title of King of Magadha, and decided to open up relations with the newly-founded T'ang dynasty. This monarch must be the Harsha S'īladitya mentioned by Mr. Waddell in the January number of the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for 1911 (pp. 40-50). The Chinese have plenty to say about Asoka, Huviska, and other Kusan Kings of Gandhara, to whom Mr. Molony only casually alludes; but the first clear mention of Kushmir or Kashmira as an independent kingdom occurs in the year 713, when an envoy was sent to the Chinese Court; in 720 King Chên-t'o-lo-pi-li (Tchandrāpīda) received a diploma, and on his death his brother, Muk-to-pit (Muktāpīda), was invested by the Emperor, an intermediate brother, Tarāpīda, having died while these negotiations were going on. In the *Historical Review* for October, 1905, I have endeavoured to explain from Chinese records the earlier history of the Kabul valley, and the doings of the various Turkish and other dynasties akin both to the Indo-Scythians and to the earlier and later Turks, whose rulers have held sway over the Kipin (Cophene) and Kashmir regions. The French sinologists, MM. Chavannes and Pelliot, have also published much miscellaneous matter throwing strong light upon this obscure subject. It is the *Historical Review* paper that I think will most interest Mr. Molony.

E. H. PARKER.

A PERNICIOUS REVIVAL

To the Editor of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

SIR,

May I draw your attention to a pernicious revival of a cruel and barbarous sport, which reflects infinite discredit upon the Western World, and is bound to be deeply prejudicial to European influence in the East. I refer to the revival, under the name of bull-fights, of those sanguinary contests between armed men and animals, which formed so prominent a social feature of decadent Rome.

A few weeks ago I attended one of these so-called bull "fights" in Spain. The impression made upon me was terrible. It was on a Sunday afternoon. The immense stone arena was crowded with men and women

in holiday mood. The bull, a small but splendid specimen, was turned into the arena. He was immediately surrounded by a score of gaudily clad men, who fluttered immense coloured cloaks in front of him. Dazzled by the elusive target, he ultimately turned and charged one of the half-dozen horses which were being ridden slowly round for that purpose. Instantly the unfortunate horse was disembowelled. The rider did not dismount. The creature was forced to stagger on, bleeding and its entrails hanging out. A second horse—poor faithful friend of man—was similarly served. When the bull began to show signs of exhaustion, a man, armed with two long barbed spears, advanced and plunged them into his back. He roared with agony and tried to shake them out, but, being on the harpoon principle, they stuck fast. After more play by the cloaked men, and more ripping of horses, the bull was subjected to further abominable torture. By this time I was blinded by tears, but I could hear his agonized bellowing, and the piteous shrieks of the horses.

I come from India and know what a disastrous effect such a spectacle would have upon Jains, Hindus, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Buddhists, and all those teeming millions of the East, to whom animal life is sacred as a gift shared in common with man from the Divine Creator. Can we not, in the name of our common humanity, and for the honour of the West, make a protest?

Professional bull-fights, as at present practised, originated in the eighteenth century. They were not frequent. Special royal sanction had to be obtained on each occasion. Soon Charles IV. prohibited them altogether as barbarous and demoralizing. No bull-fight had taken place for many years until Napoleon's invasion of the Peninsula, in 1808. His nomination of his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to the Spanish throne was not favourably received. In order to popularize his rule King Joseph revived the obsolete practice of bull-fighting. Now there are over two hundred vast stone arenas in Spain, where bull-fights are held on Sunday afternoons and in honour of special festivals. The practice has crossed into France, where arenas have been built at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Arles, etc.

In order to study the working of Western civilization more students are annually pouring into Europe from the East. Christian missionaries have familiarized them with Christian ideals and theories, so that it will be a severe shock to them when they are introduced to this Christian sport. The dangerous consequences of such a revelation are too serious to be disregarded.

CLAIRE SCOTT.

September 6, 1921.

THE MANDATES IN THE NEAR EAST

To the Editor of the "ASIATIC REVIEW."

UNIVERSITY OF STRASBOURG,
STRASBOURG, BAS-RHIN, FRANCE.

DEAR SIR,

In its issue of February 26 *The Times* was good enough to publish a short note from me anent the grave questions raised during the discussion concerning the so-called mandates to be given by the League of Nations

to France, in connection with Syria, and to Great Britain, in connection with Mesopotamia. I am glad to accept your kind offer to allow me some space in which to make a further plea in the same sense.

I use the word "plea" advisedly. As an American citizen—though of English birth—it is quite out of place for me to give advice. If the Monroe doctrine—pushed, sometimes, to an unreasonable point—is good for us Americans *vis-à-vis* the rest of the world, the retort is proper that a similar doctrine is valid for the rest of the world *vis-à-vis* America. And the French and English taxpayers have the right to say that, as they are the ones who are called upon to pay the taxes which make, for the present at least, such mandate policy possible in those countries, it is for them to "call the tune." But the friends of the Allies may claim the right to ask of these same taxpayers if they realize fully to what the policy leads, which is recommended to them on the hustings and in the newspapers, to "get out" of Syria and of Mesopotamia. In a recent communication to *The Times* (February 4), Lord Sydenham says that "if we [Great Britain] retire, we must bring back the Turks." I feel that we ought to go farther than this, and say that if the French and English do retire someone certainly will come in; and that someone will be the German—a name that sounds at this moment much worse than does that of the Turk.

The British have created—for political purposes which, at the time, were possibly justifiable—a kingship in the Hejaz; but how insecure this throne is as yet may be seen from the power still wielded in the Peninsula by the Emir of the Nejd and by the Imam of the Yemen. In Mesopotamia nothing stable has, as yet, been reared; and it is quite unthinkable that it can be governed again from Constantinople and fall into the administrative lethargy in which it was sleeping itself to death prior to 1914. That the Kurds will settle down into an organized government can only be believed by those who know nothing at all about the wild, fighting life led for centuries by these hardy mountaineers. That Syria will calm its inter-racial and inter-religious quarrels in the Dirvân or around a council-table is an idea that can come to the mind only of those who know nothing about the unending quarrels there—quarrels within quarrels—that have set Mohammedan against Mohammedan, Christian against Christian, and Christians in general against Mohammedans. Some strong hand—or hands—is needed to guide these peoples towards modern statehood, even if that strong hand is actuated concurrently by motives of self-interest and of self-assertion. And some strong hand is needed, also, to keep a tithe only of the promises so solemnly made by Anglo-Saxondom towards the Armenian people—promises which Lord Bryce, with his accustomed directness and authority, has called again to the mind of the British and American peoples.

The Near East cannot yet stand upon its own legs. It is still the play-ball of fate, if not of the European Powers. I have read somewhere that Sir Rabindranath Tagore has made the statement recently that the East does not like our Western civilization; that it desires to live its own life; and that it does not wish to have Western methods forced upon it. This is as vain a statement as is that of many of my own countrymen, who

imagine that America can hold herself aloof from contact with the affairs of Europe. The engine and the steamboat, the flying-machine and the under-sea craft, have so linked up the different parts of the world that a living apart is hardly possible for any one portion of it. And, though the last six years of Europe's life may give a fillip to the disdain which certain Easterners profess to have for the West, it is evident that the line of development leads not backwards to that from which we have come, but forwards to that which we discern only dimly on the horizon. The splendid aspect that is offered to us at this moment of the ordered and steady development of Egypt towards the beginnings of its constitutional life, and of India commencing to take the same road, leaning upon the strong arm of the originator of constitutional government, gives assurance to our belief that similar movements can be set going in both Syria and Mesopotamia under similar conditions.

When I say that the Near East stands in need of a helping hand, I mean nothing in the least derogatory of Mohammedan civilization, of Islam as a moral force, or of Arabic and Turkish letters as an agency for expressing that which is best and is highest in our nature. I have for the last thirty years or more been a defender of Islam against the many aspersions cast upon her by those who know her least; and as I write these lines, the beatic figure of my dear friend the late Muhammad Abdu, the Rector of the Aghar University, stands clearly before my eyes. It is simply the question of the adaptation of an older civilization to modern methods and standards. Islam has done this so often in the past. She can do it again; but, for this, help is needed.

Many years ago the Germans became aware of this fact. They set out—with the systematic thoroughness that characterizes their every effort, whether for good or bad—to give this help. The *Drang nach Osten* was a position taken with deliberation, in a scheme which looked forward to capturing the leadership of the world. During the last visit that I was privileged to make to the Near East, in 1910, this was apparent everywhere—in Constantinople, in Palestine, in Syria, and in Mesopotamia. It was based upon a careful and precise study of the Mohammedan position, a sympathetic study, that brought Germany into intimate contact with the leading forces of Islam, whether in Constantinople, in Bagdad, among the Senoussi, or in far-off Morocco. There is no need for me to enumerate the various stages in this campaign for position. They are all well known to the readers of your journal. But it must never be forgotten that German scientific work is only the basis upon which the German political fabric is built up. This prostitution of a noble calling, in which science jostles politics, has caused a general distrust to be felt whenever German scientific endeavours are put forward in a degree more than ordinary.

This is just what has occurred in matters relating to the Near East. The difficulties put in the way of securing books published in Germany are only now beginning to be lifted. They reveal how steadily German Orientalists have persevered at the task of studying the Near East, of writing about it, and of bringing the information gathered home to the German people. In ordinary times this would be a matter only for

cordial congratulations and for possible imitation. One would wish to congratulate a people that could find time and leisure in the very midst of a terrific war to publish huge volumes upon the architecture, of the Mohammedans in Egypt, in Syria, and in Mesopotamia, to put forth series of textbooks dealing with the Turkish language and with Turkish literature, to establish a "Society of Friends of Turkish Literature"; the while its opponents were staggering under a burden that brought the work of similar societies in their enemies' countries almost to a standstill, and made it wellnigh impossible for them to publish the few reviews dealing with these subjects that had seen the light hitherto.

But in view of the truculent attitude adopted by the Germans towards those whom they had forced to become their enemies, these facts call a halt upon our goodwill and upon our admiration. The Germans have cast aside none of their pretensions. Though the Reich at present possesses no colonies, seven *Zeitschriften* dealing with colonial matters are still being published; and the former *Staatsekretär*, Dr. Solf, has only recently thrown his glove into the arena, demanding colonies for Germany and a general redistribution of Africa. All these facts raise in us a just concern regarding the use to which this work done will be put. When once the bars are lifted, when the stronger hands of France and of Great Britain are taken away and the weaker rule of Turkish bureaucracy is put in their stead, the inrush of the Germans into Syria and Mesopotamia (not to speak of Asia Minor) will be as inevitable as was their inrush into Belgium in 1914. Once more the Turkish fez will be used to cover the German head; and under the cloak of a misinterpreted and misrepresented Pan-Islamism the old Pan-Germanism will commence its ruthless propaganda. Under the veil of scientific research, the old lines of infiltration, by means of which the subtle influence of Germany was brought into the Near East, will be found again, new ones will be traced out, and we shall find ourselves suddenly in view of an accomplished fact—a fact that will be all the more stubborn to overcome because it has taken note and warning of the things that have happened and which, most unfortunately, the Allies are too prone to forget.

The French and the English taxpayer may be forced to throw off from his shoulders some of the burdens that now weigh so heavily upon him. *He* will have to choose which these shall be; and it is not for the outsider to indicate which he ought to choose. But surely the outsider will be pardoned if he insist upon the taxpayer knowing what the result of such action will and must be.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

(of Columbia University, New York City).

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ST. MÊNA OF EGYPT

BY WARREN R. DAWSON

SOME years ago the British Museum acquired a manuscript written in familiar characters, but in a language not then known. From the Greek proper names which occurred in it, Sir Ernest Budge recognized that it dealt with St. Mênâ and the Nicene Canons; he also discerned that it was written in an ancient Nubian dialect. The trustees wisely decided to make the work immediately accessible to scholars, and an excellent facsimile was prepared. Sir Ernest Budge took the opportunity of collecting from other manuscripts all that is known of the life and martyrdom of the saint, with the result that a compact volume appeared, containing a general Introduction and a translation and commentary on the various texts, Greek, Arabic, and Ethiopic, in which the life of St. Mênâ has come down to us.* To the Nubian text we shall revert later, as it has since been deciphered, and proves to be the narration of a miracle wrought by the saint; but before discussing this it will be interesting to summarize the principal facts in the life of St. Mênâ as we learn them from the manuscripts translated in the British Museum publication.

Towards the end of the third century of the Christian era there lived in the city of Alexandria a certain Eudoxius and his wife. To their great regret, their union was blessed by no child, and they migrated to Phrygia. Eudoxius'

* "Texts relating to St. Mênâ of Egypt and the Canons of Nicæa in a Nubian Dialect," with Facsimile. Edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., etc. Printed by order of the Trustees, British Museum, 1909. Price 12s. net.

wife betook herself to the church on the festival of Our Lady Mary, and saw the mothers bringing their children to be blessed. In the anguish of her heart she made entreaty, and her prayers were answered by the birth of a son, who was called Minas, or Mēna. The boy grew up in the Christian faith, and at the age of eleven became an orphan and the inheritor of his father's wealth. He trained himself in great religious fervour and bestowed his property upon the poor, and withdrew from the world to a life of fasting and prayer. His father's successor induced him to join the army, in which he quickly rose to high rank.

Early in his career the Emperor Diocletian issued an edict, calling upon all men to worship his pagan gods, and proscribing Christianity under pain of torture and death. On hearing the edict, Mēna fled to the desert, and lived an ascetic life among the beasts; but on revisiting the city he was seized, and carried before Phyrus the prefect. Mēna stoutly protested his Christianity, and was put in irons. Phyrus pleaded with him to surrender his belief, and on his obstinate refusal to do so, the angry prefect ordered him to be flogged. So brutally was punishment inflicted that the ground was reddened with the blood from Mēna's wounds. Undaunted by suffering, Mēna remained steadfast, and was punished by a series of tortures, each more cruel than the last. He was scraped with sharp irons, his body was burned with lighted torches, he was dragged over sharp iron spikes, and beaten again. Phyrus became increasingly incensed with the unavailingness of his inflictions, and finally ordered that Mēna should be taken outside the city walls and beheaded, and his body thrown to the flames. The sentence was carried out, but the body was rescued from the fire by faithful friends, and anointed and dressed in fine linen and carried to his native country.

The troops of Mareotis took the body with them by sea to Alexandria, and whilst on the ship the corpse was surrounded by long-necked monsters, with heads like those of camels, that rose from the sea and bent towards it. Flames

darted from the saint's body, and the monsters withdrew into the deep. When the troops once more left Alexandria to return to Mareotis they again wished to take the body with them, but on placing it upon a camel for transport to the ship, the animal refused to budge. In spite of beatings, each camel in the camp successively refused to move, and this was recognized as a sign of God's refusal to allow the body to leave Alexandria. A tomb was built, and the body laid within it. A neighbouring well was endowed with medicinal virtues by the influence of the saint's body, and man and beast were healed by it. Amongst the sick who came there was the daughter of the King of Constantinople, who was cured of leprosy, and was visited by the saint in a dream. Her father in gratitude built a church on the spot, and a town grew up around it. Many miracles were wrought by the beneficence of the saint, whose fame spread far and wide.

Such, briefly, is the history of St. Mēna as the Greek and Arabic texts relate it. The Ethiopic version, whilst covering the same ground, is much more detailed. It is related that when the camels refused to bear their burden from Alexandria, the General in charge of the troops, Athanasius, having to relinquish the body of the saint and the miraculous protection it afforded him, had a picture executed on a panel and laid upon the body to absorb its mystic properties. This picture Athanasius carried about with him on all his travels. In connection with this picture, the text gives us the interesting detail that the saint is represented in military attire, and at his feet are the five camel-like monsters that rose from the sea. This device has been preserved in the oil-flasks in which pilgrims took away sacred oil from the shrine, and from the numbers of moulds and flasks excavated from the site it would seem that great numbers of pilgrims visited the shrine and bore away a memento of their visit. The British Museum has some fine specimens of these flasks, several of which are figured in the publication.

In course of time church succeeded church, and the veneration of the saint continued until the church and town were pillaged and destroyed when the Arabs conquered Egypt.

We now come to the consideration of the Nubian text. When the manuscript was examined it soon became evident that it was written in a language previously unknown, although traced in familiar characters—namely, the Coptic forms of Greek letters. Although a number of Greek words were recognizable in it, it was apparent that the language was neither Greek nor Coptic, and various scholars attempted to study and decipher it. Mr. Griffith, of Oxford, collected all the known material in the Nubian script, and submitted it to a prolonged and detailed scrutiny. The result of his labours is an elaborate memoir,* wherein he not only translated the documents, but drew up a grammar and vocabulary of the ancient Christian Nubian language.

It is thanks to the efforts of this scholar that the leaves of the Nubian manuscript, admirably facsimiled in the British Museum publication, now yield up their secret. The text contains the account of a miracle wrought by St. Mēna, which is of unique and surpassing interest, and which may be summarized as follows :

A certain woman of wealth, living near Alexandria, was much troubled because she was sterile, and all her household and animals also, down to the fowls. Hearing of the miraculous powers of St. Mēna in the church of Mareotis, she vowed that if one of her fowls would lay an egg, she would deposit the egg in the shrine of the saint. In due course an egg was laid, and the woman, accompanied by a servant-girl, took the egg down to the water in search of a boat to take the egg to the church at Mareotis. She hailed a boatman, and begged to be carried to her destination. The boatman expressed surprise that a pagan should wish to visit the Christian church, but when matters were ex-

* "The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period." Berlin, 1913.

plained to him he volunteered to take the egg and deposit it himself. The boatman put the egg in his cabin and forgot it, and on his return journey he found it again ; but, faithless to his promise, he cooked the egg and ate it. The boatman (who was a Christian) came ashore one Sunday to receive the Sacrament, and whilst in the church he had a vision of St. Mena, who was mounted on a white horse and making at him with a spear. The boatman betook himself to the image of the Virgin and besought protection. St. Mena seized the man, and the egg he had eaten became a live fowl, which came out from him and crowed. And the saint carried the fowl to the woman's house and bade her put it amongst the other fowls, which then should become fruitful ; he, moreover, foretold the birth of a son to her, whose name should be Mena. He likewise told her that her serving-maids and cattle should become fruitful, and bade her receive baptism in the Christian faith. In due time all was fulfilled, and the child and all the family and the household received their baptism and embraced the faith of the Church.

On one page of the manuscript is a picture of the saint on horseback as he appeared to the boatman. He wears a military cloak and carries a spear, which the boatman has grasped in his endeavour to ward it off. Beneath the legs of the boatman the head of the fowl may be seen.

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

I.—THE PROBLEM OF ASIA MINOR*

WHEN the Nationalist insurrection broke out, the Greeks were of opinion that they could have dealt with it easily, but were not permitted to do so. The mediation proposals of the Allies were rejected by both sides; therefore the choice lay between compulsion and allowing the Greeks and the Turks to fight the matter out. We were in a position to compel only the Greeks, not the Turks, and it was felt both sides would be more easily persuaded when they had proved their respective limitations; so the Allies chose the latter course, as a writer in the *Near East* points out. He then goes on to condemn the "senseless boycott of King Constantine," by which Greece is debarred from that intercourse on an equal footing which is essential to reasonable negotiation:

"If Greece take the Allies at their own word, then the war in Asia Minor is exclusively a matter between herself and the Turks. . . . If, on the other hand, she is reminded that she is a member of the Great Alliance, and that the future of Turkey is the concern of all the Allies, less will be heard of Greek 'claims.' As things are, Greece, through the personal pique of the members of the Supreme Council, has been dropped from the Alliance, and the world is treated to the unedifying spectacle of the organization that defeated the Central Powers confessing its impotence to deal with her."

Does this imply that the able writer of the above article is deploring the injustice done to Greece, mainly because it threatens to leave Turkey at her mercy?

II.—MR. AMEER ALI ON GREECE AND TURKEY†

The world is realizing the great sacrifices Greece is making, and will be forced to make, if she continues in what she believes to be the cause of justice and freedom. Thus Mr. Ameer Ali, in a weighty letter, writes:

"The wisest course—wisest in the long run to Greece herself—would be to call upon her to evacuate Asia Minor and Thrace. She is bleeding herself to death in her oft-repeated attempts to conquer Western Asia; she maintains a garrison 100,000 strong in Thrace; she will have to maintain an army equally strong to hold even Smyrna and the hinterland. How long can she survive this tremendous drain on her resources in men and money? It would be truer friendship to compel her to abandon Thrace and Asia Minor, which were assigned to her under a misconception, and to concentrate her undoubted energies and the capacity of her people to the development of the large territories that will still be left to her."

III.—GREECE CLAIMS TO BE FIGHTING THE ALLIES' BATTLES

On the other hand, the Greek Minister, in an interview to the Press‡ on September 15, declared: "We are fighting your battles, and are again securing the safety of the Straits. Last April reports had been spread that

* The *Near East*, August 25, 1921.

† The *Times*, September 19, 1921 (reply to the leading article, "Greece and Turkey," in the *Times*, September 14, 1921).

‡ The *Scotsman*, September 16, 1921.

the Greeks had been severely defeated and would soon be pushed into the sea. No alteration, however, was made in their plans. The armies were reorganized, and heavy artillery brought up in preparation to strike an effective blow at the enemy. The Turkish Army had heavy guns, and was not a mere agglomeration of bands. The aim of the Greek General Staff was not Angora, but the destruction of the Turkish Army. The Greeks are relieving the Allies' armies in the East, securing the safety of the Straits, and were the Greek Army not active an Allied Army of some 150,000 men would be needed."

IV.—"THE GREEKS ARE IN GREEK IONIA BY EUROPEAN MANDATE"

In a letter, the Greek Minister in London, Mr. A. Rizo Rangabé, attempts to answer the statements made in the leader* that called forth Mr. Ameer Ali's letter quoted above.

Mr. Rangabé states that it is a misconception of the real position to state that the Greeks have been pushed into the Anatolian campaign by the ambition of their leaders and an overmastering impulse of far-reaching Hellenic nationalism.

"Is it not an historical fact that the Greeks are in Greek Ionia by European mandate?" asks Mr. Rangabé. And even though such mandate be lacking in the present campaign, the Greek nation is fulfilling a "higher, nobler, though unwritten mandate," well worth any sacrifice. She was compelled "to fight single-handed in order to impose upon a common enemy respect for a compact . . . bearing the signatures of all the Allied Powers." [It must be added that the Treaty had not been ratified by all the Allied Powers.]

The *Times* writer observes that "in the Hellenic peninsula and the islands of the Aegean there must be many who are thinking as they count up the cost in blood and treasure. To what purpose was this far thrust into the terrible unknown?"

Mr. Rangabé replies with impassioned eloquence that throughout the ages Hellenic history has been that of an alternate battle and martyrdom for liberty, and that in to-day's struggle we have proof that "there is no lack of volunteers in defence of this sacred cause."

Further, Mr. Rangabé insists that all this bloodshed has not been in vain, since "it is due to these very Greek sacrifices in Anatolia that the Kemalist menace to Constantinople and the Straits has been removed."

V.—SIR VALENTINE CHIROL'S WARNING

Sir Valentine Chirol sounds a warning note that statesmen should not allow to pass unheeded when he tells us that it should be remembered that even the utter defeat of the Greek armies would not ensure a peace over which one could rejoice, seeing that it would mean the flood of misrule, closing down once more upon the Mohammedan as well as the Christian populations, "for whose emancipation from Ottoman oppression we shall have fought in vain, just as we have already had to watch, impotently, the wretched Armenian nation perishing, before the ink has had time to dry on the treaty by which we professed to consecrate its salvation."†

VI.—MR. HAROLD SPENDER ON "THE RESURRECTION OF GREECE"

Mr. Harold Spender,‡ under the above heading, draws a parallel between the struggles of Greece towards independence and the Greek

* *The Times*, September 19, 1921.

† *The Times*, September 20, 1921.

‡ "The Resurrection of Greece," the *Contemporary Review*, August, 1921.

efforts to-day in Anatolia. Why, he asks, was it that the peoples of Europe insisted on saving Greece despite the apathy of statesmen and the opposition of chancelleries? What redeemed Greece from her leaders' quarrels and her generals' blunders but the desperate heroism of the masses, the self-sacrifice of the multitude, culminating in the siege of Missolonghi, when a whole population chose death rather than surrender to the Turks?

"That was the glory that was Greece." That was the splendour that inflamed Europe with a kindred enthusiasm.

"To-day we are face to face with what is essentially the same situation. In front of the stage we see the same factiousness of the Greek parties, the same incurable turbulence of her politicians. But in the background there stands the same wonderful people, remaining under arms long after the rest of Europe has been demobilised, unstinted in sacrifice, unsparing in endurance, and making the same appeal to us as their forefathers made a hundred years ago—the appeal of light against darkness, of the future against the past, of freedom against slavery.

"We are all Greeks," wrote Shelley, in that magnificent way of his, in the splendid Preface to 'Hellas,' written in the first year of the War of Independence. 'We are all Greeks: our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their roots in Greece.'

"That is the unbreakable tie. That is the immortal bond."

VIA.—THE MARRIAGE OF M. VENIZELOS

The ex-Greek Premier, M. Venizelos, was married to Miss Helena Schilizzi, a Greek lady well known for her charm and generosity, at St. Pancras Registry Office on September 14, and the civil ceremony was followed the next day by the religious service, which took place according to the rites of the Greek Church at the London house of Sir Arthur and Lady Crosfield.

M. and Madame Venizelos will take with them the sincere congratulations and good wishes of all who know them, while those who have followed the strenuous career of the ex-minister through the last two stormy decades will rejoice that, at any rate for the moment, the mantle of responsibility has been removed from his shoulders.

VII.—THE GREEK OFFICERS' WIDOWS LEAGUE

That Greece, like every other belligerent country, has its pension problems is shown by the following: Last June, paragraphs appeared in the Press announcing the foundation of "The Officers' Widows League" at Athens. This League owes its existence to the arbitrary exclusion of the widows and orphans of military officers retired before 1912 from adequate participation in the present grant of pensions. For the past three months it had been organizing daily demonstrations, "invading Parliament, the Royal Palace, and the Prime Minister's residence." On his return to the palace, on the eve of his departure for the front, King Constantine was surrounded by more than two hundred widows and orphans, when he promised them that speedy justice should be done to their cause.

The injustice complained of can be best gauged from the fact that whereas the widow of a major retired before 1912 will receive only fifteen drachmas a week, the widow of a major retired after 1912 will receive about fifty drachmas per week, and other grades in like proportion.

The feminist consciousness of Greece is being profoundly stirred and awakened by this League of sorely wronged women, and its inception will prove a momentous starting-point in the history not only of Greek women, but of the whole of womanhood in the Near East.

VIII.—THE MAN BEHIND THE MOVEMENT

It had long been a question as to who was responsible for the skilful tactics and telling pamphlets and manifestos, circulated in thousands, and the question might have remained unanswered to this day had not an unfortunate schism in the ranks led to wild accusations and fierce reprisals, so that in sheer self-defence the leader of the movement had to come into the limelight and bear the brunt of the onslaught.

For the League was even alleged by some to be a revolutionary scheme(1), disguised as a benevolent association, by which it was hoped to enlist the sympathies of the women and thus secure their co-operation with the workers. Such baseless charges could be refuted only in one way, and that was by the publication of the genesis and history of "The Officers' Widows League."

I herewith present a summary taken from a statement issued by Dr. Drakoules, and published by the League, almost all the members of which have testified their gratitude to its founder by remaining his faithful adherents.

When, after a long absence, Dr. Drakoules returned to Greece, last March, he received numerous letters from various ladies, both known and unknown, begging him to study the question of the pensions of officers on the retired list and to consider the injustice done to the families of those, now dead, who were placed on the retired list prior to 1912. It would have been alien to his nature, indeed quite impossible for one of his character, to allow such an appeal to pass unheeded.

Anxious to ensure justice being done to these fifteen hundred families, who in consequence of the State's indifference were deprived almost of bread, he applied himself to the study of the matter, and came to the conclusion that there was no hope of redress unless these widows and orphans could be persuaded to form themselves into an association.

Dr. Drakoules therefore abandoned his researches, set aside his own occupations and interests, postponed his return to his own home, and went to infinite trouble and expense, working day and night for three months with two ends in view:

(a) To persuade these timid ladies to organize themselves into an association.

(b) By encouraging the more courageous, to enlist in their favour the sympathy and goodwill of public opinion.

Both purposes were achieved after much hard work and ceaseless vigilance in order to keep the disheartened, impatient, or inexperienced members faithful to the union.

The achievement of his double object was a source of joy to the promoter of the League, and repaid him richly for his expenditure of time and energy. The League was flourishing, the community and the authorities were enlightened as to the injustice done, and for the first time since the enactment of the cruel law, five years ago, thirty members of Parliament, to their honour, had declared they would leave no stone unturned to remove the wrong done to the widows and orphans of the dead officers.

Meanwhile Dr. Drakoules had remained strictly in the background, desiring that the activities of the movement should belong exclusively to the ladies concerned. But soon after the historic meeting of Ladies and Deputies on May 2, when a resolution was passed as to the duty of the Government in the matter, dissensions arose and a lightning attack was directed against the founder. But the majority of its members remain faithful to their Benefactor, and who can doubt that when the Chamber meets on October it will hasten to redress the cruel wrongs of the widows and orphans of these who gave their lives in the cause of freedom?

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ON Monday, October 24, the Rev. Frank Oldrieve (Secretary for India to the Mission to Lepers) is to read a paper on "The Leper Problem in India and the Treatment of Leprosy." The paper will be illustrated with lantern slides, and Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., will preside.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Paris took place on June 16 under the presidency of Professor Senart. The Society approved the budget and re-elected unanimously the retiring Members of Council. MM. Moret and Pelliot were chosen to represent the Society at the joint meeting to which the Boston Academy has issued invitations for October 5, 1921. The following new members were elected: M. J. G. Raggi, Professor at Bangkok, and Professor Van der Leyden. The President welcomed Professor Takaichvili, of the University of Tiflis, who was among those present at the meeting. M. Deny read a paper entitled "An Unpublished Text in Turco-Kiptchak," and M. Pelliot recorded some interesting facts regarding "The Epigraphy and Phonetics contained in a Buddhistic Catechism in Tibetan Script." These two papers, as Proceedings of the Society, will be published in the *Revue Asiatique*.

FORTHCOMING ARRANGEMENTS

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES:

October 26.—"Chinese Folk-lore," by Dr. Hopkyn Rees. (5 p.m.)

November 3.—"Chaitanya and the Vaishnava Revival in the Sixteenth Century," by Rev. W. Sutton Page, B.A., B.D. (5 p.m.)

December 7.—"The Sansis, or Thieves of India," by Dr. T. Grahame Bailey, D.Litt. (5 p.m.)

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, KING'S COLLEGE:

A course of ten public lectures on Mondays at 5.30 p.m., beginning October 10.—"The Græco-Turkish Question," by Arnold J. Toynbee, B.A., Korais Professor of Modern Greek.

October 24.—"Mesopotamia," by Edwyn Bevan.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE:

November 3.—"Lieut. Chelmsford on 'India' at King Edward VII.'s Rooms, 5, Whitehall Gardens. (8.30 p.m.)

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS:

October 5.—"Indian Economics," by G. Kestinge, C.I.E., at Houghton Street. (8 p.m.)

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY:

October 11.—"The Red Sea at the Beginning," by Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E. (4.30 p.m.)

CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY:

November 10.—"Travels in Turkestan," by Major W. S. Blacker. (4.30 p.m.)